

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. IV

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

PART I

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. IV

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

EDITED BY

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IN TWO PARTS

PART I

WITH 3 MAPS AND 61 PLATES

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA

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PREFACE

THE work of editing Volume IV of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum entitled Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era was offered to me by the Director General of Archæology in India in his letter of the 7th March 1935. As I was already interested in the study of these records for a long time and had also edited some of them, I gladly accepted the offer, though not without some diffidence, for my official duties as Professor of Sanskrit at the Morris College, Nagpur, left me little leisure, and I knew full well 'how easy it is to glean a few straws, and how laborious to mow a whole field'. After spending most of my spare time during nine years on this work, I made over the typescript of it to the Director General of Archæology on the 6th March 1944. Its printing could not, however, be taken up immediately on account of war conditions then prevailing. The delay was not without an advantage, for it enabled me to include in the present Volume some important records which were discovered subsequently, and to shed some more light on the epoch of the Kalachuri era. At last, the work of printing commenced in June 1949. It was again delayed for some time for want of matrices with the necessary diacritical marks, but was ultimately completed in December 1954.

The present Volume has been planned to contain all inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, by whatever dynasty they may have been issued. It therefore includes, *inter alia*, records of the Ābhīras and their feudatories, the Traikūtakas, the Early Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas of Gujarat, the Hariśchandriyas as well as the Kalachuris of Māhishmati, Tripurī and Ratanpur, and their feudatories. For completing the sources of the history of the Kalachuris it was found desirable to include a few more records of the rulers of Tripurī, Sarayūpāra, Ratanpur and Raipur, though they are dated in other eras. The inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Kalyāna have, however, been excluded as none of them are dated in the Kalachuri era. The records have been arranged dynasty-wise in the chronological order, and named uniformly after the reigning kings. Some more inscriptions, because of their being spurious, or for not mentioning the name of any particular king, or due to some other reasons, have been grouped under the heading Miscellaneous Inscriptions and, for convenience of reference, have been inserted in three places where they were chronologically and territorially connected. As the Volume was going through the press, some more records, either dated in the Kalachuri era or allied to those already included, came to light. They have been inserted at the end under the heading Additional Inscriptions. All these inscriptions have been edited from their originals or mechanical ink impressions. In the case of a few other inscriptions, however, the original stones or copper-plates have since been lost and their facsimiles have not been published. Their texts, where possible, have therefore been given from previous editions or notices, with translations added, in an Appendix under the heading Supplementary Inscriptions. As this matter was being composed, one of these records which had been very briefly noticed before and had long been given up for lost, viz., the Gōpālpur stone inscription of Vijayasimha, was rediscovered at Jabalpur. I was consequently able to include its text from an excellent inked estampage kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra, though it was too late to have its plate prepared for the present Volume.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A B I A* —Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology (Leiden)
A B O R I —Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
A. C. A. I —Allan, Coins of Ancient India
A C S —Antiquities of the Chambā State
A. H. D —Jouveau-Dubieul, Ancient History of the Daccan
AK —Amarakōśa.
A R —Asiatic Researches
A R A D G S —Annual Report of the Archæological Department of the Gwalior State.
A R A S I —Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India
A R A S M —Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore
A R B I S M —Annual Report of the Bhāṭata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Mandal
A R S I. E —Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy
A S W I —Archæological Survey of Western India
BK —Bhārata-Kaumudī (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji), Part I
Bom Gaz —Bombay Gazetteer
B R W W —Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World
BS —Brihatsamhitā
B V —D R Bhandarkar Volume
C A D —Rapson, Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūtaka Dynasty and the Bōdhi Dynasty
C A I —Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India
C A S I R —Cunningham, Archæological Survey of India Reports
C H I —Cambudge History of India, Vol I.
C I I —Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
C I M —Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India
C T I —Burgess, Cave Temples of India.
C W B. —Collected Works of Dr R G Bhandarkar (published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute)
D H N I —H C Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India
DK —Hēmachandīa, Dvyāśrayakāvya
D K A —Paigiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age
D K D —Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts
E D H I —Elliot and Dowson, History of India
E H D —R G Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol III)
Ep Carn (or *E C*) —Epigraphia Carnatica
Ep Ind —Epigraphia Indica
G i L —Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur
H A S —Hyderabad Archæological Series
H C I P —History and Culture of the Indian People
H D L —Kane, History of Dharmasāstra Literature
H. I S I —Sewell, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India

- H P D*—Ganguli, History of the Paramāra Dynasty
H P K—Gopalan, History of the Pallavas of Kāñchi
H T M—R D Banerji, Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments
HV—Harivamśa (Chitraśālā Press, Poona)
I B—N G Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol III
I C P. B—Hiralal, Inscriptions of the Central Provinces and Berar (Second Edition)
I C. T W I—Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraprastha, Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India
I. I B S—Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State
I. M C—Vincent Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.
I N I—D R Bhandarkar, Inscriptions of Northern India
Ind Ant—Indian Antiquary
Ind Cult—Indian Culture
Ind Hist Quart (or *I H Q*)—Indian Historical Quarterly
I P—Buhler, Indian Palaeography
J A. H R S.—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J A O S—Journal of the American Oriental Society
J A S B—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J B B R A S—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J B O R S—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J B T S—Journal of the Buddhist Text Society
J D L—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University
J M S G U.—Journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad University.
J N S I—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
J O R—Journal of Oriental Research
J R A S (N S)—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)
J R A S B—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
KM—Rājasēkhara, Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (Gaekwad's Oriental Series)
K AS—Kauṭilya, Arthaśāstra
K D G—Khandesh District Gazetteer.
KVS.—Kavindravachanasamuchchaya ed by F W Thomas
M A S B—Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
M A S I—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
MBH Cr Ed—Mahābhārata (Critical Edition) published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
MSM.—Manusmṛiti (Nirnayasāgar Press edition).
MP—Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna
M S—Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, Monuments of Sāñchi
M. W—Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary
N H I P.—A New History of the Indian People.
N I A.—New Indian Antiquary
NSCH—Navasāhasāṅkacharita (Bombay Sanskrit Series)
NVA—Sōmadēva, Nītivākyāmṛita ed by Nathuram Premi
O Y C—Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India
PCH—Merutunga, Prabandhachintāmaṇi, ed by Jinavijaya Muni
PCHU—Kṛishnamisra, Prabōdhachandrōdaya (Nirnayasāgar Press edition)
P H A I—Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India
P I H C—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
P. R A S W I—Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western India

- P T A I O. C.*—Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference
P V O C—Proceedings of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section
Q B I S M—Quarterly of the Bhāṭṭa Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala
RCH—Sandhyākaranandin, Rāmacharita (published by the Vaidendra Research Museum)
RM—Rāsamālā ed. by H. G. Rawlinson
SA—Vallabhadēva, Subhāṣitāvalī (Bombay Sanskrit Series)
SHC—Siddhahēmachandra
S I—Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I
S. I. I—South Indian Inscriptions
S. I. M. H.—Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History
SKM—Vallabhadēva, Saduktakarmāmṛita ed. by H. D. Sharma
SKM—Jalhana, Sūktimuktāvalī (Gaekwad's Oriental Series)
S. M. H. D.—Khare, Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan (Maithili).
SNS—Sukranītisāra edited by Jivananda Vidyasagar
VDCH—Bilhana, Vikramāṅkadēvacharita edited by Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series)
VP—Vāyu Purāṇa.
VSHP—Vishnu Purāṇa
W C V—Woolner Commemoration Volume
Y S—Yājñavalkya Smṛiti

(Second Edition).
 e Cave Temples of

c Society

hikar Oriental

India

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Page ii, para 2, line 5—For the same read the same

„ iii, para 2, line 12 — For 423 read 443

„ v, para 1, last line —For *purnimānta* read *pūnīmānta*

„ xxvii, para 1, line 1—For 709-10 A C read 710-11 A C

„ xxxiv, para 3, line 5—Mr G H Khare takes *Gōpaka-pālaka*, mentioned in the Tāsgaon plates, over whom Kēśava obtained a victory, in the sense of ‘the king of Goa’

„ xxxvii, line 2—Recently silver coins of Kalachuri Krishnarāja (*circa* 550-575 A C) have been found at Nandurbār in Khandesh

„ xli, para 1, last line—For rules read rule

„ xlv and xlvii—For Krishnarāja wherever it occurs read Krishnarāja

„ xlv, para 2, line 12—Recently a silver coin of Kalachuri Krishnarāja has been found at Bhērā-Ghāt near Tewar in the Jabalpur District *J N S I*, Vol XVI, pp 107 ff

„ xlvii, para 5, line 2 from the bottom—For Sankaragana read Śankaragana

„ lvi, para 2, line 4—For 740 A C read the 21st October 739 A C

„ lviii, f n 2—The Nāgad and Kāsārē plates have since been edited by Mr G H Khare in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVIII, pp 195 ff He takes Nikumbhallaśakti to mean Allaśakti of Nikumbha, and apparently understands Nikumbha as a family name The Kāsārē plates show, however, that Nikumbha was another name of Bhānuśakti, the founder of the family It was used by his descendants as a *brūda* Their family name was Sēndraka

„ lxx, f n 2—The facsimile of the Mundakhēdē plates has since been noticed in a subsequent issue of the same Marathi journal *Prabhāta* (Vol II) I have edited the plates in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIX from that facsimile

„ lxiv, line 10—For 740 A C read 739 A C

„ lxxv, para 2, line 5—For *Anvātakānvaṭayitri* read *Anvātakanvātayitri*

„ lxxi, para 2, line 1—One more record of the reign of this Śankaragana has recently been discovered at Munā, 3½ miles from Bōnā on the Jabalpur-Saugor road It is fragmentary and records the construction of some meritorious work (*kṛti*) by one Bhattikaradēva during the reign of the illustrious Śankaragana I have edited the record with a facsimile in *A B O R I*, Vol XXXV, pp 20 ff

„ lxxii, para 4, line 5—For *Vallabharāa* read *Vallabharāja*

„ lxxxv, para 2, lines 9 and 13 —For Kāliyā read Kāliya

„ lxxxvi, para 4, line 5—For Sōmēśvara read Sōmasvāmī

„ lxxxvi, para 5, line 1—Recently a fragmentary stone inscription of Śankaragana III has come to notice at Jabalpur It opens with a verse in praise of Chakrapāni (Vishnu) Line 8 of the inscription states that Śankaragana defeated with ease a Gurjara king The latter was probably the Pratihāra king Vijayapāla whose Rājōrgadh inscription is dated V. 1016 (959 A C). The inscription has been edited by me with a facsimile in *A B O R I*, Vol XXXV, pp 23 ff

„ lxxxvii, line 6—Mr M Venkataramayya has recently discussed the identification of Vāchaspati, the minister of Krishna, mentioned in the Bhilsā inscription *J O R*, Vol XXII, pp 56 ff He identifies this Krishna with the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III and thinks that his minister Vāchaspati defeated the Chēdi king Lakshmanarāja II, as the latter had set at nought the authority of the Rāshtrakūtas over Malwa and Lāta in marching across those territories as far as Sōmanāth Pātan He further says that these raids of Lakshmanarāja were undertaken at the instigation of the Gujara-Pratihāras This view does not appear to be correct There is no basis for the supposition that the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris, who had been matrimonially connected for several generations, became hostile to each other during the reign of Lakshmanarāja II Far from assisting the Gurjara-Pratihāras by his raids in Gujarat and Saurashtra, Lakshmanarāja II is known to have fought with them His son Śankaragana III continued the hostilities as stated in the preceding note

- Page lxxxvii, line 8—The Māsēr inscription has since been edited by Mr M Venkataramayya in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIX, pp 18 ff He thinks that Narasimha of the Śulkī family, who fought with the Kalachuris, held sway over the Bilhāri region He identifies the territory Vida-dvādaśa (Vida-12) which he held with the village Vidā donated by the Kalachuri queen Nōhalā to the god Śiva Krishnarāja at whose command Narasimha fought against the Kalachuris was, according to Mr Venkataramayya, the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III It is difficult to accept these identifications Vida-12 was probably a fairly large territory. It must have been situated somewhere outside the Kalachuri dominion, and cannot therefore be identified with the small village Vidā near Bilhāri Again, the Māsēr inscription shows that Narasimha not only fought with the Kalachuris but killed a Kalachuri king, for he is said to have initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood Krishnarāja at whose command he did this is not likely to have been the Rāshtrakūta Krishna III, who is known to have married a Kalachuri princess
- „ xci, para 1, line 7—For Mahipāla read Mahīpāla
- „ xcv, f n 10, line 3—For the conqueror read to the conqueror
- „ xcvi, para 1, line 14—For Karna read Karna
- „ xcvi, para 2, line 2—Two earlier dates of the reign of Kirtivarman are also known, viz, V 1132 (1075 A C) of the Darbat image inscription (*Ind Hist Quart*, Vol XXX, pp 183 ff) and V 1147 (1090 A C) of the Kālāñjai stone inscription (*A R A S I* for 1936-37, pp 92 ff)
- „ ci, lines 5-6—In the Kudlur plates of Mārasimha II the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III is called *Narapati* (lord of men) So the reference to *Narapati* in Karna's title may signify his victory over the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I—Āhavamalla As stated before (p xcvi), an Apabhramsa verse mentions Karna's defeat of Sōmēśvara I's son Vikramāditya VI
- „ cviii, para 1, line 2—For *Mahārājakumāra* read *Mahākumāra*
- „ cxiii, line 6—For reign read reigns
- „ cxxiii, last line—For Sāmantas read Sāvantas
- „ cxxvi, f n 8—For जिय read जिये
- „ clv, line 10 from the bottom—For the Māsēr inscription, see *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIX, pp 18 ff For an examination of the identification of Krishnarāja mentioned in this inscription with the Rāshtrakūta Krishna III proposed by the editor, see above, add to page lxxxvii, line 8
- „ clx, para 2, line 2—For bigotted read bigoted
- „ clxi, para 1, line 3—The complete name of the work is *Ashtasāhasīkāpi ajñāpāramitā*
- „ clxxi, para 1, line 19—For absoutely read absolutely
- „ clxxiii, para 1, line 4—Since these remarks were drafted, Dr Raghavan of the Madras University has kindly informed me that he has discovered a MS of the *Udāttaiāghava* From the extracts of its *Prastāvanā* and *Bharatavākya*, which Dr Raghavan has favoured me with, it appears that its author was identical with that of the Sanskrit play *Tāpasavatsarāja* Like the latter work, this MS gives his name as Mātrarāja alias Anangaharsha, the son of Narēndravardhana How Mātrarāja came to be known as Māyurāja is not known If Rājasēkhara's statement that he belonged to the Kalachuri family is correct, we have two more names in the Kalachuri genealogy, viz, Narēndravardhana and his son Mātrarāja alias Anangaharsha
- „ clxxiii, f n 3—For वालिवधो read वालिवधो
- „ clxxiv, line 1—Another work of Bhīmata named *Manōramā-Vatsarāja* is cited in the *Nātyadarpana*, p 14
- „ clxxx, line 16 from the bottom—Some Traikūta coins have also been found in the excavations at Maski in the Hyderabad State. See *J N S I*, Vol XVI, pp 107 ff
- „ clxxxii, line 2—Coins of Krishnarāja have recently been found also at Nandurbār in Khandesh and Bheīā-Ghāt near Tewar See *J N S I*, Vol XVI, pp 107 ff
- „ clxxxv, f n 2—For a detailed examination of Mr Nath's view about the attribution of these coins, see my article in *J N S I*, Vol XV, pp 208 ff

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

- „ 17, para 4, line 7—For Bhāradvāja read Bharadvāja
- „ 17, para 6, lines 6 and 9—For Dasārna read Daśapura
- „ 18, para 2, line 7—For Sejwānik read Sējwāni
- „ 18, Text-line 2, —For —यक्ता— read —य(यु)क्ता—
- „ 20, Text-line 1—For (1*) substitute [1*]
- „ 20, Text-line 2—For (स्थान ?) read [स्थान ?]

- Page 20, Text-line 12—For (1*) *substitute* [1*], and for आच्छत्ता read आच्छ (च्छे)त्ता
- „ 21, Translation, para 1, line 1—For Māhushmatī read Māhishmatī
- „ 21, Translation, para 2, line 4—After offerings *insert* for (the worship of) the divine Buddha
- „ 21, Translation, para 2, line 8—For constructed read made
- „ 21, f n 2 line 2—For Gurjaras read Gujjaras
- „ 21, f n 6, line 1—For udhanga read udranga
- „ 21, f n 6, line 4—For s-ōdranga read s-ōdhanga
- „ 22, Title of the record—For PLATE read PLATES
- „ 22, para 6, line 5—The word Vākātaka should be in the Roman type
- „ 24, f n 2—Insert Vol XVI after J B B R A S
- „ 25, f n 1, line 2—For n 12 read n 9
- „ 27, f n 11—For —परिहीणाग्रहार— read —परिहीणाग्रहार—
- „ 31, Page-title—For 246 read 245
- „ 31, f n 7, lines 2-3—For *Suprabhāyāh* read *Suprabhāyāh*
- „ 31, f n 10, line 2—For diety read deity
- „ 32, Translation, line 6—Enclose and in round brackets
- „ 34, line 2—Delete the comma after dūtaka, and for Rēvadhyaka read Rēvādhyaka
- „ 35, f n 9—For पौण्डि read पौण्डि
- „ 36, f n 2, lines 4-5—For Yaśōvarman read Yasōdharman
- „ 36, f n 4, line 1—For councillor read minister
- „ 36, f n 6, line 1—For Nāgarika read Nāgaraka
- „ 37, line 2, from bottom —For 30 read 90
- „ 38, para 3, line 3—For au read ō
- „ 39, para 1, line 4—Insert a comma after was
- „ 39, f n 2, line 2—For rūp- read rūpa-
- „ 39, f n 3, line 2—For sah-lāsvādita- read salil-āsvādita-
- „ 39, f n 3, line 7—Insert pillar after stone
- „ 39, f n 4, line 6—For prātibhēdika read prātibhēdikā
- „ 40, para 3, line 8—For A D read A. C
- „ 40, f n 3, line 4—For A D 247-48 read 247-48 A C
- „ 41, f n 12—For —चिचीषुभि— read —चिचीषुभि—
- „ 43, f n 9, line 5—For varjja(m) read -varjja[m]
- „ 43, f n 10, line 1—For proprietary read proprietary
- „ 44, line 3—For sākhā read sākhā
- „ 44, line 16—Delete the comma after lunar
- „ 44, line 17—For Mahāpīlupatī read Mahāpīlupati
- „ 45, para 1, line 8, and para 4, line 7—It seems better to take the name of the village as Śrīparnakā in stead of Śrī-Parnakā, as suggested by Dr Chhabra J O R, Vol XIX, pp 39 f
- „ 46, Text-line 4 —For —म्भोगिक— read —म्भोगिक—
- „ 46, Text-line 5—For —स्तहव (द्व)ला— read —स्तहव (द्व)ला—
- „ 46, Translation, line 14—For Śrī-Parnakā read Śrīparnakā
- „ 46, f n 15,—Insert Read before भद्रनृपतिभि
- „ 47, line 12 from the bottom—For ī read i
- „ 48, f n 1, line 2—For Pillay read Pillai
- „ 48, f n 1, line 5—For Epoch des read Epoche der
- „ 49, line 2—For (vātaka ?) read (vātaka ?)
- „ 49, Text-line 14—Put a hyphen after —स्तकल
- „ 50, Text-line 30—For महि महीमता read महि (ही) महीम (म) ता
- „ 50, f n 6—For स्यादिति read —स्यादिति
- „ 51, line 11—Delete the note-reference 1
- „ 51, line 21—Insert agnibōtra after vaṣṣvādēva
- „ 51, line 2 from the bottom—For well-done read well done
- „ 53, line 8—Close the bracket after District
- „ 54, Text-line 6—For—वड्श⁴भिना—read—वड्श⁴शोभिना
- „ 55, line 6 from the bottom —For Brīhannārikā read Brīhannārikā.
- „ 55, f n 6,—For —सयुक्त read —सयुक्त
- „ 56, line 2—Insert agnibōtra after vaṣṣvādēva.

- Page 59, line 6—For 248-49, A C read 248-49 A C,
 „ 59, f n 5—Delete the comma after lines
 „ 61, Text-line 25—For प्रभुत्व read प्रभुव(त्व)
 „ 62, Text-line 47—For नरक read नरके
 „ 64, f n 2,—For (kalā) read kalā
 „ 65, para 2, line 3, and f n 6, lines 3-4—For Chāturvēdins read Chaturvēdins
 „ 66, para 1, line 5—For lovely a read lovely as
 „ 66, f n 1, line 1—For charanas read charanas
 „ 66, f n 1, line 2—For gōira read gōira
 „ 66, f n 1, line 3—For Kauthum read Kauthuma
 „ 66, f n 2, line 1—For Iśvaia read Iśvaia
 „ 67, para 2, line 1—Insert a comma after plates
 „ 67, para 3, line 7—For rīp-ānurūpan read rīp-ānurūpan
 „ 67, para 3, line 14—For jibvāmūliya read jibvāmūliya
 „ 70, f n 10—For चतुस्त्रिंशद्भ्यो— read —चतुस्त्रिंशद्भ्यो—
 „ 71, Text-line 49—Delete the visarga after [धु]
 „ 71, line 12 from the bottom—For udrunga read udranga
 „ 71, f n 1 For विन(भ)वा— read —न्विन(भ)वा—
 „ 72, line 19—Insert a comma after District
 „ 73, para 3, line 14—For Mātrībhata read Mātrībhata
 „ 75, line 3—Insert (and) 1 after 90
 „ 75, line 14—Insert a comma after District
 „ 76, para 4, line 1—Insert a comma after Nāndipura
 „ 76, para 4, line 3—For Malwā read Malwa
 „ 77, f n 8—For Read अन्यैर्वागमि— read Read —रन्यैर्वागमि—
 „ 78, Translation, line 9—After **Suvarṇārapallī** insert and the junction with (the boundary of) the village **Atavīpātaka**
 „ 78, Translation, line 16—For Dāsapura read Dasapura
 „ 80, f n 10, line 1 —Insert a comma after which
 „ 80, f n 12—For विभवा— read —न्विभवा—
 „ 81, Translation, para 1, line 6—For Śāka read Śāka
 „ 81, Translation, para 1, line 7—For Sālmālī read Sālmālī
 „ 82, para 2, line 1—Insert a comma after copper-plates
 „ 82, para 2, line 9—Delete the comma after seal
 „ 82, para 3, line 9—Insert a before curve
 „ 82, para 3, lines 13—14—For Nāgarī read Nāgarī
 „ 83, para 4, line 2—For great-grand-father read great-grandfather
 „ 84 f n 2, lines 4 and 6—For A D read A C
 „ 84, f n 8, line 2—For in 'Kārwan read 'in Kārwan
 „ 85, Text-line 7—For —वगुष्ठित— read —वगुष्ठित— and add a hyphen after —स्तस्यात्म
 „ 87, f n 2—For square read rectangular
 „ 88, para 3, line 4—For full-moon read full moon
 „ 88, para 3, line 11—For the Mahattaras and read and the Mahattaras of
 „ 89, line 14—Enclose now in round brackets
 „ 89, line 15—For Chāturvēdins read Chaturvēdins
 „ 90, para 2, line 1—Insert a comma after copper-plates
 „ 92, line 1—Insert a comma after 460
 „ 92, para 1, line 7—Insert the before Karjan
 „ 94, Text-line 23—Delete the visarga after करिल्लिणी
 „ 94, Text-line 31—Insert a visarga after कर्षयत्
 „ 95, line 7 from the bottom—For definđ read defined
 „ 96, line 1—For Brāhamana read Brāhmana
 „ 97, para 2, line 6—For krishna- read krishna-
 „ 99, Text-line 7 —For —रजित(न)— read —रजित(न)-
 „ 99, f n 7—Add a hyphen after —स्तार्त्थि
 „ 100, Text-line 17—For व्याषेवे read व्याषे(से)धे
 „ 100, Text-line 24—For तुष्टये read चतुष्टय

- Page 101, Translation, para 1, line 8—*Close the bracket after* night
 „ 101, Translation, para 4, line 5—*For king read kings*
 „ 101, f n 1—*For tīthi read tithi*
 „ 106, Text-line 26—*For -शिखर read -शिखर*
 „ 107, Text-line 41—*For भुजत read भुजत*
 „ 107, Text-line 50—*For सम्बत् read सम्ब(व)त्*
 „ 110, f n 1—*For Mediaval read Mediaval*
 „ 111, para. 1, line 9—*For new moon read new-moon*
 „ 111, f n 2—*For chakshū-bhūtaḥ read chakshu-bhūtaḥ*
 „ 111, f n 6, line 4—*For No 19 read No 29*
 „ 111, f n 6, line 11—*For n 41 read n 4*
 „ 111, f n 7—I have recently noticed that a facsimile of the record was published in Vol II of the same
 monthly *Prabhāta* I have edited the record in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIX from that facsimile
 „ 112, para 2, line 11—*For Vikarma read Vikrama, and for as with often as read as often as*
 „ 113, Text-line 18—*For निकुम्भाललशक्ति read निकुम्भाललशक्ति*
 „ 114, Text-line 21—*For [प]र्णन्धदि(दी)- read [प]र्णन्धनदि(दी)-*
 „ 115, Page-title—*For YEAR 204 read YEAR 404*
 „ 115, f n 6, line 1—*For So'a's read Sitā's*
 „ 116, line 4—*Delete the bracket after worshipped and insert it after gods*
 „ 116, pa1a 1, line 2—*Enclose his in round brackets*
 „ 117, para 3, line 19—*For -dhikarīk- read -dhikārīk-*
 „ 117, para 3, line 20—*For -kārīk-ādīn read -kārīk-ādīn*
 „ 119, f n 7—*For सेन्द्रकराजान- read सेन्द्रकराजाना-*
 „ 120, Text-line 15—*For यथा स(स)बध्य- read यथास(स)बध्य-*
 „ 120, Text-line 18—*For ट[टा]युक्तक- read ट(टा)युक्तक-*
 „ 122, line 2—*Substitute a semicolon for the comma after intellect*
 „ 122, para 1, line 2—*For full moon read full-moon*
 „ 124, para 2, line 6—*For 429 read 421*
 „ 127, line 17—*Insert a comma after Nasik*
 „ 129, f n 3—*For occuring read occuring*
 „ 131, f n 1, line 1—*For Allasakti read Allāśakti*
 „ 133, pa1a 4, line 1—*For ll 36-3 read ll 36-37*
 „ 135, Text-line 28—*For चैव्य्यणि read चैव्य्यणि*
 „ 136, line 8—*Insert Satyāśraya before Pulakēśivallabha (II)*
 „ 137, Translation of line 36—*For forty three read forty-three*
 „ 138, line 14—*Delete the semicolon after in*
 „ 138, line 16—*For Prīthivī read Prīthivī*
 „ 139, para 1, line 7—*For 737 A C read 739 A C*
 „ 139, para 2, line 4—*For the Brāhmana Govindali Kāñchale read the Duvēda Brāhmana*
 Kāñchala, the son of the Brāhmana Govindali
 „ 141, Text-line 35—*Add a hyphen after विप*
 „ 143, para 5, line 6—*For whole-would read whole world*
 „ 144, line 5—*Delete the note reference 2*
 „ 144, line 20—*For the note reference 1 read 2*
 „ 144, para 2, line 3—*For Mahākārttikī read Mahākārttikī After Mahākārttikī, insert for the per-*
 formance of *balī, charu, vaisvadēva, agni/ōṭṭa* and other rites
 „ 144, f n 2—*For p 143 read line 1*
 „ 147, para 2, lines 6-7—*For Simhavarmarāja read Simhavarmatāja*
 „ 147, f n 2—*For are read is*
 „ 148, para 1, line 3—*For Vikramāditya read Vikramāditya, and for grand-father read grandfather*
 „ 148, f n 2, line 3—*Insert) after pp 304 ff*
 „ 148, f n 2, line 5—*For Durgādēvi read Durgādēvi*
 „ 149, line 2—*Insert a comma after Trikūta and the Traikūtakas*
 „ 149, line 8—*Insert a comma after Manikā*
 „ 151, Text-line 39—*Insert [*] after शत १००, and delete that after -विषये*
 „ 151, Text-line 59—*For स्य(म्न) read स्य(म्न)*
 „ 152, f n 2,—*Insert a comma after at first*

- Page 153, line 17—Delete the comma after (*and*)
 „ 153, f n 4—*Kōvēra* may be the fee of registration See Introduction, p cxlii
 „ 154, Translation of line 54—*After sixty-one insert 400 (and) 60 (and) 1*
 „ 154, Translation of lines 56 ff, line 6—*For rupees read rūpakas*
 „ 155, para 3, line 6—*For Simharāja read Simhavarmarāja*
 „ 156, f n 3, line 1—*For kumārī- read kumārī-*
 „ 157, Text-line 9—*For -सहस्र- read -सहस-*
 „ 158, Text-line 35—*For द्वात्रिंशति- read -द्वात्रिंशति (द्)-*
 „ 158, Translation of line 28, line 1—*For Bhōgaśaktī read Bhōgaśakti*
 „ 158, Translation of line 29, line 3—*For Ambēyapallikā read Ambayapallikā*
 „ 158, f n 11—*Umura-bhēda* in Text-line 33 is probably identical with *ummarā-bhēda* which occurs in the expression उन्मरभेदो न करणीयो राजपुरुषेण in the grant of Vishnushēna, dated V 649 See P T A I O C, Vol XV, p 272, It probably means the forcible breaking of a house-door *Umura* is probably the same as Marathi *umbarā* meaning a threshold The intended meaning seems to be that the royal officers were forbidden to break open the doors of houses for the recovery of stolen property in the resettled village
 „ 162, para 1, line 7—*For Kalpaumam read Kalpalumam*
 „ 163, line 1—*For G 405 (724-25 A C) read G 403 (723-24 A C)*
 „ 163, line 7—*For Mānkanī plates read Mānkanikā grant*
 „ 163, Text-line 1—*For -निघृष्ट- read -निघृष्ट-*
 „ 164, f n 14—*For पट्चत्वारिंश- read षट्चत्वारिंश-*
 „ 167, para 1, line 12—*Insert a comma after issued*
 „ 168, para 1, line 17—*Insert a comma after is*
 „ 168, f n 1—*For Ibid read Bom Gaz*
 „ 169, Text-line 9—*For -विषयान्तर्गत सन्धियर- read -विषयान्तर्गतसन्धियर-*
 „ 172, para 1, line 12—*For Īśvara read Īśvara*
 „ 172, para 1, line 25 —*For Narman read Narman*
 „ 174, para 3, line 4—*For stone inscription read stone pillar inscription*
 „ 174, f n 6, line 2—*For Vāmarājādēva read Vāmarājādēva*
 „ 175, line 8—*Insert a comma after Dēuka and delete that after king*
 „ 175, Translation, para 2, line 1—*Insert a comma after Dēuka*
 „ 176, Title of the Inscription—*Insert PILLAR after STONE*
 „ 176, para 1, line 8—*Insert a comma after remarked and for what read What*
 „ 176, f n 4—*For pp 17 ff read pp 170 ff*
 „ 177, Page-title—*For SANKARGANA read SANKARAGANA I*
 „ 178, line 6 from the bottom—*Delete the comma after Lakshmanarāja II*
 „ 179, line 4—*For right hand-side read right-hand side*
 „ 179, para 3, line 10—*For someone read some one*
 „ 180, line 25—*For grand-father read grandfather*
 „ 181, f n 4—*For Archæological read Aichæological*
 „ 182, Translation of lines 11-12—*For Śrutis read Śruti*
 „ 184, Translation, line 3—*For was read is*
 „ 185, Translation, line 6—*For (Lines 6—7) read (Lines 7—8)*
 „ 185, line 18—*After No 41 add (No Plate)*
 „ 185, para 2 from the bottom, line 1—*Insert a comma after alphabet and delete that after closely*
 „ 187, para 1, line 6—*For jībhāmūlīya read jībhāmūlīya*
 „ 189, Text-line 8—*For त्रैयंत्रिके read तौर्यंत्रिके*
 „ 189, Text-line 11—*For वशिभिर्दुकर read वशिभिर्दुकर.*
 „ 190, f n 2—*Delete the comma after admitted*
 „ 193, Translation of v 19, line 4—*For straight-forward read straightforward*
 „ 193, Translation of v 20, line 2—*Insert a comma after front*
 „ 193, Translation of v 20, line 3—*For gods read demons*
 „ 193, f n 1—*After a sacrificial ladle in general, insert including jūbhū made of palāśa, upabhrīt of aśvattha and dbruvā of vikankata*
 „ 195, Translation of v 39, line 2—*For karsha read karshas*
 „ 195, line 2 from the bottom—*For consits read consists*
 „ 196, line 4 from the bottom—*For Kēsari read Kēsarin*

Page 196, line 11—For *mahma-stamba* read *mahma-stamva*

„ 196, line 8 from the bottom—The Māser inscription has since been edited by Mr Venkataramayya in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIX, pp 18 ff For an examination of the identification of Krishna mentioned in that record with Rāshtrakūta Krishna III proposed by him, see above, *add* to p lxxxvii

„ 196, line 5 from the bottom—For Kalachuri kings read a Kalachuri king

„ 196, f n 1, line 1—For *simhāvayam* read *Simhāvayam*

„ 198, line 2—For Siva read Śiva

„ 199, para 4, line 5—Insert a comma after ruins

„ 201, Text-line 25—For ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे read ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे

„ 202, f n line 3—For *dikō-bhāsu* read *dik-śōbhāsu*

„ 204, line 14—For (V 19) read (V 20)

„ 204, line 15—Delete the mark of interjection after letters

„ 206, para 2, line 5—For *Vikaramānka*— read *Vikramānka*—

„ 206, para 2, line 13—For Simhavarman read Simhavarman

„ 206, para 4, line 7—For king of Avanti read king Avanti

„ 206, para 4, line 8—For Śabdasiva in two places read Sadāsiva

„ 208, f n 1, line 2—For Lakṣhmanasēna read Lakshmanasēna

„ 209, Text-line 1—For य[स्मिँ]ल्लेल— read य(स्मिँ)ल्लेल—

„ 209, Text-line 4—For सोमाभिधानतिस्तलकयति read सोमाभिधानतिस्तलकयति Insert a hyphen after प्रोच्छलज्वा—
(ज्वा)

„ 210, Text-line 7—Insert a hyphen after प्रणयिसै and after कालाद्ध (द्व)

„ 211, Text-line 13—Delete the visarga after कोप

„ 211, Text-line 14—For -दर्थोद्धतधिया— read -दर्थोद्धतधिया

„ 212, Text-line 15—For यन्तु read यत्तु

„ 212, Text-line 16—For भर्तु [३७॥*] read [३७॥*] भर्तु, and for मरुद्गणाना read मरुद्गणाना

„ 212, Text-line 18—For -स्तस्याभूद्— read -स्तस्यामभूद्

„ 213, f n 3—For तत्त्वं read तत्त्वं

„ 216, f n 2, line 1—For *avyāhat-ēcbham* read *avyāhat-ecbchham*

„ 217, Translation of v 18, line 2—Insert more before exalted

„ 217, f n 1, line 3—For killed read conquered

„ 218, Translation of v 24—For polity read policy

„ 218, Translation of v 28, line 2—Insert a comma after rage

„ 218, f n 3, line 1—For good conduct read prudent behaviour

„ 220, Translation of v 46, line 2—For Lakshmnarāja read Lakshmanarāja

„ 223, Translation of v 80, line 2—For by every measure read on every measure

„ 223, f n 2, line 2—For pavillion read pavilion

„ 223, f n 7, line 3—For *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, 221 read *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, 121

„ 223, f n 9, line 2—For *Pūtaka* read *Pūlaka*

„ 224, Translation of v 85—*Pūrvā* in this verse may have the sense of *prastā* as suggested by Dr Chhabra *Sarūpa-Bhārati*, p 22 He translates the second half of this verse as follows —“May this composition—this fame, this eulogy—endure as long as the creation” I do not agree with Dr Chhabra that all the three words *kṛiti*, *kṛiti* and *pūrvā* in this verse refer to the eulogy *Kṛiti* probably refers to the composition of *Sītuka*, *kṛiti* to the temple of Nōhalēsvaia, and *pūrvā* to the eulogy of the Kalachuri princes

„ 225, para 1, line 9—For *samādhayō* read *samādhayō*

„ 225, f n 4, line 2—For from read form

„ 226, para 2, line 10—For Poṇḍik read Pōṇḍikā

„ 226, para 2, line 20—Insert a comma after mentioned and Prabōdhasiva

„ 227, f n 9—For tw overses read two verses

„ 228, Text-line 15—For -त्रैला[लो]क्य— read -त्रैला(लो)क्य—

„ 229, Text-line 38—For य[क्लित] read य[ल्लित]—

„ 233, Translation of vv 36-37—Insert a comma after Sārasadōllaka

„ 233, Translation of vv 38-40, line 3—For *Siddhāntas* read *Siddhāntas*

„ 233, Translation of v 42—For the Śiva read (the god) Śiva

„ 233, Translation of v 44, line 1—For Madu read Madhu

„ 233, Translation of v 46—For artist read artisan

„ 236, para 3, line 1—Insert a comma after Wilford

Page 237, para 2, line 12—For *i* read *z*

„ 237, para 2, line 21—For *kim=v=apaṛēna* read *kim=v-āpaṛēna*

„ 238, line 10—On further consideration I think it more likely that this Śrī-Harsha is the Guhila prince of that name who was a contemporary of the Pāṭihāra Bhōja I See Introduction, p lxxv

„ 241, line 2—Insert a comma after Banaias

„ 242, Text-line 14—Delete the *visarga* after (हर्ष)

„ 242, f n 9—For *are* read *is*

„ 242, Text-line 19—For जनना read जनता

„ 243, Text-line 23—Insert a hyphen after ज(य)

„ 243, Text-line 24—For कुलधेनरपतियि भ read कुलनरपतियिधेभ

„ 243, f n 9—For *danda* read *danda*

„ 244, Text-line 39—For प्रन(ण)त्रे read प्रन(ण)प्त्रे

„ 245, Text-line 41—For विश्वाय read विधाय

„ 245, Text-line 47—For वा प्रतिमानि read वान्तप्रतिमानि

„ 245, f n contd from last page—For प्रतिसावत्सरिकश्चाद्वा read प्रतिसावत्सरिकश्चाद्वा

„ 248, Translation of v 25, line 1—For *Gāṅgēyadēva* read *Gāṅgēyadēva*

„ 248, Translation of v 25, line 2—Substitute a semicolon for the comma after Kōkalladēva (II)

„ 248, f n 1, line 1—Insert a semicolon after here

„ 249, para 3, line 3—Substitute a comma for the full point after place

„ 249, f n 20—For *Audāla* read *Audala*

„ 251, Page-title—Insert PILLAR after STONE

„ 251, Text-line 5—For न्या[ये]* read न्या[ये*]

„ 251, f n 8, line 1—For भक्तयात्र read भक्त्यात्र

„ 251, f n 16, line 2—For *ta* read *tā* and for प्रसादान् read प्रसादात्

„ 253, line 4—For *chb* read *chba*

„ 253, para 1, line 12—For *grāmani* read *grāmanī*

„ 253, para 1, line 18—For *pūtkara* read *pūtkāra*

„ 254, para 3, line 8—For full moon *tithi* read full-moon *tithi*

„ 254, f n 5—Insert a comma after 1030 A C

„ 256, Text-line 16—For योगमाजा read योगभाजा

„ 256, Text-line 17—For स्फुटित read स्फुटित

„ 257, Text-line 21—For -मेक व्याजेन- read -मेकव्याजेन

„ 258, Text-line 31—For स्फुरद्धोषणा read स्फुरद्धोषणा

„ 258, Text-line 34—Delete पति after माहेश्वर

„ 260, Translation of v 14, line 4—For of Indra read to India

„ 261, Translation of v 17, line 2—Insert a comma after Anga

„ 262, Translation of v 27, line 3—For enemy's read enemy's

„ 262, Translation of Line 33, line 11—Insert in before the village

„ 264, f n 3, line 2—For *Kāchārasya* read *-kankarasya*

„ 268, f n 1, line 3—For note worthy read noteworthy

„ 268, f n 2, line 1—For *Śrāvasti* read *Śrāvastī*

„ 269, Text-line 9—For आक्रमा- read -आक्रम-

„ 270, f n 11, line 1—For यस्मिन्सुखकप्रभव read यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवे

„ 274, Translation of v 38, line 2—For *Kēyastha* read *Kāyastha*

„ 277, f n 12—For -गुप्तावाशीवाद read -गुप्तावाशीवाद-

„ 280, para 3, line 6—For Gujoerat read Gujarat

„ 280, f n 3—For also read above

„ 282, Text-line 16—For (सान्त) read (सान्त)

„ 282, f n 3—Omit Read स्वय

„ 283, f n 2—For *Upajāti* read *Upajāti*

„ 284, Translation of v 8, line 2—Insert a comma after father

„ 286, Text-line 5—For (त्ती) read (त्ती)

„ 287, Text-line 11—For प्रता[पे]नावि- read प्रता[पे]नारि-

„ 287, Text-line 19—For स्तधुना read स्तदधुना

„ 288, line 18—Insert a comma after inscription

„ 289, 291, 293, 295, and 297, Page-title—For PLATE read PLATES

- Page 289, last para, line 5—For *li* read *lr*
- „ 289, last para, line 6—For *klepta* read *kleṛpta*
- „ 290, f n 3—For *Kāṣī* read *Kāṣi*
- „ 291, para 2, line 1—For *Yaśahkarana* read *Yaśahkarn*
- „ 292, f n 3, line 2—Insert a comma after *however*
- „ 292, f n 3, line 3—Insert a comma after *Gangā*
- „ 295, f n 6, line 5—For *त्रिपराय* read *त्रिप्रवराय*
- „ 298, Translation of v 15, line 1—Insert the before *Kalachuris*
- „ 298, f n 9, line 2—For *Kāśyapa* read *Kāśyapā*
- „ 301, para 3, line 4—Insert to before 1078-79 A C
- „ 302, para 2, line 3 from the bottom—Delete the note reference 5
- „ 302, f n 5, line 1—For *हेमाद्रि* read *हेमाद्रि-*
- „ 304, f n 6—For *danda* read *danda*
- „ 304, f n 15, line 3—For p 19 read l 19
- „ 307, f n 10—For *Śālini* read *Śālinī*
- „ 308, f n 5, line 1—For *matrī* read *matrī*
- „ 310, line 7—For the *Chandrakara Āchārya* read the *Āchārya Chandrakara*
- „ 311, Translation of C, para 4, line 3—For the holy *Chandrakara Āchārya* read the holy *Āchārya Chandrakara*
- „ 311, Text-line 5—For *सज्जक* read *सज्जक-*
- „ 311, Translation of C, para 3, line 1—For *Śrēshthī* read *Śrēshthī*, and for *thum* read *him*
- „ 311, f n 4—Insert a comma after *akṣharas*
- „ 311, f n 8—For n 3 read n 2
- „ 311, f n 9—Add n 3 after *Loc cit*
- „ 312, para 2, line 3 from the bottom—For *satāla* read *satāla*
- „ 313, para 2, line 3—For *Gāṅgēyadēva* read *Gāṅgēyadēva*
- „ 313, f n 2—For *Mahīdhara* read *Dhātānīdhara*
- „ 314, para 1, line 4—For *Godavari* read *Gōdāvarī*
- „ 315, Text-line 5—For *पुसा* read *पुसा*
- „ 316, Text-line 21—For *व(ब)न्धुप-* read *व(ब)न्धुर-*
- „ 318, f n 5—For *Brahmānda* read *Brahmānda*
- „ 322, Text-line 8—For *श्रीव(ब)ललाल-* read *श्रीव(ब)लाल-*
- „ 323, para 4, line 4—For 28 miles read 36 miles
- „ 323, f n 2—For *Bhāgīrathī* read *Bhāgīrathī*
- „ 324, f n 3—For *तटास्मिका-* read *तटास्मिका-*
- „ 326, line 3 from the bottom—For *date* read *day*
- „ 326, f n 3—For *des* read *der*
- „ 326, f n 4—For *Prithvīdēva* read *Prithvīdēva II*
- „ 327, Text-line 6—For *पुसि* read *पुसि*
- „ 330, Translation of L 25, line 3—Insert at *Tripurī* after in the *Rēvā*
- „ 333, para 1, line 6—Insert a comma after *Jayasimha*
- „ 333, para 2, line 4—For *Nannadēva* read *Nāmadēva*
- „ 334, Text-line 8—For *-स्तीर्थ* read *-स्तीर्थ*
- „ 336, Text-line 24—For *समकरोल्लेका-* read *समकरोल्लोका-*
- „ 341, line 2—For *sons'* read *son's*
- „ 343, Text-line 12—For *-मापयन्त-* read *-मापयन्त-*
- „ 343—For the text-line number 81 read 18
- „ 345, para 5, line 1—For *Sīkhā* read *Sūkhā*
- „ 346, Translation, line 2 from the bottom—For *Kēsāva* read *Kēśava*
- „ 346, line 5 from the bottom—For *li* read *lr* and for *prakṛipta* read *prakṛīpta*
- „ 346, f n 4, line 2—Delete p 295
- „ 347, line 14—For *darśanānt* read *darśanān*
- „ 347, line 19—For *grāṁ* read *grāṁ*
- „ 347, line 20—For *Vijayasimhadēva* read *Vijayasimhadēva*
- „ 347, f n 3, line 3—For *Chandrasimbō* read *Chandrasimbō*
- „ 348, para 1, line 6—For *tankakas* read *tankakas*
- „ 348, para 3, lines 6—7—For *councillor* read *counsellor*

- Page 348, line 2 from the bottom—*For* inscriptions *read* inscription
 „ 349, line 1—*For* numerical symbols *read* numerical figures
 „ 349, para 2, line 8—*For* Vikarma *read* Vikrama
 „ 350, f n 2, line 2—*For* *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* *read* *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*
 „ 350, f n 14—*For* चित्य *read* चित्य
 „ 351, Text-line 11—*For* विलसितुं *read* विलसितु
 „ 353, Text-line 25—*For* मूर्द्धनि *read* मूर्द्धनि
 „ 355, Translation of verse 20, line 4—*Delete the comma after* confidence *and insert it after* prowess
 „ 356, Translation of v 29, line 1—*For* Rāmasimha *read* Ranasimha
 „ 359, line 17—*Delete the comma after* consonants
 „ 360, para 1, line 4—*For* *paravaras* *read* *pravaras*
 „ 360, para 2, line 1—*Insert of after* the date
 „ 362, Translation of L 2, line 5—*For* Vāmādēva *read* Vāmadēva
 „ 362, f n 13—*For* also occurs *read* occurs also
 „ 362, f n 15, line 1—*Insert a comma after* Bhārati
 „ 363, Translation, para 2, line 2—*For* *mabāśabda* *read* *mabāśabda*
 „ 364, f n 9—*For* oi one of her sons *read* her son or grandson
 „ 365, line 5 from the bottom—*For* the semicolon *after* predecessors *substitute* a comma
 „ 366, f n 11—*For* कोट्टपाल *read* महाकोट्टपाल
 „ 367, Text-line 17—*Insert the note reference* 2 *after* [९*][६][x] *and delete that after* [म*]
 „ 368, para 3, line 5—*Insert a comma after* Cunningham
 „ 369, line 11 from the bottom—*Insert a comma after* Rewa
 „ 370, para 2, line 8—*For* Alaura *read* Alaurā
 „ 371, Text-line 5—*Insert a hyphen after* विराजमान
 „ 372, f n 10—*For* यावाद्धरण्य *read* यावद्धरण्य
 „ 374, f n 2—*For* Alaura *read* Alaurā

PLATES

- Plate XXVIII, Title—*For* Spurious Plates *read* Spurious Kaira Plates
 „ XXIX B, Title—*For* Stone Inscription *read* Stone Pillar Inscription
For Bargaon Temple Inscription of Sabara, Plate XXXII, *read* Bargaon Stone Inscription of Sabara,
 Plate XXXIII

INTRODUCTION

THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA

ALTHOUGH some of the inscriptions dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era were discovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was not suspected till about half a century later that their dates must be referred to an era different from the Vikrama and Saka eras which were then current in different parts of India, or from the Gupta era which had become known from inscriptions. For instance, the date of the Banaras plates of Karna discovered in 1801, which was evidently misread by Captain Wilford, was taken by him to correspond to 192 A. C.¹ The date *Samvat* 932 of the Kumbhī plates published in 1839² was referred by the editors of the grant to the Vikrama Samvat and taken to be equivalent to 876 A. C.³ The Kanhēri plate was discovered by Dr Bird in 1839, but the earliest attempt to date it approximately was that of Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who, on considerations of palæography, referred the inscription to about the sixth century A. C.⁴ But he then made no conjecture about the era to which its date 245 should be referred, beyond stating that it could not be the same as that employed by the Kshatrapas, as the characters on their coins are of a much earlier type, and that it could not be the Gupta era in the absence of such expressions as *Gupta-kāla*, *Guptasya kāla*, *Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuketi* or *Sam*. Dr Burgess, however, in a note on Bhagvanlal's article observed as follows 'From the form of the characters, I incline to think that this inscription may be dated in the Gupta era, the Trikūtakas, like the Valabhī Sēnāpatis, may have continued to use the Gupta era on assuming independence, or it may have been adopted from Gujarat.'⁵ The first and approximately correct conjecture about the epoch of the era was made in 1859 by Prof Fitz-Edward Hall in his article on the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvi, dated *Samvat* 907, and the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadēva, dated *Samvat* 928.⁶ Finding that Alhanadēvi was mentioned in the former inscription as the grand-daughter of Udayāditya, Dr. Hall conjectured that she might have been born about 1100 A. C., as her grandfather Udayāditya, who reigned between Bhōja (*circa* 1050 A. C.) and Naravarman (1104 A. C.), might have flourished about 1075 A. C. Now, Alhanadēvi's sons, Narasimha and Jayasimha, were reigning in the years 907 and 928 respectively, and her great-grandson was a minor⁷ in the year 932 of an unspecified era. Dr. Hall, therefore, thought that her birth might have taken place about the year 850 of the era to which the aforementioned dates

¹ *A. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 108. On this General Cunningham remarked, "I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193, and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states, 'the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192'".
C. A. S. I. R. Vol. IX, p. 82.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

⁴ *I. C. T. W. I.* (A. S. W. I., No. 10), p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59, n. 2.

⁶ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

⁷ The Kumbhī plates, dated K 932 (Appendix, No. 4), record a grant made by Gōsaladēvi, mother of Vijayasimha, not his wife as Hall wrongly stated. Again, the grant was made by Gōsaladēvi during the reign of her son Vijayasimha and with his consent as explicitly stated therein. It was not made by her for her minor son Ajayasimha as Hall thought. Among the persons to whom the royal order is addressed is mentioned *Mahākumāra* Ajayasimha. He had not ascended the throne then, but there is nothing to show that he was a minor at the time.

refer He thus suggested that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about 250 A. C. He had no doubt that the numbers did not refer either to the era of Śālivāhana or to that of Vikramāditya But he left it an open question whether the era was that of Valabhī with some epoch other than 319 A. C., or some other era till then unknown

In 1878, Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VII, that he had found, among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces in 1873-74, two¹ which were actually dated in the *Chēdi Samvatsara*, and two others² in the *Kalachuri Samvat* He identified the two eras, as 'the princes of Chēdi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe.' He further stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in 249 A. C., the year 250 A. C. being the year 1 of the Chēdi Samvat.

In his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. IX (A tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75), pp. 111 ff., Cunningham reiterated his conclusion that 249 A. C. was the initial point of the Chēdi or Kalachuri Samvat, the year 250 being the year 1 of the era, 'the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in the same way as a person's age is reckoned.' He then gave details of the aforementioned eight dates together with the corresponding week-days obtained by calculation in the following form³ :—

Chēdi Samvat	A. C.	Month and day	Calculated Weekday
793	1042	Phālguna vadī 9, Monday	Sunday
896	1145	Māgha sudī 8, Wednesday	*Wednesday
898	1147	Āśvina sudī 7, Monday	Saturday
902	1151	Āshāḍha sudī 1, Sunday	*Sunday
907	1156	Mārgaśīras sudī 11, Sunday	*Sunday
909	1158	Śrāvaṇa sudī 5, Wednesday	Thursday
928	1177	Śrāvaṇa sudī 6, Sunday	Monday
928	1177	Māgha vadī 10, Monday	*Monday

Cunningham's calculations did not yield quite satisfactory results, as only in four out of the above eight cases⁴ the dates were found to be regular In three other cases, the dates agreed within one day—an amount of deviation which, he thought, was not uncommon in Hindu dates. Cunningham's calculations are not, however, found to be correct in all cases⁵ Even with his epoch, the first date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th January, 1042 A. C., and the sixth, for intercalary Śrāvaṇa, to Wednesday, the 2nd July, 1158 A. C.⁶ Secondly, in order to get the corresponding year of the Christian era, he added

¹ These were Nos. 98 and 100.

² See Nos. 87 and 88.

³ I give the names of months *etc.* in this table as we should spell them now

⁴ They are starred in the table given above

⁵ On p. 86 of the same Volume (IX) Cunningham, says, "By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A. D. or 793 of the Chēdi Samvat, according to this reckoning, the 9th day of *Phālgun vadī* was a Monday"

⁶ Cunningham seems to have taken the month to be *nija* Śrāvaṇa, for, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *nija* Śrāvaṇa commenced 5 h. 20 m. on Thursday.

249 to the Chēdi date in all cases, whether the latter fell in Ashādha or in Phālguna, as if the Chēdi year completely coincided with the Christian year. Thirdly, he took all dates without exception to be in expired years. As regards the general correctness of Cunningham's epoch, however, there was no doubt; for, the dates he assigned to the Kalachuri kings on its basis were generally corroborated by the synchronisms known from the inscriptions of the Kalachuri, Rāshtrakūta, Chālukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra dynasties.¹ In the Introduction (pp. vii-viii) to the same volume, Cunningham adduced further evidence to support his conclusion about the epoch of the era. He pointed out that Abū Rihān,² writing about 1030-31 A. C., referred to Gāngēya as a contemporary king of Dāhala and that from his *Vikramānka-charita* Bilhana seemed to have resided at the court of Rājā Karna of Dāhala from 1070 A. C. to 1075 A. C. These dates, he showed, agreed with the approximate periods which he had assigned to the Kalachuri kings by the genealogical reckoning of his chronology.

In the meanwhile, some inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty were discovered in Western India. The dates *Samvat* 380 and 385 of two of them, viz., the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda II,³ were at first referred to the Vikrama era; but after the discovery of a third grant, viz., the Ilao plates of Dadda-Praśāntarāga⁴, which was explicitly dated in the year 417 of the Śaka era, the dates of the aforementioned two Kairā grants and also the date 486 of the odd Kāvī plate⁵ of Jayabhata subsequently discovered, in all of which the era was unspecified, were referred to the Śaka era.

In 1884, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji published the Navsārī grant of Jayabhata (III),⁶ dated Monday or Tuesday, the full-moon day of Māgha, *Samvat* 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. This grant mentions in connection with Dadda, the great-grandfather of the donor Jayabhata, that he protected a prince of Valabhī against the Emperor (*Paramēśvara*) Śrī-Harshadēva. Dr. Bhagvanlal naturally identified the latter with Harshavardhana of Thānēśvar and Kanauj, who ruled from 606 A. C. to 648 A. C. As Dadda, the first prince mentioned in the Navsārī grant, was thus proved to have flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. C., it was clear that the date 456 of the Navsārī grant of that Dadda's great-grandson Jayabhata could not be referred to the Śaka era. Dr. Bhagvanlal had again obtained four other grants of the Chālukya dynasty discovered in Gujarat, two of which, made by Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya, were found to be dated in *Samvat* 421 and 423, the third, made by Mangalarāja, in *Śaka* 653, and the fourth, by Pulakēśivallabha Janāśraya, in *Samvat* 490. From the genealogical portions of these grants it was clear that all these princes were sons of Jayasimhavarman, who was himself a son of Pulakēśin II, the famous king of the Early Chālukya Dynasty. From these data Dr. Bhagvanlal concluded that the dates 456 and 486 of the Gurjara grants and 421, 443 and 490 of the Chālukya grants referred to an era, different from the Śaka era, which was used in Gujarat in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. He conjecturally fixed 244-45 A. C. as the initial year and 245-46 A. C. as the year 1 of that era, and identified it with

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. IX, pp. 84-87, 100-11.

² He is more widely known by his name Albērunī.

³ These were discovered about 1827 A. C. They were first published by J. Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff and subsequently by Dowson in *J. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), Vol. I, pp. 247 ff and by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

⁴ Ed. by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 19 ff and, with facsimiles, by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

‘the era of the Traikūtakas, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr Bird’s Kanhēri plate’¹

The nearness of the epoch 244-45 A C suggested by Bhagvanlal to the epoch of the Chēdi era (249 A C) led General Cunningham to suspect that the two eras might be identical. Calculating on this supposition, he found that the date of the Navsārī grant, ‘Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha of *Samvat* 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon,’ corresponded to the 2nd February 706 A C, which was a Tuesday and on which occurred an eclipse of the moon. He also found that the date of the Kāvī plate ‘Sunday, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month Ashādhā of *Samvat* 486’ regularly corresponded to Sunday, the 24th June 736 A C.² In both these cases the corresponding Christian year was obtained by adding 250 to the (Chēdi) year showing clearly that the epoch of the Chēdi era was not 249 A C, but 249-50 A C.

In 1884, in his article on the Pārdī plates of Dahrasēna, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol XVI, p 346), Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji accepted the view that the era used by the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas of Gujarat commenced in 249 A C, but he pointed out that it was distinctly called the era of the Traikūtakas in Dr Bird’s Kanhēri plate. He referred the date 207 of the Pārdī plates of the Traikūtika king Dahrasēna to the same era and observed that the grant afforded indisputable corroboration of the existence of the Traikūtika dynasty which he had deduced from Dr Bird’s plate.

In the same year, Dr R G Bhandarkar published his *Early History of the Deccan* (first ed), in which he questioned the correctness of Dr Bhagvanlal’s view that the date 421 of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya’s grant is in an era with 250 A C as its initial date, on the ground that the interval between the two brothers—Mangalarāja and Śrīyāśraya—becomes 60 years, which unquestionably is too long.³ He further suggested that the date was in the Gupta era ‘which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujarat’

In 1886, Dr Bhagvanlal contributed a paper entitled ‘Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty’ to the International Oriental Congress, Vienna, in which he pointed out that Dr Bhandarkar’s view—that the grants of the Gujarat Chālukyas are dated in the Gupta era—would lead to the conclusion that Śrīyāśraya reigned as *Yuvarāja* from 10 to 32 years later than his younger brother Mangalarāja who was a ‘king’—which was clearly impossible. He further made some ingenious conjectures about the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era. The founder of the era, according to him, was king Īśvaradatta who interrupted the rule of the Western Kshatrapas and whose coins, dated in the first and second years of his reign, show that he assumed the titles *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa*. “Other kings”, he proceeded to state, “bearing names which end in *datta*, have left their records in the caves of Nasik, and state that they are Ābhīras by caste. This circumstance permits us to infer that they belong to the Ābhīra dynasty which, probably coming by sea from Sindh, conquered the western coast and made Trikūta its capital. Īśvaradatta whom I consider to belong to it probably attacked and obtained a victory over the Kshatrapas. After he had consolidated his power, he issued his own coins, copying the Kshatrapa currency of the district. His coins particularly resemble those of the Kshatrapa Vīradāman and his brother Vijayasēna. The end of the reign of the latter falls, as the coins show, in the year 170 of the Kshatrapa era. If we take this to be the Śaka era, the time of

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 76

² See Fleet’s note on Pandit Bhagvanlal’s article on the Navsārī plates of Jayabhata III *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, pp 76-77

³ *E H D*, (first ed), p. 102

Īśvaradatta's conquest will fall just about the same time as the foundation of the Traikūtaka or Kalachuri era. This agreement induces me to consider Īśvardatta as its founder. It seems further that the reign of the Traikūtakas did not last long, as Vīradāman's son Rudrasēna appears to have regained power and to have driven his foe out of the country. The Traikūtakas then probably retired to the Central Provinces and there assumed the name Haihaya and Kalachuri. Afterwards the kings of this dynasty appear to have taken possession of their former capital Tūkūta at the time of the final destruction of the Kshatrapa power. Dahrasēna must have ascended the throne just about this time which was the year 207+170 or 377 of the Śaka era."¹

Till 1887, scholars were engaged in pointing out in a general way the epoch of the Chēdi or Traikūtaka era. A definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* of its actual commencement was first made by Prof. Kielhorn,² who, in his letters published in the *Academy* of December 10 and 24, 1887, and January 14, 1888,³ announced that his calculations of numerous week-days of later Chēdi inscriptions showed that the Chēdi era began not in 249, but in 248 A. C. Later on, in an article published in the *Nachrichten der Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, Göttingen (1888), pp. 31-41 and another in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff) of August 1888, Dr. Kielhorn showed, from an examination of twelve dates of the Kalachuris and their feudatories and two of the Gurjaras, that the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi Samvat 0=248-49 A. C. and Chēdi Samvat 1=249-50 A. C., and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process, we must take the Chēdi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, 249 A. C.=Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307 current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as one beginning with Bhādrapada, and if the dates were to be worked out by a uniform process, the former would appear to be even more suitable than the latter. He preferred, however, the *Bhādrapadādi* year because 'Albērūnī does mention a year beginning with *Bhādrapada*'⁴. As regards the arrangement of the fortnights, Kielhorn showed from three dates that it was the *purnimānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the bright half.

Kielhorn's calculations, made on the basis of the epoch of 248-49 A. C., showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year is specified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year which may be taken as current if the Chēdi year was *Āśvinādi*, and expired if it was *Bhādrapadādi*.

This proportion of the current and expired years of the Chēdi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras such as the Vikrama, Śaka and Nēwār eras. It was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar⁵ and others in connection

¹ See *P. V. O. C.* (1886), p. 221-22.

² Sh. B. Dikshit had earlier come to the conclusion that nearly all of the ten Kalachuri or Chēdi dates, given by General Cunningham, would work out correctly with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., but his results were not published for the reasons stated by Fleet in the Introduction to *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 9 (published in 1888). The dates of the grants of the Uchchakalpa kings, which Fleet referred to the Kalachuri era (*ibid.*, introduction, pp. 8 ff), are probably recorded in the Gupta era. See my article on the subject in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 ff.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 187, n. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215, n. 5.

⁵ See his article 'The Epoch of the Gupta Era' (1889), pub. in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, Part II (1887-1889), pp. 80 ff.

with the question of the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhī era that the Hindu's usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not 'in the year so and so', but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place'. The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Dr Fleet¹ in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era which are not qualified either as current or as expired should be taken as current. This controversy about the general custom of the Hindus in dating their records during the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusions about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* and in another on the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvi in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, both of which were published in 1893,² Kielhorn expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed 247-48 A. C. as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the year, he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nagpur on the 30th October, 1799— "The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is celebrated on the 10th lunar day." Kielhorn thought that the Āśvinādī year which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year, and as such a year suited all the twelve Chēdi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 248 A. C. as the first day of the first current year, and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) 249 A. C. as the first day of the first expired year of the Chēdi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable dates of the Later Kalachuris which were known till then were, without exception, in expired years.³ The two dates of the Navsārī and Kāvī plates of Jayabhata III, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in the foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, published in 1898-99 as an Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V.⁴

Three more Chēdi dates containing sufficient data for verification, which were discovered subsequently, were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, viz., (1) the Sārṇāth fragmentary Buddhist stone inscription of the time of Karna, dated 'samvatsarē 8]10 Āśvina (Āśvina) sudi 15 Ravau (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday the 4th October 1058 A. C.⁵), (2) Tahankāpār (first plate) of Pamparāja, dated *Samvata(t) 965, Bhādrapadē vadi 10 Mriga-ri(ri)kshē So[ma]-dinē* (corresponding, for the current year 965, to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C.⁶) and (3) Tahankāpār (second plate) of Pamparāja dated *Samvat 966 ... Iśva(śva)ra-samvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ri)kshē Ravi-dinē Sūry-ōpa-rāgē* (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A. C.⁷). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, viz., (4) that of the Shēorī-nārāyan image inscription, which he now read as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē 1189811 Āśvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē* from a photograph supplied by Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, and which he found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September 1145 A. C.⁸

¹ See his article 'The Gupta-Valabhī Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

² Kielhorn first expressed his view briefly in an article published in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. I (1893), p. 428. The Congress was held in London from the 5th to the 12th September 1892.

³ *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53-56.

⁴ See p. 57, nn. 6 and 7.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. I.* (1906-1907), p. 100.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 129.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 129-30.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is 247-48 A. C. was confirmed by these new dates, for, while two of them (viz., 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the other two (viz., 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.

Since 1893, scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in 248 A. C. Mr Sh B Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrnimānta* Āśvina.¹

Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory—that the Chēdi era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūtakas and was actually founded by a king named Īśvaradatta whom the Pandit considered to be an Ābhīra, and who, as shown by his coins, reigned sometime about 248-49 A. C. in Saurashtra—held the field for a long time. But in 1905, in his article 'Trikūta and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi era',² Dr. Fleet pointed out that all the early dates of the era came from Gujarat and the Thana District in Bombay and none from Saurashtra and that there was nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūtika era, for, the expression in Dr. Bird's Kanheri plate on which Pandit Bhagvanlal relied might, in accordance with the early Hindu method of expressing dates, just as well mean 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūtakas and in the year 245 of (an unspecified era)' Dr Fleet proposed to identify the founder of the era with the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna (not to be confused with, or identified with, the Īśvaradatta mentioned above) or with his father, the Ābhīra Śivadatta, if he did reign.

In 1908, in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūtika Dynasty, etc*, Prof. Rapson considered the question of the Traikūtika era in connection with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas and the Traikūtakas. He pointed out that the dates assigned by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrapī to the coins of Īśvaradatta rested on a mistaken observation, that the dates from 171 to 176 were quite continuous on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, and that the evidence of coins and coin-legends showed that the only interval to which the coins of Īśvaradatta could be assigned was that between 158, the last recorded date of *Mahākshatrapa* Dāmasēna, and 161, the year in which his son Yaśōdāman I appears as *Mahākshatrapa*, i.e., between 236 and 239 A. C.³ He further drew attention to the fact that the Ābhīra Śivadatta bears no royal title in the Nāsik inscription of his son Īśvarasēna, which seems to indicate that the latter was the founder of the dynasty and presumably preceded Īśvaradatta. He thus placed both Īśvarasēna and Īśvaradatta before 249 A. C. As regards the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era, he observed, "It is of course quite possible that the establishment of the era may mark the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during the reign of one of their successors. There can be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Andhra Empire, but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras."⁴

In 1911, a large hoard of Kshatrapa coins was discovered at Sarvānīā in the former Bānswārā State of Rajputana. In his detailed account of it published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14*, pp. 227 ff., Dr D. R. Bhandarkar examined

¹ See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896), second edition, p. 375.

² *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 566 ff.

³ *C. A. D.*, pp. cxxxv-vi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. clxi.

Prof Rapson's view that Īśvaradatta flourished in the gap between the years 158 and 161. He pointed out that the Sarvānīā hoard contained a coin of Yaśōdāman dated in the year 160. This date lessens the gap between Yaśōdāman and his predecessor by one year. "It is still not impossible", wrote Dr. Bhandarkar, "to adjust the two years of Īśvaradatta's reign even in this lessened gap, viz., between 158 and 160, but just as the gap between 171 and 176, which was imagined by Bhagvanlal, no longer exists, a day will, no doubt, come when with the further find of coins the gap between 158 and 160, now existing, will also be completely filled."¹ Dr. Bhandarkar placed the rise of Īśvaradatta in the period 110-112 (188-190 A. C.) when the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudrasīmha suffered a diminution of power and was reduced to the rank of *Kshatrapa*. He pointed out that the Ābhīras had acquired great predominance about this time, for, the Nāsik inscription of the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna can, on the evidence of palaeography, be referred to about the year 100 and the Gunda inscription² shows that in the year 103 and during the regime as *Kshatrapa* of Rudrasīmha himself the post of *Sēnāpati* or Commander-in-Chief was held by an Ābhīra called Rudrabhūti.

In 1920, in an article entitled 'the Kushāna Chronology' published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), Vol. I, pp. 65 ff, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, after detailed examination of the evidence afforded by the Chinese works *Heou Han Chou* of Fan-Ye and *Wei-luo* of Yu Houan, came to the conclusion that the dates ranging from 72 to 136, found in the inscriptions of the Northern Satraps, Gondophares, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, must be referred to the Śaka era beginning in 78 A. C. Kanishka who flourished after Wema Kadphises must, therefore, be placed after 214 A. C. Following the principle that 'we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand-new era for the existence of which there is no evidence at all', Dr. Majumdar put forward the view that Kanishka founded the so-called Kalachuri era of 248-49 A. C. He referred to Prof. Rapson's conclusion based on a critical examination of Kshatrapa coinage that from the year 167 or 168 (245-46 A. C.) the Western Kshatrapas had to face troublous times and that their dominions were probably subject to some foreign invasion. Dr. Majumdar attributed this to the establishment, by the Kushāna Emperor, of a rival dynasty in the south to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and suggested that this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushānas long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

The main objection to Dr. Majumdar's theory is that there is no evidence of the establishment, by the Kushānas, of such a rival dynasty in the south, which curtailed the power of the Western Kshatrapas. Again, Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out that the reign of Vāsudēva, the last of the Kushānas, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudēva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country, over which extended the empire of Vāsudēva, was occupied about 350 A. C. by the Yaudhēyas and the Nāgas, and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipura and Padmāvati (or Pawāyā, at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pārā)³ The finds of Nāga coins as well as scattered references in Sanskrit literature indicate that the Nāgas, not the Kushānas, were powerful in Central India before the rise of the Guptas.⁴

In 1928, in his article entitled 'The Kalachuris of Tripuri', published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff, Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal

¹ *A. R. A. S. I.* for 1913-14, p. 229.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157. See also *J. R. A. S.*, 1840, p. 650.

³ *A. H. D.*, p. 31.

⁴ For other objections, see *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 468-69.

tried to revive Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory that the era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūtakas, by identifying the Traikūtakas with the Kalachuris. He suggested that Trikūta from which the dynasty derived its name was the Vindhya mountain which was so called because of its three peaks—Āmrakūta or Amarakantak, the Sālakūta or Sālētēkrī in the Balaghat District and the Madhukūta or Mōhtur in the Chhindwara district. But the fact that all the early dates of the era are found in Western India—in Southern Gujrat and Western Maharashtra—is fatal to Dr Hiralal's theory. Besides, there is no evidence to show that the Vindhya mountain was called Trikūta in ancient times. On the other hand, Kālidāsa clearly indicates in the *Raghuvamśa* that the mountain is situated in the Aparānta or North Konkan,¹ and this is corroborated by the discovery of the Anjaneri plates of Prithivichandra Bhōgaśakti of the (Chēdi) year 461, in which a Trikūta *vishaya* is mentioned as situated in the kingdom of Purī-Konkana (*i e.*, North Konkan)²

In 1933, in his *History of India, 150 A D to 350 A D*, D. K. P. Jayaswal attempted to prove that the Chēdi era was started by the Vākātakas. "The Purānas," he observed, "after the fall of the Sātavāhanas register the rise of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Sātavāhanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power, whether at once or subsequently. . . . Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarasēna I became an Emperor and the previous Emperors, *i e.*, the Kushānas, had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position."³ Jayaswal, therefore, concluded that Pravarasēna I of the Vākātaka dynasty, who became Emperor, must have started the era, dating it from the coronation of his father. He read the dates on two coins which he ascribed to Pravarasēna I and Rudrasēna I as 76 and 100 respectively, and referred these dates together with the date 52 of the Gīṇjā inscription of *Mahārāja* Śrī-Bhīmasēna to the Chēdi era dating from the rise of the Vākātaka power. But Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on these coins are extremely doubtful.⁴ Besides, his theory that the Chēdi era was really founded by the Vākātakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākātakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years.⁵

In 1936, while editing the Kōsam stone inscription of *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman, dated in the year 130, in the *Indian Culture*, Vol III, pp 177 ff, Mr A. Ghosh drew attention to certain palæographical peculiarities noticed in the record, such as the round and narrow-headed *ś*, the unlooped *sh* and *s*, and the undeveloped curves representing medial *z*—peculiarities which are known to be characteristic of Kushāna rather than Gupta inscriptions. He, therefore, referred the date 130 of that inscription to the Chēdi era. Subsequently, some more inscriptions of Praushthaśītya, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravana and Bhīmavarman were found at Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh, and some of them were published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere.⁶ These records exhibited the same palæographic peculiarities which indicated that they belonged to the period of transition between the Kushāna and the Gupta age. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language used in them were also believed to point to the same conclusion. Their dates also were, therefore, referred by some scholars to the Chēdi era. The fact that some of these records came from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Chēdi lent colour to this view.

¹ Canto IV, vv 58-59

² No 31, l 38

³ *History of India, 150 A D to 350 A D*, p 111.

⁴ See *J N S I*, Vol V, pp 130 ff

⁵ Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, No 3, p 26

⁶ See, *e g.*, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, pp 245 ff, Vol XXIV, pp 146 ff and pp 253 ff *etc.* Also *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp 101 ff.

It was, therefore, believed that these records of the Magha kings found at Gññā, Kōsam and Bāndhōgarh supplied the early dates of the Chēdi era which had been missing till then.

This view was criticised by the present writer in an article entitled 'Dates of some Early Kings of Kauśāmbī' which, though written as early as 1941, was, on account of the Second Great War and other reasons, not published till 1952.¹ In this article it was pointed out that if the dates of the Magha records are referred to the Chēdi era, Bhādrāmagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman become contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. If these rulers were ruling at Kauśāmbī, they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. But, strange as it may seem, none of them mentions any Gupta overlord. Besides, they issued coins in their own names, indicating their independence.² They must, therefore, have flourished before the rise of the Guptas. The dates of their records have consequently to be referred to the era of Kanishka. As for the palæographic peculiarities noticed in these records, it was pointed out that all of them can be traced in several records of the Kushāna age.

Till 1937, Dr Kielhorn's view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu dī. 1 was generally accepted. In an article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era', which the present writer read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937, he examined thirteen later dates of the era discovered since Kielhorn's time and showed that, though they verified the epoch of 247-48 A.C. fixed by Kielhorn, they clearly showed that the Chēdi year could not have commenced in Āśvina. It must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu dī. 15 and Phālguna va. dī. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna, it appeared probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu dī. 1. As regards Colebrooke's statement on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu dī. 1, it was pointed out that the statement in question referred to the festival of Durgā which is, to this day, celebrated with great *éclat* not only in Madhya Pradesh but in other parts of India also. Colebrooke was clearly mistaken when he thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year. Besides, the Chēdi year could not have been current in Nagpur as that part of the country was, except in very early times, not included in the kingdom of the Kalachuris.³

In 1944, the present writer showed from an examination of the so-called Indore plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa and Bhulunda that they originally belonged to Khandesh and that their dates and also the date 117 of the Sirpur plate of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa should be referred to the era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. These princes of Khandesh explicitly mention their own feudatory status in their grants. They must, therefore, have owned the suzerainty of the contemporary Ābhīra kings ruling over Northern Maharashtra.⁴

In 1945, the present writer further showed that the date 167 of the Barwāni plate of *Mahārāja* Subandhu also must be referred to the same reckoning.⁵

In 1946, the present writer, again, showed that the date of the Kānākherā stone inscription of the Śaka Śrīdhavarman, which he read as 102, also refers to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era.⁶

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 f.

² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.

³ For a full discussion of this matter, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

⁴ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff.

In 1949, in an article entitled 'New Light on the Epoch of the Kalachuri Era' published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp 81 ff, the present writer showed that the date 322 of the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja, which had been discovered in the preceding year, probably referred to the Kalachuri era, and that the details of the date recorded in the grant indicated a new epoch of the era, viz., 250-51 A C¹

We have so far seen how our knowledge about the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era has advanced step by step since 1859 when Dr Fitz-Edward Hall first made his ingenious conjecture on the subject. We shall next examine such dates of the era as furnish details for computation in order to determine the exact epoch of the era.

Leaving aside the date of the Nagardhan plates which appears exceptional, we find that the dates of the Kalachuri era fall into two groups, viz—(1) the earlier ones down to the year 490 which come from Gujarat and Maharashtra where, as shown below, the era had its origin, and (2) the later ones from the year 722 to the year 969 which come from Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh including Chhattisgarh, where the era was introduced with the extension of the Kalachuri power. It has already been pointed out by Kielhorn² that the same epoch does not suit these two groups of dates. In regard to the first, the only equation which yields satisfactory results is Kalachuri-Samvat 0=248-49 A C, while in regard to the second, the equation is Kalachuri-Samvat 0=247-48 A. C. In both the periods the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu di. 1, but in the earlier period the months were generally *amānta*, while in the later one they were generally *pūrṇimānta*.

EARLY DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

As the epoch for these dates is 248-49 A C, the first day of the first current year of that era is the *amānta* Kārttikā śu di 1 (25th September) in 249 A. C (corresponding to the expired Saka year 171). Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 170 when the date falls in any of the months from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 171 in all other cases. Similarly to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Saka year we have to add 171 and 172 respectively in the same circumstances.

Among early dates of the era, there are only five which contain the details necessary for computation. Three of these are in expired years, and the remaining two, in current ones, as shown below :—

Dates in Expired Years

1 Navsārī plates of Jayabhata III (No 21, p 82)—Lines 30-31—*Māgha-suddha-pañchadaśyām chandr-ōparāgē*, 'on the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse' Lines 41-42 give the year 456 (expressed in both words and numerical symbols). The plates mentioned also in l 43 the *tithi* (now completely lost) and the week-day (which, judging from the traces left, was either Monday or Tuesday) on which the grant was recorded. Assuming that the grant was recorded on the same day on which it was made, i. e., Māgha śu di 15, Monday or Tuesday, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A C., the corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 456 (i. e., for the expired Saka year 456+171=627) is Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A. C. On that day, the aforementioned *tithi* ended 16 h 30 m. after mean sunrise, and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

If the year 456 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* falls on the 14th January 705 A. C., which was a Wednesday (not Monday or Tuesday as required). Besides, there was no lunar

¹ The same epoch appears to be applicable in the case of the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga, which should be read as *Sam.* 463, not as *Sam.* 663 *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. XXVI, pp 163 ff

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p 57, notes 6 and 7

eclipse on that day. In 704 A. C. also there was no lunar eclipse on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the epoch 247-48 A. C. which suits later dates of the era is wholly inapplicable in this case.¹

2. Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III (No 22, p 90)—Line 30—*Ā'vayuja-bahul-aiḥkādasyām Tulā-sankrāntē ravau*, 'on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina, on the occasion of the sun's entering into the Tulā-rāśi (the zodiacal sign of Libra)' Line 39 gives the same *tithi* together with the year 460 (expressed in numerical symbols). The occurrence of the Tulā-sankrānti in the dark fortnight of Āśvina shows that the month was *amānta*. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di 1, the date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 460 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $460 + 172 = 632$), to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A. C. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina commenced 45 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 22 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the same day. Like the *tithi* of the Kāvī plate of K. 486 (No. 23) this was, therefore, a *śeshaya-tithi*, but as the Tulā-sankrānti occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day while the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina was current, it is coupled with the latter.

If the year is applied as *current*, the Tulā-sankrānti falls on Āśvina pūrṇimā (the 23rd September 709 A. C.), not on Āśvina va. di 11 as required. In 708 A. C. also, the Tulā-sankrānti did not occur on the stated *tithi*. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case also.

3. Kāvī plate of Jayabhata IV (No 23, p 96)—Lines 15-16—*Aśhādha-suddha-daśamyām Karṣkataka-rāśau sankrāntē ravau*, 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āśhādha on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of Karṣkataka'. Lines 24 and 25 give the year 486, Āśhādha śu. di 12,² Sunday, as the date of the recording of the grant. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the Karkata-sankrānti in the *expired* year 486 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $486 + 172 = 658$) occurred about 8 h. after mean sunrise on the 22nd June 736 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśhādha commenced 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd June and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of the following day. It was, therefore, a *śeshaya-tithi*, but as the Karkata-sankrānti took place during the tenth *tithi*, it is coupled with it. Again the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the same lunar month fell on Sunday (the 24th June 736 A. C.) as required. The date is thus perfectly regular.

In the *current* year 486, on the other hand, the sankrānti occurred on Thursday, the 23rd June 735 A. C., which was the 13th of the dark fortnight of Āśhādha (not the 10th of the bright fortnight of that month as required).

In 734 A. C. also, the sankrānti did not occur on Āśhādha śu. di 10. This shows that the other epoch of 247-48 A. C. is wholly inapplicable in this case too.

Dates in Current Years

4. Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti (No 25, p 110)—Lines 31-33—*Sam 404, Āśhādha ba Ā(A)māvāsya[m*] sūrya-grah-ōparāgē*, 'in the year 404, on the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of Āśhādha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the *amāvāsya* of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśhādha in the *current* year 404 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $404 + 171 = 575$) fell on the 1st June 653 A. C., on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the plates. There was no solar eclipse on the *amānta* Āśhādha of this year.

¹ According to this epoch of 247-48 A. C., the date should fall in 704 A. C. if the year 456 was a current year, and in 705 A. C. if it was an expired one.

² As regards the reading of the number of the *tithi*, see below, p. 98.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the date would fall in 654 A. C., but there was no solar eclipse on the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Āshāḍha of that year.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the *tithi* should fall in 652 A. C. or 653 A. C., according as the year 404 was current or expired. In 652 A. C. there was no solar eclipse at all. In 653 A. C., of course, the eclipse did occur on the stated *tithi* as shown above and so the date may be said to be in an expired year according to that epoch. But if we have to explain all early dates according to a *uniform* process, this date will have to be regarded as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. rather than in an expired year according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C.

5 Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha (No. 28, p. 127)—L. 19—*Chaitra-māsa-śuddha-daśamyām Viśuvē* (*Viśuvē*), 'on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, on the occasion of the vernal equinox' Line 28 gives the date *Sam* 436 *Chai* *su* 10, *1 e*, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., the corresponding Christian date for the *current* year 436 (*1 e*, the expired Śaka year 436+171=607) is the 21st March 685 A. C. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra ended 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Viśuva or Mēsha-sankrānti had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the previous day. The sankrānti did not thus take place during the 10th *tithi*, but as the *punya-kāla* of the Mēsha-sankrānti extends to as many as 15 *ghatikās* before and after the sankrānti, the *tithi* seems to be coupled with the sankrānti.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on the 10th March 686 A. C., but the Mēsha-sankrānti took place 10 days later, on the 20th March 686 A. C.

According to the other epoch of 247-48 A. C., the date would be expected to fall in 684 A. C. if the year 436 was current, and in 685 A. C. if it was expired. But in 684 A. C. the *tithi* fell on the 3rd March, while the Mēsha-sankrānti occurred 16 days later on the 19th March. In 685 A. C. the sankrānti occurred on the same day as the mentioned *tithi*, but in view of the other early dates for which the epoch of 247-48 A. C. appears wholly inapplicable, it seems better to take this date as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C.

A careful examination of these **five early dates** of the Kalachuri era will show that—

- (1) All these dates can be shown to be regular according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., for, though the dates 4 and 5 can also be explained as dates in expired years according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., that epoch will not at all suit the first three dates.
- (2) Date 2 shows that the month of Āśvina stood at the close of the Kalachuri year, *1 e*, the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Āśvina, probably in Kārttika.
- (3) Among the five dates there are only two (2 and 4) which fell in the dark fortnight. As shown above, one of them (2) shows that the month cited in it was *amānta*, and the other date (4) indicates that it was *pūrṇimānta*. From this, one cannot, of course, draw any definite conclusion. But it is noteworthy that the months of the Śaka era, which was current in Maharashtra both before the rise and after the disappearance of the Kalachuri era, were almost invariably *amānta*¹. Besides, the date 4 comes from Khandesh and belongs to the reign of the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. Another date from Khandesh which occurs in a record of this same Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti mentions that the Mīna-sankrānti in the Śaka year 602 (680-81 A. C.)

¹ Among the 400 dates of the Śaka era which Prof. Kielhorn collected, there was only a single one which could confidently be said to be according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 272.

occurred on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.¹ This clearly shows that the month Phālguna was *amānta*. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year as current in Maharashtra and Gujarat were generally *amānta* and only exceptionally *pūrṇimānta*.

- (4) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 3 : 2. This is in keeping with that observed in the case of other eras. Most of the early dates of the Kalachuri era are not verifiable for want of the necessary details. Otherwise, the proportion of expired years would have been still higher.

According to the testimony of these five dates, therefore, the Kalachuri era commenced on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

LATER DATES OF THE KALACHURI ERA

We shall next take the later dates of the Kalachuri era. As stated before, these dates come from North India and Chhattisgarh where the era was introduced by the Kalachuris. The epoch which suits these dates is that of 247-48 A. C., the year commencing on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1. The first day of the first current year of the Kalachuri era, according to this epoch, was *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in 248 A. C. Therefore, to convert a *current* Kalachuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna and 170 in other cases. Similarly, to convert an *expired* Kalachuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

Dates in Expired Years

- 1 Banaras plates of Karṇa (No. 48, p. 236)—Lines 39-40—*Śrīmad-Gāṅgēyadēvasya samvatsarē(a)-srā(śrā)ddhē Phālguna-va(ba)hula-pakṣa-dvītyāyām Sa(śa)nauscha(ścha)ra-vāsarē*, 'On the occasion of the first annual *srāddha* of the illustrious Gāṅgēyadēva, on Saturday, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' Line 48—*Samvat 793 Phālguna va di 9 Sōmē*, 'on Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793.'

Of the two dates mentioned in this record, the second regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 793 (*i e*, Śaka 793 + 170 = 963), to Monday, the 18th January 1042 A. C., on which day the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 18 h after mean sunrise. In 1041 A. C. the *tithi* fell on a Thursday. So the year cannot be applied as *current*.

The first date is irregular, for, the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna fell on Monday (the 11th January 1042 A. C.), not on Saturday, but the apparent irregularity can be satisfactorily explained as shown elsewhere.²

- 2 Goharwa plates of Karṇa (No. 50, p. 252)—Line 41-42—*Śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśē vyavaharanē saptaṃsa-samvatsarē Kārttikē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣa-Kārttikē-paurṇamāsyām tithau Gura-dinē*, 'During the seventh year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karṇa, on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika.' As shown elsewhere, Karṇa came to the throne some time after Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792. If the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karṇa's reign would fall in the *expired* year 793. The same month in the seventh regnal year would fall in the *expired* year 799 (*i e*, in the expired Śaka year 799 + 170 = 969). The full-moon *tithi* in this year ended 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A. C. The date is thus quite regular. It shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some *tithi* before Kārttika *paurṇimā*.

¹ A. R. B. I S. M. (Śaka 1834), pp. 169 ff

² See below, pp. 239-40.

If the Kalachuri year commenced in some month later than Kārttika, the date would fall in 1046 A. C. But in that year the full-moon day of Kārttika fell on a Friday (the 17th October), not on a Thursday as required.

- 3 Rewa stone inscription of Karna (No. 51, p. 263)—Line 31—[Kba*]ra-[nāmnā(mni) mahā-mangala-samvatsarē] 1180011 'In the very auspicious year 800, named Khara.' The date does not give any details for verification except the name of the Jovian year Khara. Now, the *expired* Kalachuri year 800 corresponded to 1048-49 A. C. The corresponding Jovian year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. The date is thus regular. If the year 800 had been a *current* year, the Jovian year would have been Vikrīta.
- 4 Rewa stone inscription of Karṇa (No. 53, p. 278)—Line 20—*Samvatsata(ra) 812 śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa(śa)-vyavaharaṇayā navama-sam(m)vatsarē Māgha-sudī 10 Gurau*, 'In the year 812, the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by Karṇa, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on Thursday.' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 812 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 812+170=982) is Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A. C., when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The date is thus regular.

In the *current* year 812, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1060 A. C.

5. Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, p. 409)—Line 31—*Samvat 866 Mārgga sudī 9 Ravan*, 'In the year 866, on Sunday, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣha.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 866 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 866+170=1036), to Sunday, the 8th November 1114 A. C. On that day the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣha ended 20 h. after mean sunrise. In the *current* year 866, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 19th November 1113 A. C.
- 6 Shēorinārāyan plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 82, p. 419)—Line 26—*Samvata(t) 878, Bhādra sudī 5 Ravan*, 'In the year 878, on Sunday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 878 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 878+171=1049), to Sunday, the 14th August 1127 A. C. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 878, the *tithi* fell on Tuesday, the 24th August 1126 A. C.

- 7 Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva (No. 83, p. 423)—Lines 23-24—*Tēn=āsī(śi)ty-adbhik-āshtavatsara-śatē jā(yā)tē dinē Gihpatēh Kārttikyām=atba Rōhin-ibha-samayē rātreś=cha yāma-trayē Śrīmad-Ratna-narēśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vvidām-agratah saruvagrāsam=anushnagōh pravadatā tīrnnā pratyñā-nadī 11* 'The expired year 880, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Thursday, with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhinī.' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 880 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 880+170=1050), to Thursday, the 8th November 1128 A. C., when the moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakshatra* Rōhinī commenced 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The date is thus perfectly regular.

The explicit statement that the year 880 was *expired* is important. It shows that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C. which suits all later dates, the Kalachuri year must have commenced before Kārttika *pūrnīmā*.

8. Pāragaon plates of Ratnadēva II (No. 122, p. 622)—Lines 22-23—*Rāhu-grastē Kārttikē māsī bhānan*, 'When the sun was devoured by Rāhu in the month of Kārttika'; l. 30—*Kalachuri samvatsarē 885 Āsvi(śvi)na sudī 1 Vṛ(Bu)dhē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 885, on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, on Wednesday.' This date corres-

ponds, for the *expired* year 885 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $885 + 171 = 1056$), to Wednesday, the 19th September 1134 A C. On that day the *tithi* Āśvina śu di 1 commenced 19 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise.

This date shows that the Kalachuri year commenced on some day after Āśvina śu. di 1.

There was, however, no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika (*amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*) in K. 885 or even in K. 884. Perhaps *Kārttikē māsi* in ll. 22-23 is a mistake for *Śrāvanē māsi*, for, there was a solar eclipse in the month of *pūrṇimānta* Śiāvana in K. 885, on the 23rd July 1134 A C.

In the *current* Kalachuri year 885, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 1st September 1133 A C), not on Wednesday as required. As stated before, there was no solar eclipse in the month of Kārttika, *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* in that year.

- 9 Daikoni plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 86, p. 443)—Line 23—*Rāhu-grastē rajani-tilakē Kārttikē pamchadasyā(śya)m*, 'When the ornament of the night (*i. e.*, the moon) was devoured by Rāhu on the fifteenth *tithi* of Kārttika, ll. 26-27—*Samvat* 890, *Mārgga vadī 11 Ravan*, 'In the year 890, on Sunday, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Mārgga-sīrsha*.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 890 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $890 + 170 = 1060$), to Sunday, the 30th October 1138 A C. On that day the eleventh *tithi* in the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Mārggaśīrsha commenced 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. There was a lunar eclipse on the preceding Kārttika *pūrṇimā* (the 19th October 1138 A C).

In the *current* Kalachuri year 890, on the other hand, the *tithi* in the *pūrṇimānta* Mārggaśīrsha fell on Thursday (the 11th November 1137 A C). Besides, there was no lunar eclipse in the preceding Kārttika.

- 10 Rājūm stone inscription of Prithvidēva II (No. 88, p. 450)—Lines 18-19—*Kalachuri-samvat-sara(rē) 896 Māghē māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣhē ratb-āshtamyām Vu(Bu)dbha-dinē*, 'In the Kalachuri year 896, on Wednesday, the eighth *tithi* (called *Ratbāshtamī*) of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 896 (*i. e.*, the expired Saka year $896 + 170 = 1066$), to Wednesday, the 3rd January 1145 A C. On that day the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 896, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January 1144 A C.

11. Bilaigarh Plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 89, p. 458)—Line 27—*Sūrya-grahana-parvvanī*, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse', l. 36—*Samvat* 896 *Aminē 5 (Āśvinē 15)* 'In the year 896, on the 15th *tithi* of Āśvina'. The date does not admit of verification, but it may be noted that in the *expired* year 896 (*i. e.*, in the expired Saka year $896 + 170 = 1066$) there were two solar eclipses, one in the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha (on the 26th December 1144 A C), and the other in the *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha (on the 22nd June 1145 A C). The latter is probably intended here.

In the *current* year 896, there was no solar eclipse.

- 12 Pāragaon plates of Prithvidēva II (No. 123, p. 626)—Line 37—*Samvat* 897 *Phālguna su di 15 Vu(Bu)dbhavārē*, 'In the year 897, on the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, on Wednesday.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 897 (*i. e.*, for the expired Saka year $897 + 170 = 1067$), to Wednesday, the 27th February 1146 A C. On that day the *tithi* Phālguna śu di 15 commenced 8 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

In the *current* Kalachuri year 897, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 9th February 1145 A C), not on Wednesday as required.

- 13 Amōdā plates (first set) of Prithvidēva II (No 91, p 474)—Line 24—*Chaitrē sōmagrabhē sati*,¹ 32—*Samvat* 900, 'The year 900, with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra' The corresponding Christian date for the *expired* year 900 (i.e., the expired Śaka year 900+171=1071) is Friday, the 25th March 1149 A.C. On that day there was a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur

In the *current* year 900 (1148 A.C.), on the other hand, there was no lunar eclipse in Chaitra

- 14 Tewari stone inscription of Gayākarnadēva (No 58, p 305)—Lines 20-22—*Navasa(śa)ta-yugal-ābd-ādhikya-gē Chēdi-dushta(tē) 1 ja[na*] padam-avat=imam śrī-Gayākarnadēvē Pratipadi śuchi-māsa-svēta-pakṣhē-rakṣa-vārē* 11, 'In the year 902 of the Chēdi era, on Sunday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshādha, during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarna' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 902 (i.e., the expired Śaka year 902+171=1073), to Sunday, the 17th June 1151 A.C., on which day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshādha ended 2 h. after mean sunrise

In the *current* year 902, on the other hand, there were two Āshādhas. In the *adhika* Āshādha, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 29th May 1150 A.C., and in the *nija* Āshādha, on Tuesday, the 27th June 1150 A.C.

- 15 Amōdā plates (second set) of Prithvidēva II (No 94, p. 491)—Line 35—*Mam(Sam)-vata(t) 905 Āsvi(śvi)na su di 6 Bhaumē*, 'In the year 905, on Tuesday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 905 (i.e., Śaka year 905+171=1076), to Tuesday, the 14th September 1154 A.C. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina śu di 1 in 248 A.C., this date should fall in 1152 A.C. if the Kalachuri year 905 is taken as current, and in 1153 A.C. if it is taken as expired. But in 1152 A.C. the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September), and in 1153 A.C. it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular

- 16 Bhēiā-Ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (No 60, p 312)—Line 29—*Samvat* 907 *Mārgga sudī 11 Ravan*, '(in) the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māigaśirsha.' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 907 (i.e., the expired Śaka year 907+170=1077), to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A.C., on which day the *tithi* commenced 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. It ended 45 m. after mean sunrise on the next day. Though not current at sunrise, the *tithi* must have been joined to the week-day 'which was almost entirely filled by it'. In the *current* year 907, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 17th November 1154 A.C.

- 17 Lāl-Pahād rock inscription of Narasimha (No 61, p. 321)—Line 7—*[Sam]vat 909 Śrā(Śrā)vana su di 5 Vuddhē (Budhē)*, 'In the year 909, on Wednesday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana' In the *expired* Kalachuri year 909 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 909+171=1080) there were two Śrāvanas. The first or *adhika* Śrāvana is evidently meant here,¹ for, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the 2nd July 1158 A.C.

In the *current* year 909, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 13th July 1157 A.C.

- 18 Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha (No 63, p 324)—Lines 25-26—*Samvat* 918 *Āsvina su di paurṇamāsyām tithau sa(śa)m-dinē Sōma-grahanē*, 'In the year 918, on Saturday,

¹ For another instance of an intercalary month not so specified, see date 20, below.

the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 918 (1 e, the expired Saka year 918+171=1089), to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A. C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. If the Kalachuri era commenced on Āśvina *śu di* 1 in 248 A. C, this date should fall in 1165 A. C if the year was current, and in 1166 A. C if it was expired. But in 1165 A. C the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September), and in 1166 A. C it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again, in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

If the year 918 is applied as *current*, the *tithi* should fall in 1166 A. C, but as shown above, it would not be regular.

- 19 Rewa plate of Jayasimha (No 65, p 340)—Line 14—*Samvat* 926, *Bhādrapada-māsē śukla-pakṣhē* [*Chā*] *turthyām tithau* *Guru-dinē Rānaka-śrī-Vatsarājaśya(sya) nimittē pimd-ārchanā-sthānē*, 'In the year 926, on Thursday, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada at the place of worshipping the balls (of rice) offered in honour of the Rānaka, the illustrious Vatsarāja' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 926 (1 e, the expired Saka year 926+171=1097), to Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A. C. On that day, the *tithi* commenced 9 h 20 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, it is coupled with the week-day as it was current in the afternoon at the time of the performance of the *śrāddha*.

In the *current* year 926, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 3rd August 1174 A. C.

- 20 Tewar stone inscription of Jayasimha (No 66, p 344)—Line 7—*Samvat* 928 *Śrāvana śu di* 6 *Ravan Hastē*, 'In the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism of Hasta' There were two Śrāvanas in the *expired* Kalachuri year 928 (1 e, in the expired Saka year 928+171=1099). Of these, the first or *adhika* Śrāvana is intended here,¹ for, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 7 h 30 m after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A. C and the *nakṣatra* Hasta also ended 16 h 20 m after mean sunrise on that day. In the *nija* Śrāvana of that year, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 1st August, and the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā.

In the *current* year 928, the *tithi* fell on Wednesday, the 14th July 1176 A. C, and the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā.

- 21 Sāhaspur statue inscription of Yaśōrāja (No 115, p 595)—Line 5—*Samvat* 934, *Kārttika śu di* 15 *Vu(Bu)dhe*, 'In the year 934, on Wednesday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika' The date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 934 (1 e, the expired Saka year 934+170=1104), to Wednesday, the 13th October 1182 A. C. On that day, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 14 h after mean sunrise.

In the *current* year 934, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 24th October, 1181 A. C.

- 22 Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha (No 68, p 346)—Line 26—*Chatvāriṃśaty-adhikē=vdē(bdē) chaturbhir=nnavamē śatē* 1 *Sukrē Sāhasamall-āṅkē Nābbasye prathamē dinē* 11 *Samvat* 944 *Bhādrapada śu di* 1, *Sukrē*, 'In the year 944 called Sāhasamallāṅka, on Friday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada' This date corresponds, for the *expired* year 944 (1 e, the expired Saka year 944+171=1115), to Friday, the 30th July 1193

¹ For a similar case of an intercalary month, cited without being specified as such, see above, page xvii, date 17.

A C On that day, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h 20 m after mean sunrise

In the *current* year 944, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 10th August 1192 A C

- 23 Bēsāni stone inscription (No 71, p 368)—Line 1—*Samvata(t)* [9]58 *prathama-Āśha(shā)-dhā sudi* 3—The *expired* Kalachuri year 958 corresponds to 1206-07 A C In 1207 A C there were two Āshādhās, of which the first or intercalary Āshādhā lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June

In the *current* year 957, on the other hand, there was no intercalary Āshādhā

- 24 Dhurēti plates of Trailōkyamalla (No 72, p 369)—Line 7—*Samma(va)t* 963 *Jyēsthā su dī* 7 *Sōmē dinam(nē)*, 'In the year 963 on Monday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēsthā' The details do not work out satisfactorily, for, according to the epoch of 247-48 A C, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 20th May 1211 A C), if the year 963 was current, and on Wednesday (the 9th May 1212 A C) if it was expired In view of the slovenly manner in which the record has been written throughout, it is not unlikely that *Sōmē* (Monday) is a mistake for *Saunmyē* (Wednesday), in which case the date would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A C

- 25 Pendrābandha plates of Pratāpamalla (No 101, p 543)—Line 26—*grāmō Makara-sankērāntau dattah samkalpa-pūrvakah*, l 35—*Samvata(t)* 965 . . . *Māgha su dī* 10 *Mamgaladinē* The details of the date are 'Makara-sankērānti, the year 965, Tuesday, the 10th of the bright fortnight of Māgha' As it stands, the date is irregular, for, in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of 'Māgha connected with a Tuesday' If, however, *sudī* is taken to be a mistake for *vadī*, the date corresponds, for the *expired* year 965 (i.e., the expired Saka year $965 + 170 = 1135$), regularly to 'Tuesday, the 7th January 1214 A C On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10 h 45 m after mean sunrise The Makara-sankērānti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December 1213 A C

In the *current* year 965, the *tithi* Māgha *śu dī* 10 fell on Saturday, the 2nd February 1213 A C

- 26 Tahankāpār plate of Pamparājadēva (No 117, p 599)—Lines 7 and 8—*Īśva(śva)rasamvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(rī)kshē Ravi-dinē su(sū)ry-ōparāgē*, l 10—*Samvat* 966, 'On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month of Kārttika in the cyclic year Īśvara, in the year 966' The date corresponds, for the expired year 966 (i.e., the expired Saka year $966 + 170 = 1136$), to Sunday, the 5th October 1214 A C, when there was a solar eclipse visible at Kānkēr, the *tithi* being the new-moon day of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, and *nakshatra* Chitrā The cyclic year, however, does not agree According to the southern luni-solar system it was Bhāva, and according to the northern system it was Bahudhānya The discrepancy is evidently due to the writer's carelessness

In the current year 966, on the other hand, there was no solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Kārttika

- 27 Bilagarh plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 102, p 549)—Line 28—*Āshādhyām Sōma-parvvanī*, l 38—*Samvat* 969, 'A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Āshādhā, in the year 969' This date regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 969 (i.e., the expired Saka year $969 + 171 = 1140$), to the 9th July 1218 A.C. On that day the full-moon *tithi* of Āshādhā ended 18 h 15 m after mean sunrise and there was also a lunar eclipse as stated in the grant.

In the *current* year 969 (corresponding to 1217 A. C.), there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon *tithi* of Āshādhā

Dates in Current Years

28. Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadēva (No 47, p 234)—Line 1—*Samvat* 772, *Kārttika* *su di* 12 *Vu(Bu)ḍha-dinē*, 'on Wednesday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 772'

This date, occurring in the month of Kārttika, should fall in 1019 A. C. if the year 772 was current, and in 1020 A. C. if it was expired, but in 1019 A. C., the aforementioned *tithi* ended 11 h after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), and in 1020 A. C., 5 h after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was it connected with a Wednesday. But if the deviation of one day is overlooked, it may be taken to correspond to the 13th October 1019 A. C.

29. Sārṇāth stone inscription of Karna (No 52, p 275)—Line 6—*Samva[tsarē*][8*]10 Āsvina* (*Āsvina*) [*su di* 15 *Ravan*] 'In the year 810, on Sunday, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina.' The date corresponds, for the *current* year 810 (*i e*, the expired Saka year $810 + 170 = 980$), to Sunday, the 4th October 1058 A. C. On that day the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 15 h 50 m after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 810, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Friday, the 24th September 1059 A. C.

30. Raipur Plate of Prithvidēva I (No 75, p 398)—Line 7—*Uttarāyana-sakrau* (*sankrāntau*), 'On the Uttarāyana-sankrānti', l 17—*Samvat* 821, *Magha* *va di* 8 *Ravan*, 'In the year 821 on Sunday, the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Māgha.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 821, to Sunday, the 18th January 1069 A. C. On that day the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Māgha ended at 20 h 50 m after mean sunrise. The Uttarāyana- or Makara-sankrānti had occurred more than a fortnight before, on the 23rd December 1068 A. C.

According to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 20th December 1068 A. C., and the Uttarāyana-sankrānti occurred three days after, on the 23rd December.

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* in the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha fell on Thursday (the 7th January 1070 A. C.) and in the *amānta* Māgha on Saturday (the 6th February 1070 A. C.). In both the cases it would have to be regarded as irregular.

31. Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva I (No 76, p 401)—Lines 27-28—*Gha(Phā)lguna-kriśṇa-saptamyām Ravi-dinē*, l 41—*Chēd-īsa(śa)sya Sam* 831, 'In the year 831, on Sunday, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.' This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 831 (*i e*, the expired Saka year $831 + 169 = 1000$), to Sunday, the 27th January 1079 A. C. On that day, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 7 h 30 m after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 831, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Thursday, the 16th January 1080 A. C.

32. Shēorinārāyan statue inscription (No 110, p 582)—Line 5—*Kalachuri-samvatsarē* 898 11 *Āsvini* (*Āśvina*) *su di* 2 *Sōma-dinē*. This date regularly corresponds, for the *current* year 898 (*i e*, the expired Saka year $898 + 170 = 1068$), to Monday, the 9th September 1146 A. C. On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h 50 m after mean sunrise.

In the *expired* year 898, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Sunday, the 28th September 1147 A. C.

- 33 Kōni stone inscription of Prithvīdēva II (No 90, p 463)—Line 25—*Rāhu-mukha-sthē bhānan*, 'When the sun was in the mouth of Rāhu', l 28—*Sam(m)vat* 900, 'In the year 900' In the *current* year 900, there was a solar eclipse in the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha (on the 20th April 1148 A. C), but none at all in the expired year
- 34 Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (No 116, p 596)—Line 9—*Samvata(t)* 965 *Bhādrapadē va di* 10, *Mriga-ri(ri)kshē Sōdma(ma)-dinē*, 'In the year 965, on Monday, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, the *nakshatra* being Mriga' This date corresponds, for the *current* year 965 (or the expired Śaka year $965 + 170 = 1135$), to Monday, the 12th August 1213 A. C On that day, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada commenced 6 h 45 m after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Mriga ended 14 h 30 m after mean sunrise Though the *tithi* was not current at sunrise on Monday, it is coupled with that week-day probably because it was current at the time when the transaction recorded in the plate was made

If the year is applied as *expired*, the *tithi* would fall on Saturday (the 2nd August 1214 A. C)

A careful examination of these 34 later dates¹ of the Kalachuri era will show that—

- (1) All of them can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of 247-48 A. C, for, though the first twenty-seven dates can also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of 248-49 A. C, that epoch will not at all do for the remaining seven dates 28-34
- (2) The dates 6, 19 and 22 clearly show that, with the epoch of 247-48 A. C, the Kalachuri year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada Kielhorn's earlier view that the Kalachuri year was *Bhādrapadādī* is, therefore, wholly untenable
- (3) The dates 8, 15 and 18 indicate that the month Āśvina stood at the close, and not in the beginning, of the Kalachuri year Kielhorn's final view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādī* is clearly disproved by these three dates
- (4) From the date 18 it appears that the Kalachuri year commenced some time after Āśvina śu di 15, while the dates 2 and 7 plainly indicate that the year began before Kārttika śu di 15 Between these two limits the only *tithi* which suggests itself for the commencement of the Kalachuri year is Kārttika śu di 1 This conjecture may be said to be corroborated by the date 28, though its testimony is somewhat weakened by a slight error in the specification of the week-day
- (5) Among the later dates examined above, there are only seven, viz, 1, 9, 25, 26, 30, 31 and 34, which fell in the dark fortnight Six of these, viz, 1, 9, 25, 26, 31 and 34 work out satisfactorily only with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months and only one, viz 30, with the *amānta* scheme We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalachuri year generally ended on the full-moon day

¹ Among these 34 dates there are only three, viz, Nos 24, 25 and 28, which are slightly irregular The others work out quite satisfactorily with the epoch of 247-48 A. C The following dates have been omitted for the reason stated in each case —(1) The Khairhā plates of Yaśahkarna (No 56), because the year of the date is manifestly wrong See below, pp 301-02 (2) The Ghotiā plates of Prithvīdēva II (No 92), because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect See below, p 479 (3) The Amōdā plates of Jāḷadēva II (No 99), because the last figure of the date is uncertain See below, p 529 (4) The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha (No 64), because its evidence is not conclusive, the date can be taken as recorded either in a current or in an expired year See below, p 332, n 2 All these dates have, however, been fully discussed in the introductory articles of these inscriptions I have omitted one more date, viz, K 928, Māgha-vadi 10, Monday, though it regularly corresponds, for the *expired* year 928, to Monday, the 27th December 1176 A. C, for, it is known only from a statement of Cunningham See his *A S I R*, Vol IX, p 111 and *Indian Eras*, p. 61

(6) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 27/7, which is in accordance with the general usage of quoting expired years, noticed in the case of the other Indian eras.

The uniform agreement of these 34 later dates of the Kalachuri era clearly establishes that the era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta Kārttika śu di. 1* (the 6th October) in 248 A. C.

Now, this conclusion conflicts with the result already obtained from an examination of the available five early dates of the era which contained the necessary details for computation, viz., that the era commenced on the *amānta Kārttika śu di. 1* (the 25th September) in 249 A. C. It may be noted in this connection that the two types of dates do not come from the same part of the country. The earlier dates come from Gujarat and Maharashtra, while the later ones are obtained from North India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. It seems to me that the only way in which we can reconcile these two epochs of the era is to suppose that when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India, its current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones. The commencement of the era came consequently to be antedated by one year.¹ Again, though the year continued to be *Kārttikādi*, its months became *pūrṇimānta* in accordance with the general usage prevailing in North India.

The Kalachuri-Chēdi era, therefore, originally commenced on *Kārttika śu di. 1* (the 25th September) in 249 A. C.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ERA

We shall next turn to the question, 'What historical event does this era commemorate?' For a correct answer to this question we must take the following points into consideration.

(1) Though in some later records, the years of the era are specified as *Chēdi-samvat* or *Chēd-īśasya samvat* and *Kalachuri-samvat*, it by no means follows that the era was known by either of these names from early times, for, in the early records of the Māhārājās of Khandesh, the Traikūtakas, the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas, the years of the era are introduced simply by the word *samvat*. The name *Chēdi-samvat*, *Chēdi-dīshṭa* (or *Chēd-īśasya samvat*) and *Kalachuri-samvat* occur in only nine records,² eight of which come from Chhattisgarh. The earliest of them belongs to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. C. The reason why this era came to be known by these names in Chhattisgarh is not far to seek. Before the advent of the Kalachuris, the general custom prevailing in Chhattisgarh, as in several other parts of India, was to date events in the regnal years of the ruling king.³ When the Kalachuris established themselves in Chhattisgarh, they introduced there the era which they had been using in their home province of Dāhala for several centuries. It, therefore, came to be designated as *Kalachuri-samvat*. The other name *Chēdi-samvat* or *Chēd-īśasya samvat* was also appropriate, for, the Imperial family to which the Tummāna branch owed allegiance was then ruling over the Chēdi country.

¹ A mistake of the opposite type seems to have occurred in recording the date Śaka 1322 of No. 107. The correct date was *expired* Śaka 1323, but the writer seems to have taken it as *current* and so put down Śaka 1322, evidently as an expired year. Three other instances of the same type (viz., expired Śaka years erroneously regarded as current ones) were noticed by Kielhorn during his examination of the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 268.

² The phrase *Chēd-īśasya samvat* occurs in the date 831 of No. 76, *Chēdi-samvat* in the dates 919 and 933 of Nos. 98 and 100, and *Chēdi-dīshṭa* in the date 902 of No. 58 (which is in verse). The expression *Kalachuri-samvatsara* is noticed in the dates 885, 893, 896, 898 and 910 of Nos. 122, 87, 88, 110 and 95 respectively. Of these, only the date 902 comes from the country north of the Narmada.

³ See, for instances, the dates of the records of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of the Sōmayamsī dynasty. The only early record from Chhattisgarh which is dated in any era is the Ārang plate of Bhīmasēna. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. It contains the date 182 of the Gupta era. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the contemporary ruler of Tripurī is invariably referred to as *Chēd-īśa*, *Chedi-narēndra* or *Chaidya* (the lord of Chēdi) in the records from Chhattisgarh.¹ These names of the era do not, therefore, indicate that the era was started by the Kalachuris or that it originated in the Chēdi country.

The other name *Trakūtaka*, which is sometimes used to designate the era, is due to a wrong interpretation of an expression occurring in the Kanhēi plate, dated K. 245, as already pointed out by Dr. Fleet.²

Like several other eras, the era of 249-50 A. C. also had no special name in the beginning. Its years were introduced by the simple word *sam* or *samvat*.

(2) The earliest records dated in this era come from Central India, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nagpur, Nasik and Khandesh. No certain dates of this era come from North India until the middle of the ninth century A. C., i. e., until after its introduction in the Chēdi country by the Kalachuris. We have already seen that the theories that the records of Kanishka and his successors, the so-called Kushānaputras, the Maghas of Kauśāmbī and the Uchchakalpas of Central India are dated in the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era are untenable.³ The era must, therefore, have originated south of the Narmadā.

These considerations point to Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra as the original home of the era. Let us next consider the political condition in circa 250 A. C. in this part of the country which led to its foundation.

The Purāṇas say that when the kingdom of the Andhras will come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants.⁴ Among these latter are mentioned ten Ābhīra kings who are said to have ruled for 67 years. Scholars are not unanimous as to when the kingdom of the Andhras came to an end. The duration of the Andhra or Sātavāhana rule is variously given by the Purāṇas, viz., as 460 years by the *Matsya*, 411 by the *Vāyu* and 456 by the *Brahmānda*, the *Vishnu* and the *Bhāgavata*.⁵ The date of the commencement of their rule is also uncertain. Inscriptions afford, however, some basis for calculation. It is well known that there was an interruption in the Sātavāhana rule over Gujarat and Maharashtra. The Śaka Satrap Bhūmaka established himself in Gujarat and Nahapāna in Maharashtra. The Sātavāhanas, who were ousted from this part of the country, seem to have retired to Vidarbha.⁶ They attempted to reconquer their lost territory during the reign of Gautamīputra Satakarni. This Sātavāhana king is said to have exterminated the Kshaharāta family to which Nahapāna belonged.⁷ The decisive battle seems to have been fought in the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra's reign, for, soon after

¹ See line 19 of No. 77, l. 5 of No. 93 and l. 18 of No. 98. Cunningham's view that Chhattisgarh was Eastern Chēdi is erroneous.

² *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 567.

³ See above, pp. viii ff., also *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 171 ff. As for the theory that the era was started by Vamataksha of the Kushānaputra dynasty (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 191 ff.), it is in the first place not clear that there was such a dynasty, for, the expression *Kushānaputra* occurs only in one record, viz., that of Vamataksha himself and may simply mean 'a scion of the Kushāna family'.

⁴ Cf. *Andhrānām samsthītē rājyē teshām bhṛity-ānvayā nṛpāḥ | sapt-arv-Āndhrā bhaviṣhyanti daś-Ābhīrās-tathā nṛpāḥ || D. K. A.*, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43 and n. 33.

⁶ Gautamīputra calls himself *Bēnākataka-svāmī* in his Nāsik cave inscription (Luders' List, No. 1125). That Bēnākata was a district of ancient Vidarbha is shown by the Tīrōdi plates of the Vākātaka Pravara-sēna II. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff. See also *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

⁷ See the expression *Khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-karasa* describing Gautamīputra in l. 6 of the Nāsik cave inscription. Luders' List, No. 1123, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

the victory he donated a field to the Buddhist monks living in the caves near Nasik¹ The Kshaharāta Satrap defeated by Gautamīputra is not named, but he was probably Nahapāna himself, for we know of no successor of the latter Besides, Gautamīputra is known to have called back and restructed Kshatrapa coins in order to proclaim the establishment of his rule The Jogaltembhi hoard, discovered in 1906, contained hundreds of coins of this type But among them there was not a single coin of any successor of Nahapāna, which shows that Gautamīputra came immediately after Nahapāna²

Now, the last known date of Nahapāna is 46, which it seems best to refer to the Śaka era It is thus equivalent to *circa* 124 A C. Supposing that Nahapāna suffered a defeat in this very year, 124 A C becomes the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign Gautamīputra may, therefore, have come to the throne in *circa* 107 A C. The Purānas name the successors of Gautamīputra and give their reign-periods as follows —

Gautamīputra	21 years,	<i>circa</i>	107—127 A C.
Pulumāvi II	28 „	„	128—155 „
Sātakarni	29 „	„	156—184 „
Śivaśrī Pulumāvi III	7 „	„	185—191 „
Śivaskanda	3 „	„	192—194 „
Yajñaśrī	29 „	„	195—223 „
Vijaya	6 „	„	224—229 „
Chandaśrī Śāntikarna	10 „	„	230—239 „
Pulumāvi IV	7 „	„	240—246 „

The find of potin coins at Tarhālā in the Akola District of Berar plainly indicates that all these kings³ continued to hold Maharashtra to the end of the Sātavāhana age The reign-periods mentioned in the Purānas are not, however, absolutely trustworthy In the first place, there are many variants, and even if we take the readings supported by the best MSS, their statements are in some cases contradicted by contemporary inscriptions The Purānas, for instance, assign a reign-period of only 21 years to Gautamīputra, but from a Nasik cave inscription⁴ he is known to have reigned for at least 24 years There may, therefore, be similar discrepancies in other reign-periods also Besides, it is not certain that the battle between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna was fought in the Śaka year 46 and not later Notwithstanding these circumstances which render the accuracy of the dates doubtful, we may say that the Sātavāhanas continued to rule in Maharashtra till the middle of the 3rd century A C The Purānas say that the successors of the Andhras (i e, the Sātavāhanas) were the Ābhīras And it is worthy of note that we do find an inscription of the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, the son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta, at Nasik⁵ Its characters and the predominance of Sanskrit in its language suggest that Īśvarasēna flourished later than the Sātavāhanas, all of whose records are in Prakrit Īśvarasēna's father Śivadatta bears no princely title This indicates that Īśvarasēna was the

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, pp 71 ff

² See *P H A I* (fourth ed), p 490

³ *J N S I*, Vol II, pp 83 ff. The hoard contained coins of Sātakarni (probably identical with Gautamīputra), Pulumāvi, Śivaśrī-Pulumāvi, Skanda (probably identical with Śivaskanda), Yajñaśrī, Vijaya, Karna, probably the same as Chandaśrī-Śāntikarna, and Pulumāvi (probably identical with Pulumāvi IV) Some of the coins with legend *Sātakarnisa* can, on palæographic grounds, be referred to a Sātakarni later than Gautamīputra They were probably issued by the (Vāsishthīputra) Sātakarni who according to a MS of the *Vāyupurāna* succeeded Pulumāvi and ruled for 29 years *D K A*, p 42

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol. VIII, p 73

⁵ No. 1.

founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. Perhaps, he was previously a military officer of the Sātavāhanas.¹ From the Gunda inscription² we know of another Ābhīra *Sēnāpati* named Rudrabhūti, the son of the commander Bāhaka, who was in the service of the Western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha I in 181 A. C. Īśvarasēna may have held a similar office under the last Sātavāhana king Pulumāvi IV. In that case his military power and the influence he commanded may have helped him in usurping the throne after Pulumāvi IV.

Several scholars identify this Īśvarasēna with Īśvaradatta whose silver coins dated in the first and second regnal years have been discovered at several places in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana. About the exact period in which he flourished, there has, however, been a great divergence of opinion.³ Pandit Bhagvanlal placed him in the gap of the years 171-176, for which no coins of the Western Kshatrapas were available in his time. Later on, Prof. Rapson showed that the gap did not exist, as he discovered coins of the dates from 171 to 176. Rapson himself assigned him to the gap between the years 158 and 161, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that that gap too was virtually non-existent, as he found a coin dated 160 in the Sarvānīā hoard. Īśvaradatta may, of course, have been an Ābhīra, though his coins do not say so explicitly, for, the Nasik inscription shows that the Ābhīras bore names ending in *datta* as well as in *sēna*. But it is doubtful if he was identical with Īśvarasēna, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty, for, his coins are dated only in the first and second years of his reign⁴ and are found only in Saurashtra and Southern Rajputana.⁵ This plainly indicates that he had a meteoric rise in that part of the country, but was promptly subdued by the Western Kshatrapas. If he later on retired to Maharashtra and established himself there, his coins dated in subsequent years should have been found there, for, the Nāsik inscription shows that Īśvarasēna continued to hold Maharashtra at least till the ninth regnal year.

Prof. Rapson, who placed Īśvaradatta in the gap of Śaka 159-160, suggested that the era of 249-50 A. C. might have marked the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during one of the successors of Īśvardatta rather than its first beginnings.⁶ But the history of other Indian eras shows that they generally originated in an extension of regnal dates. The Kushāna era, for instance, owed its use to the continuation of Kanishka's regnal dates by his successors Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudēva. The same may have happened in the case of the era of 249-50 A. C. It seems to have commenced with the reign of the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, and was apparently continued by his successors, of whom as many as nine reigned according to the Purānas. The Purānas unfortunately do not name these Ābhīra kings, but they state that their rule lasted for 67 years. Judging by the extent of the use of their era, their kingdom seems to have comprised parts of Central India as well as Gujārat, Konkan and Maharashtra including the districts of Nasik and Khandesh.

It has been suggested that the Ābhīras and the Traikūtakas were identical, Ābhīra being a racial name, and Traikūtaka, a regional one. The names of the princes belonging to these two dynasties end in either *datta* or *sēna*, which lends colour to this identification.

¹ It may be noted that the Purānas call the Ābhīras *Andhrabhrityas* or servants of the Andhras (i.e., of the Sātavāhanas).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157, *J. R. A. S.* for 1890, p. 650.

³ See above, pp. vii ff.

⁴ The legend on his coins is *Rājñō Mahākshatrapasa Īśvaradattasa varshē prathamē* (or *dvitīyē*).

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 624. Sarvānīā, where also the coins of Īśvaradatta were found, is in the former Bānswārā State in Rajputana. The Sonpur (Chhindwara District, Madhya Pradesh) hoard apparently did not contain any coins of Īśvaradatta. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, Num. Suppl., pp. 95 ff.

⁶ *C. A. D.*, p. clxi.

But the Chandiavallī inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman,¹ which may be referred to the fourth century A C, mentions the Ābhīras separately from the Traikūtakas. This suggests that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were not identical. The Ābhīras, who probably had their stronghold in Khandesh,² held imperial sway, while the Traikūtakas, who rose to power in the Nasik District, may have been a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Ābhīras. As stated before, the Purāṇas assign a period of only 67 years to the reign of ten Ābhīra kings. This is abnormally low. Perhaps the expression *sapta-shashti satān=īha*,³ stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, is a mistake for *sapta-shashtim satān=ch=ēha*.⁴ In that case the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years or till 415 A C. After the fall of the Ābhīra dynasty the Traikūtakas attained imperial position. As shown elsewhere, *Mahārāja* Indradatta, the first known Traikūtika king, seems to have flourished in the period *circa* 415—440 A C.⁵ He and his successors continued the era started by the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, as it had by that time become 'the habitual and well-established reckoning of the country'. The history of other Indian eras shows that once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harsha, for instance, continued to be used long after him though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. It is, therefore, not surprising that the era of the Ābhīras also remained current in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra long after the downfall of the Ābhīra dynasty.

LOCALITY OF THE ERA

The earliest date of the era is K 9, which belongs to the reign of the founder, the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. The next three dates, viz., K 67, 107 and 117 come from Khandesh and are furnished by the grants of a feudatory family which plainly owed allegiance to the contemporary Ābhīra Emperors. We have then the dates K. 102 and 167, the first from Kānākhērā near Sāñchī and the second from the former Barwāni State, which belong to the reigns of the Śaka king Śrīdhavarman and Subandhu of Māhishmatī respectively and clearly show that the era had spread beyond the Narmadā in the North. The three following dates K 207, 241 and 245 belong to the Traikūtakas who succeeded the Ābhīras in Gujarat, Konkan and the Nasik District. Following upon these is the date K 292 of No. 11. It belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja* Sangamasimha, who seems to have occupied Central Gujarat after the fall of the Traikūtakas. The next date K 322 of No. 120 comes from the Nagpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and belongs to the reign of Svāmīrāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Krishnarāja.

Of the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī who succeeded the Traikūtakas in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, we have the next three dates, viz., K 347, 360 and 361 of Nos. 12, 14 and 15, one of which belong to Gujarat and the other two to the Nāsik District of Maharashtra. The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings who held Gujarat north of the Kīm after the fall of the Kalachuris furnish the next eight dates, viz., K 380, 385, 391, 392 (in two grants) 427, 456, 460 and 486 (in two grants) of Nos. 16-20, 121 and 21-24. Contemporaneously with these, we have two dates, viz., K 404 and 406 of Nos. 25 and 26, belonging to the

¹ *A R A S M* (1929), p. 50

² Ābhīra kings were ruling at Bhambhāgiri (Bhāmēr in the Pimpalner *tāluka* of West Khandesh) till the time of the Late Yādava king Simhana. *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV, p. 203

³ *D K A*, p. 46, n. 37

⁴ For a similar expression, see *pañcha varsha-satān=īha* (*ibid*, p. 47), which Pargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'. *Ibid*, p. 72, n. 15

⁵ See below, p. xlii

Sēndiakas, who held Southern Gujarat and Khandesh as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas, and four more, viz., K 421, 436, 443 and 490 of Nos 27-30, furnished by the records of a feudatory Chālukya family which was at first ruling over the Nasik District, but later on supplanted the Sēndrakas in Southern Gujarat. Finally, the Hariśchandriyas, whom the Western Chālukyas placed in charge of Konkan and the Nasik District, furnish only one date, viz., K 461 of No 31.

After K 461 (709-10 A C) we have no dates of this era from Konkan or Maharashtra. Even before this date we find that the era was yielding ground to its rival, the Śaka era. The Western Chālukyas and their feudatories, the Sēndrakas, who came from the Kanarese country, were using the Śaka era in their home province. When they conquered and established themselves in Gujarat and Maharashtra, they continued to use the Kalachuri era evidently because it had become the habitual reckoning of that part of the country, but they gradually introduced there the Śaka era which was current in their home province. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti, for instance, issued two charters in 656 A C. Both of them were granted in Gujarat, but while one of them (No 26) which records the gift of a village in Gujarāt is dated in the year 406 of the Kalachuri era, the other which registers the donation of another village situated in Khandesh bears the date 577 of the Śaka era.¹ Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also, who was ruling over Khandesh, dates his Mundkhēdē plates in the Śaka era.² The Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas generally used the Kalachuri era in dating their land-grants in Gujarat. But Mangalārāja, who succeeded Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, is known to have issued a charter, dated in the year 653 of the Śaka era.³ The charter is not forthcoming now, but in view of another record of the same prince from the Thana District⁴ it may be conjectured that it registered a grant of land in North Konkan.

In the Nasik District and Gujarat the Kalachuri era lingered a little longer. The latest date of that era from the Nasik District is K 461 (710-11 A C).⁵ The Śaka era, which had already penetrated into Southern Maharashtra before 687 A C, the date of the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya,⁶ soon ousted the Kalachuri era from Northern Maharashtra also. In Gujarat the era was current for at least 30 years more till 740 A C, for, the Navsari plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin are dated K 490 (740 A C). After Pulakēśin's death, the country to the north of the Kīn was occupied by the Chāhamānas, who, coming as they did from the north, had a predilection for the Vikrama era. Their Hansot grant found in Gujarat is dated V 814 (756 A C).⁷ Southern Gujarat was held by a feudatory Rāshtrakūta family which for the first time introduced the Śaka era in that part of the country. Their earliest grant from Gujarat is dated Śaka 679 (757 A C).⁸ After the middle of the 8th century A C we have no date of the Kalachuri era from Konkan, Gujarat and Maharashtra, the provinces where it had originated five centuries before.

When the Kalachuris migrated to Central India and shifted their capitals to Kālāñjara and Tripurī, they took with them the era which they had habitually used in their earlier

¹ See the Nāgad plates, dated Śaka 577, edited by G. H. Khare in the *Samsūdāka* (Dhulia), Vol. VIII.

² They are dated in Śaka 602. See *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Ś 1834), pp. 169-171.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁴ This charter is dated Ś 613 and records the grant of some villages in the Thana District of the Bombay State. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

⁵ If my reading and interpretation of the date of the Ellora plates are correct, that record would furnish a later date, viz., K 463 from the Aurangabad District of the Hyderabad State.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 63 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁸ See the Antroli-Chharoli plates of Karka II, Ś 679. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

kingdom and made it current throughout their dominions¹ Unfortunately, the earliest records of this era found at Saugor and Chhoti-Deori are undated The first date of the Kalachuri era obtained from North India is K 593 (841-42 A. C) of No 37, furnished by a record from Kārītalāi in the Jabalpur District. It is followed by twenty dates ranging from K 724 to K 963 Most of them are from the inscriptions of the Imperial Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī Among these, seven dates, *viṣ*, K 724, 772, 789, 800, 812, 823 (?) and 961 (or 962) of Nos 44, 47, 1 (App), 51, 53, 56 and 70 respectively, come from the former Rewa State in Vindhya Pradesh, two dates, *viṣ*, K 909 of No 61 and K 958 of No. 71, are furnished by the former States of Nāgōd and Pannā, two more dates, *viṣ*, K 793 of No 48 and K 810 of No 52, are obtained from Uttar Pradesh and the remaining six, *viṣ*, 529 (?), 902, 907, 918, 926 and 928 of Nos 2 (App), 58, 60, 63, 64 and 66 respectively, are supplied by the Jabalpur, Damoh and Saugor Districts of Madhya Pradesh Two dates, *viṣ*, K 926 of No. 65 and K. 944 of No. 67, belong to the feudatories of the Kalachuris, *viṣ*, Kīrtivarman and Malayasimha, who were holding parts of the former Rewa State. The territory round Rewa passed into the possession of the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla (or Trailōkyavarman) in *circa* K 962 The Chandēllas were using the Vikrama era in their own records, but in the Dhureti plates which record a transaction made in the beginning of Trailōkyamalla's rule in the Chēdi country the Kalachuri era, not the Vikrama samvat, is used for the purpose of dating

K 963 (1212 A. C) is the last date of the Kalachuri era which comes from North India With the contraction of Kalachuri power during the reigns of the weak successors of Yaśahkarna, the era gradually lost ground to its rival, *viṣ*, the Vikrama samvat which was current in the adjoining provinces ruled by the Paramāras, the Chandēllas and the Gāhadavālas The gradual encroachment made by the Vikrama era is illustrated by two dates, V 1216 (1159 A. C) of No 62 and V 1253 (1195 A. C) of No 68. Both of them come from the northern parts of the Rewa State, and mention the contemporary Kalachuri Suzerains Narasimha and Vijayasimha. But instead of being dated in the era of the Imperial family, they refer themselves to the Vikrama samvat With the downfall of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the era vanished from North India

As stated above, the earlier North-Indian dates of the era are not forthcoming, but speaking generally, in the period 750 to 1215 A. C the era was current some time or other in that portion of India which would be bounded by straight lines drawn from Saugor to Allahabad, then to Banaras, from there through Bandhogarh to the Narmadā and then along the bank of the river to the western boundary of the Jabalpur District.

When a branch of the Kalachuri family established itself at Tummāṇa towards the close of the ninth century A. C, it introduced the era in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala But here too, as in the other parts of India, the earlier dates of the era are not available The first date which comes from Chhattisgarh is K 821 (1069 A. C) of No 75 This is followed by 24 other dates ranging from K. 831 to K 969 They are furnished by the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and their feudatories, ruling in Chhattisgarh including the former States of Kawardhā and Kānkēr Down to 1220 A. C the era was current in that portion of South India which stretched from the eastern boundary of the Balaghat, Bhandara and Chanda districts in the west to that of the Raigarh District in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the northern part of the Bastar District in the south² After 1220

¹ The branch of the Kalachuris which established itself in the country of Sarayūpāra does not, however, appear to have used the Kalachuri era

² Two copper-plate inscriptions, dated in the years 260 and 283 of an unspecified era, have been found at Soro in the Balasore District and Patiākellā in the Cuttack District of Orissa respectively (*Ep Ind*, Vol.

A C the era began to lose ground in this part of the country also. The later records of the Kalachuris themselves came to be dated in the Vikrama samvat. The earliest of such dates is V 1458 (1402 A C) of No 107, which belongs to the reign of the later Kalachuri king Brahmadēva, who ruled at Raipur and Khalvātikā (modern Khalārī) in the Raipur District. As the memory of the Kalachuri era soon faded from the public mind, it was found necessary to change the Kalachuri date 900 of No 93 to 1207 of the Vikrama samvat.

SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE CALCULATED DATES

Jovian years—Only three Kalachuri dates, viz, K 322 of No 120, K 800 of No 51, and K 966 of No 117 cite Jupiter's years. The first of these is of the twelve-year cycle, and the other two, of the sixty-year cycle. The first date is regular, but suggests a new epoch of the era, viz, 250-51 A C. The second date works out regularly according to the northern luni-solar system, for, the cyclic year Khara was current during the Kalachuri year 800. The third date has quoted the cyclic year Īsvara incorrectly, for, according to the northern mean-sign system, the Jovian year had ended more than a year before the commencement of the cited Kalachuri year.¹

Intercalary months—Only one date, K. 958 of No 71 cites an intercalary month, viz, Āshādha which is specified as *prathama* Āshādha. It works out quite regularly. In two other cases also, viz, K 909 of No 61 and K 928 of No 66, the month Śrāvana was intercalary, though it is not so specified. Prof Kielhorn has noticed several similar cases of the Vikrama and Saka dates in which the months were intercalary, though they were not so indicated by the wording of the dates.²

Irregular *tithis*—The only cases of irregular *tithis* noticed among the dates of the Kalachuri era which contain the necessary details for verification are five, viz, K 772 of No 47, K 823 of No 56, K 885 of No 122, K. 963 of No 72 and K 965 of No. 101. The first of these shows deviation of only one day in the specification of the week-day, which is not rare in inscriptional dates. In the second case the numerals of the date have been wrongly written as appears plain from other evidence. The irregularities in the remaining three cases can be clearly attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. Besides these, there is one more date, viz, K 1000 of No 92, in which the mistake is of the copyist who transcribed the record on the present plates from others which had probably suffered damage by corrosion.

Current *tithis*—In ten dates (viz, K 460 of No. 22, K 436 of No. 28, K 486 of No 23, K 885 of No 122, K 890 of No 86, K. 897 of No 123, K. 905 of No 94, K. 907 of No 60, K 926 of No 65 and K 965 of No 116) the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced, and not, as is usual, with the week-day on which it ended. In the first and third of these cases the reason is obvious; for, they are cases of sankrāntis which occurred during the particular *tithis*, though the latter were not current at sunrise. The second case is similar to that of Saka 996 (in the Bijāpur stone inscription of the Western

(Continued from the last page)

XXIII, pp 197 ff, and Vol IX, pp 287 ff) They refer themselves to the reign of *Mabāñāja* Śambhuyaśas, the ruler of Tōsali. These dates have been referred to the Kalachuri era on the evidence of palaeography. Apart from these doubtful cases, no records of this era have been found in Orissa. On the other hand, the Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna, dated in the year 182, and the Ganjām plates of Śaśānka, dated in the year 300, expressly refer themselves to the Gupta era, which clearly shows that the Gupta era was current in Chhattisgarh and Ganjām in the sixth and seventh centuries A C. As for the early forms of the test letters noticed in the aforementioned records, they can be satisfactorily accounted for, as these records fall in the period 580-603 A C if their dates are referred to the Gupta era.

¹ In two other records edited here (viz, Nos 107 and 108) the cyclic years are correctly cited according to the northern luni-solar system, but these records are dated not in the Kalachuri, but in the Vikrama and Śaka eras.

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 411, Vol XXV, p 271.

Chālukya Sōmēśvara II) which Prof Kielhorn has taken to be regular.¹ In the seventh and eighth cases the *tithis* which commenced within about two hours after mean sunrise have been cited probably because they were current almost throughout the day. The sixth and ninth are *śrāddha-tithis*, and it is well-known that for the performance of a *śrāddha* the particular *tithi* is required to be current in the afternoon. In the remaining cases the *tithi* may have been cited, because it was current at the time of the transaction.

Special names of *tithis*—The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha is called *akshaya-tritīyā* in the date K 905 of No 94. Several grants dated in this era were made on the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, but only in two records (*viz*, Nos 11 and 30) the *tithi* is called *Mahā-Kārttikī*. The eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha is called *Rath-āshtamī* in No 88. This *tithi* goes now by the name of *Bhishm-āshtamī*, the preceding *tithi* being called *Ratha-saptamī*. The latter is correctly named in No. 121. Appendix, No 4 mentions a *yugādī* as a holy *tithi* on which Gōsaladēvī, the mother of the king Vijaya-simha, bathed in the Narmadā, but it is not further specified.

Nakshatras—No early record of the era mentions any *nakshatra*. The first inscription in which a *nakshatra* is referred to is No 83. It states that the moon was in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Rōhinī at the time of her eclipse on the Kārttika *purnimā* in K 880. *Nakshatras* are correctly quoted in three other records, *viz*, Hasta in K. 928 of No 66, Mṛiga in the date K 965 of No 116 and Chitrā in K 966 of No 117. There is no mention of *karanas*, *yōgas* or *lagnas* anywhere in the records of this era.

Eclipses—Lunar eclipses are quoted in six dates, *viz*, K 456 of No 21, K 880 of No 83, K 890 of No 86, K. 900 of No. 91, K 918 of No 63 and K 969 of No 102. Of these, the lunar eclipse of K. 880 is noteworthy, for, it was predicted by an astrologer in opposition to others who held a divergent opinion at the court of Ratnadēva II. When his prediction came true, he was rewarded with the grant of a village. Solar eclipses are cited in seven dates, *viz*, K 322 of No 120; K 404 of No 25, K 885 of No 122, K 896 of No 89, K 900 of No 90, K 926 of No. 64 and K 966 of No 117. All these eclipses, except that in K. 885, occurred on the days and in the years mentioned and were visible in India. As regards the eclipse in K 885, there is probably a mistake in the specification of the month in which it occurred.

Sankrāntis—Three early dates, *viz*, K 436 of No 28, K 460 of No 22 and K. 486 of No 24, mention sankrāntis. The first of these—the Vishuva or Mēsha-sankrānti—took place about seven hours before the commencement of the *tithi* with which it is coupled.² The other two sankrāntis, *viz*, the Tulā and the Karkataka, occurred during the respective *tithis*. Among later dates, only three, *viz*, K 821 of No 75, K 823 of No 56, and K 965 of No. 101, record grants made on the occasion of sankrāntis. In the first of these, the sankrānti was the Uttarāyana or Makara, in the second, it is not specified, but as it is said to have occurred on the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, it must have been Mīna. This sankrānti does not work out regularly. There is apparently some mistake in the numerals of the year which should be 827. The third sankrānti was again Makara, but it is not coupled with any *tithi* or week-day and, therefore, does not admit of verification.³

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXV, p 294.

² For a similar case, see the date Ś 996 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXIII, p 115.

³ The Jabalpur copper-plate inscription of Yaśahkarna (No 57) also recorded a grant made on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-sankrānti, but the details of the date, which occurred on the second plate, now lost, are uncertain. For a conjectural restoration of it, see below, p 302. No 74 also mentions the Uttarāyana-sankrānti which occurred during the stated *tithi*, but its date belongs not to the Kalachuri era, but to the Vikrama era.

POLITICAL HISTORY

THE ABHIRAS

The Ābhīras were an ancient race which, according to the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* and the Purāṇas, had spread in the western provinces of India from the Panjab in the north to Maharashtra in the south. They are, in many passages, conjoined with the Sūdras, with whom they appear to be conterminous in the north-western parts of India¹. They spoke a language which, according to Dandin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*², was called Apabhramśa. The *Mahābhārata*³ and the *Vāyupurāṇa*⁴ call them *Mlēcchhas*. This term, according to Patañjali, signifies those who could not pronounce the Āryan language correctly⁵. Like the Sūdras, therefore, the Ābhīras were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the country who were gradually admitted to the Hindu fold.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions three divisions of the Ābhīras dwelling in the north-west of India, viz., those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvatī, fishermen and mountaineers⁶. In another passage the epic states that the *tīrtha* Vinaśana lay in the country of the Ābhīras as the sacred river Sarasvatī disappeared at the place through hatred of the Sūdras and the Ābhīras living there⁷. Elsewhere, Pañchanada, the land of the five rivers, is described as the stronghold of the Ābhīras⁸. We are told that while Arjuna was encamped in that fertile country together with the women of the Vṛishnis and the Andhakas, whom he was escorting from Dvārakā to Hastināpura after the internecine fight amongst the Yādavas, he was attacked by the Ābhīras. All these references indicate the eastern part of the Panjab between the Satlaj and the Yamunā as the original home-land of the Ābhīras. From there they appear to have spread beyond Mathura in the east and to Saurashtra, Gujarat and Maharashtra in the south. Ptolemy mentions Abiria, which was evidently the country of the Ābhīras. It was situated above Pattalene on the Sindhu and probably corresponds to the central portion of Sindh above the delta of that river⁹. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the Sūdras and the Ābhīras inhabited the provinces of Saurashtra, Avantī (Western Malwa), Sūra (Mathurā), Arbuda (Aravali) and Marubhūmī (Marwad)¹⁰. The *Bṛhatsambhitā* of Varāhamihira mentions the Ābhīra country with Kōṅkana among the *janapadas* of the south¹¹. Parāśara, cited in the commentary of the *Bṛhatsambhitā*, also groups the Sūdra-Ābhīra country with Saurashtra, Mahārashtra, Sindhu-Sauvīra and other countries of the south-west¹². The *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* Purāṇas mention in one passage that the Ābhīras dwelt in the north-west region, but in another passage they place them in the south together with the

¹ See MBH, Sabhāparvan, ad 32, v 10, Śalyaparvan, ad 37, v 1, Parāśara cited in BS, Vol I, p 288, VSHP, amśa II, ad 3, v 16.

² *Kāvyaḍarśa*, ch I, v 36. Namisādhu, a commentator of Rudrata's *Kāvyaḍalankāra*, also mentions Ābhīra as one of the three varieties of Apabhramśa. See *Kāvyaḍalankāra*, II, 12. According to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (XVIII, 44), the language of the Ābhīras was called Śābarī.

³ MBH, Mausala-parvan, ad 7, v 63.

⁴ VP, ad 37, v 263.

⁵ *Mahābhāṣya*, (ed by Kielhorn), Vol I, p 2. The *Mlēcchhas* were not necessarily foreigners. Pāṇini in his *Dhātupāṭha* gives √ *mlēcch* in the sense of 'indistinct speech'. The word occurs in a Brāhmaṇa passage cited in the *Mahābhāṣya*, loc cit.

⁶ Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v 10.

⁷ Śalyaparvan, ad 37, v 1.

⁸ Mausala-parvan, ad 7, vv 45 ff. Also VSHP, amśa V, ad 38, v 12.

⁹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 324.

¹⁰ VSHP, amśa IV, ad 24, v 68.

¹¹ BS, Vol I, p 288.

¹² *Loc cit.*

inhabitants of Mahārāshtra, Vīdarbha, Āśmaka, Kuntala and others¹ In a third passage the *Māikandēyapurāna* groups the Ābhīras with the people of Bhrīgukachchha, Kōṅkana, Mahārāshtra, Karnāta, the country on the banks of the Vēṇī (Wainganga), Nāsikya and others² These passages seem to point to the modern district of Khandesh as their stronghold in the south Even now the Ābhīras or Ahīrs predominate in that district of the Bombay State

From ancient times the Ābhīras have followed the profession of cowherds. Their settlement was called *ghōṣha*³ The *Harivamśa* describes how Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, was brought up, since his birth, in a *ghōṣha* or settlement of cowherds⁴ From certain similarities between the early lives of Krishna and Christ, such as the worship of the boy-god, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son and the massacre of innocents, Dr R G Bhandarkar inferred that the Ābhīras must have brought these stories with them when they migrated to India in the first century of the Christian era⁵ This theory has since been shown to be untenable The *Harivamśa* nowhere states that the cowherds among whom Krishna was brought up belonged to the Ābhīra race The main incident of Krishna's early life, viz., his killing of Kamsa, was well-known long before the time of Patañjali (circa 150 B. C.), for, we learn from the *Mahābhāṣhya* that it was dramatised and represented on the stage⁶ Moreover, Patañjali specifically mentions the Ābhīras While discussing the nature of the compound *Sūdr-Ābhīram*, he mentions the *prima facie* view that Ābhīra is a sub-caste under Sūdra and ultimately states his *siddhānta* that it is an altogether different caste.⁷ The discussion makes it plain that if the Ābhīras were foreigners, they must have migrated to India long before the second century B. C., in which we find them not only admitted to the Hindu fold but given a definite place in the caste system.

The status of the Ābhīras seems to have undergone changes in the course of ages. We have seen that in the time of Patañjali they were generally associated with the Sūdras, but were relegated to a different caste According to the *Manusmṛiti*, the son of a Brāhmana from an Ambashtha woman belongs to the Ābhīra caste⁸ Another smṛiti, cited by Kaiyata, states that the woman should be of the Ugra caste⁹ These are, of course, theories of Brahmanical writers. In practical life the Ābhīras generally resembled the Sūdras The *Kāśikā*, a well-known commentary on Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, says that the Ābhīras were Mahāsūdras, i. e., superior Sūdras¹⁰ and this view is adopted in the *Amarakōśa* As

¹ MP, ad 57, vv 35 and 47, VP, ad 45, vv 115 and 126

² MP, ad. 58, vv 21 ff

³ Cf *Ghōṣha Ābhīrapallī syāt* in AK, II, 2, 20.

⁴ Cf HV, Vishnuparvan, ad 7, vv 28 ff

⁵ *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism, etc* pp 37 ff.

⁶ *Mahābhāṣhya*, Vol II, p 36

⁷ Cf सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च द्वन्द्वो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोद्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरम्, गोबलीवर्दम्, तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरमिति आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि ॥ *Mahābhāṣhya*. Ind Ant, Vol XLVII, p 36

⁸ MS, ad X, v 15 The children of a Brāhmana father and a Vaiśya mother belong to the Ambashtha caste

⁹ See Kaiyata on the passage cited in n 7, above. The children of a Sūdra woman from a Kshatriya belong to the Ugra caste

¹⁰ The *Mahāsūdras* are mentioned in Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* as well as in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣhya* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, but their identification with the Ābhīras is for the first time given by the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4 *Mahāsūdra* is mentioned in the *Kaśikā-sūtra* (XVII, 16) also, in connection with the coronation of a king A commentator explains the term as *Sūdrānām bal-ādhipakṣat*, 'a commander of the Sūdra army'. The *paddhati* of Kēśava also explains *Mahāsūdra* as 'a royal officer' (*Rājakīyo mahāsūdrab*) J A O S, Vol XIV, pp 46 and 317

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN EARLY INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE

KALACHURI ERA



Scale - 1 inch = 0.912 mile to 16 Miles

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- Find spots of Copper Plates
- Capitals

shown below, some Ābhīras attained royal position, which seems to have raised the status of their caste Kshīrasvāmin, a commentator of the *Amarakōśa*, remarks that an Ābhīra belongs to the Vaiśya caste¹ This view was probably based on the fact that the Ābhīras generally followed the profession of cattle-breeding, which, from ancient times, has been regarded as the privilege of the Vaiśyas.

The *Mahābhārata* states that there were Ābhīra *ganas* dwelling in the north-west.² Like the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas mentioned by Alexander's historians, they also had probably a republican constitution In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Ābhīras are grouped with the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas, Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas and others who submitted and paid tribute to the great Gupta Emperor.³ These tribes are mentioned separately from the kings of Āryāvarta (*i. e.*, North India) whom Samudragupta forcibly uprooted. It is well-known that the Mālavas and the Yaudhēyas had republican organisations, as coins mentioning their *ganas* have been discovered⁴ The inference, therefore, seems justifiable that like them the Ābhīras too had a republican form of government. When the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas and Kushānas invaded the north-western parts of India, the Ābhīras, like the Mālavas, Yaudhēyas, Śibis and others, migrated to the south and settled in Rajputana, Sindh and Maharashtra⁵ They seem to have continued to hold their own in North India down to the Gupta age. We have, however, no further information about them as no inscriptions or coins of this tribe have been found in North India.

The Ābhīras did not exclusively follow the profession of cowherds Some took to other callings Even now in the states of Bombay and Madhya Pradesh there are some Ābhīra Brāhmanas In Khandesh, which is still their stronghold, they have adopted various professions such as those of goldsmiths and carpenters. On their migration to the south, some Ābhīras seem to have occupied high political position under the Kshatrapa rulers of Western India. A stone inscription⁶ found at Gunda in Saurashtra mentions an Ābhīra general named Rudrabhūti, who served under the western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha This inscription is dated Śaka 102 (180 A. C.) Īśvaradatta, who seems to have ousted the Western Kshatrapas, though for a very brief period, may have been an Ābhīra as supposed by some scholars.⁷ Other Ābhīras may have held similar positions of power and vantage under the Sātavāhanas. The Purānas say that the Ābhīras who succeeded the Andhras (*i. e.*, the Sātavāhanas) in the Deccan were Andhrabhṛityas, *i. e.*, servants of the Andhras⁸ One of them, Īśvarasēna, seems to have usurped power after Pulumāvi, the last king of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

From the Nasik cave inscription, which is the only early record of the Ābhīra dynasty, we learn that this Īśvarasēna was an Ābhīra and bore the title of *Rājā*⁹ As his father Śivadatta bears no royal title, Īśvarasēna was plainly the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. As shown before,¹⁰ he flourished about 250 A. C. and was probably the originator

¹ Cf. *Vaiśya-bhēda* *ev=Ābhīrō gav-ādy-upajīvī* in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on *AK*, II, 6, 13.

² *Sūdr-Ābhīra-gaṇāś=ch=ava* in Sabhāparvan, ad. 32, v. 10.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 8.

⁴ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 173 and 182.

⁵ *MBH.* (Vanaparvan, ad. 188, vv. 35 ff) states that the Ābhīras will rise to power in the same age as the Śakas, Yavanas and Bāhlikas.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157, *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, Pl. XVII.

⁷ Above, pp. 14. ff.

⁸ *D. K. A.* p. 45.

⁹ No. 1, ll. 1-2.

¹⁰ Above, p. xxiiv

of the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era. Like his predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, he also used a metronymic and called himself Mādharīputra. This clearly indicates that he took pride in tracing his descent on the mother's side from a Vedic sage. Though the Ābhīras themselves spoke an Apabhramśa or corrupt language, they, unlike the Sātavāhanas, seem to have patronised Sanskrit. It is worthy of note that the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign is written in a language which is predominantly Sanskrit. It is, of course, not an official document, but it clearly shows that Sanskrit was slowly asserting itself under the rule of the Ābhīras.

Judging by the extent of his era, Īśvarasēna appears to have ruled over a large territory comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. He was followed by nine other kings, whose names have, unfortunately, not come down to us.¹ The Ābhīras seem to have ruled for 167 years² and were supplanted by their feudatories, the Traikūtakas, in *circa* 415 A.C.

As stated above, Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhīras. Petty princes of the Ābhīra dynasty appear to have continued to rule in Khandesh till the 13th century A.C. A stone inscription at Āmbē in the Hyderabad State records that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yādava king Simhana, exterminated Lakshmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, who belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty.³ Bhambhāgiri is probably identical with Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizampur in the Pimpalner *tāluka* of the West Khandesh District. Near Bhāmēr is a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers and also some old caves locally known as 'Rājā's houses'.⁴ This fort was probably known as Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakshmīdēva, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhāgiri, and a similar statement occurs about Simhana in the Uddari stone inscription.⁵ This plainly indicates that the whole family of Lakshmīdēva was exterminated, and his kingdom was annexed by the Yādava king Simhana.

Another king named Kāmapāla, who was vanquished by Krishna, the grandson and successor of Simhana, probably belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty, for, his defeat is said to have delighted the cowherds, who may have been oppressed by him.⁶ The Tāsgaon plates of Krishna's reign intimate that Krishna's feudatory Kēśava obtained a victory over a chief of the cowherds, who may have been identical with the aforementioned Kāmapāla.⁷ He also may have been ruling in some part of Khandesh. After the thirteenth century we do not hear of the Ābhīra kings.

Judging by their names, both Īśvarasēna and his father Śivadatta were followers of the Hindu religion and devotees of Śiva. But like their predecessors, the Sātavāhanas, the Ābhīras seem to have extended their patronage to the followers of other faiths also. That Buddhism was flourishing during their rule is clearly indicated by the Nasik cave inscription of Īśvarasēna's reign. Even foreigners like the Śakas embraced it and made munificent donations for the benefit of the Buddhist monks. Several guilds were

¹ Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mentions the Ābhīra Kōttarāja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother. The commentator Yaśōdhara says that he was ruling at Kōtta in Gujarat. Kōttarāja was probably his personal name. He may have been a successor of Īśvarasēna.

² See above, p. xxvi.

³ *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), pp. 142 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 202 n. 6.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 210.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 204, n. 4. An earlier king of the same dynasty was perhaps Krishna mentioned in the Balsānē stone inscription, dated Ś. 1106 (1184-85 A.C.) *B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 71.

flourishing in their kingdom, in which people invested large amounts for making permanent endowments. This indicates that peace, order and a general sense of security prevailed in the country during their rule.

FEUDATORIES OF THE ABHIRAS

Mahārājas of Valkha—Until recently we had no knowledge of any feudatories of the Ābhīras. This was due to the circumstance that certain grants¹ which originally belonged to Khandesh and were dated in the Kalachuri era were relegated to North India and were supposed to be dated in the Gupta era as they were discovered at Indore. The close similarity which these grants bear in respect of characters, phraseology and mode of dating to a fragmentary grant found at Sirpur² in the West Khandesh District leaves no doubt that they also originally came from Khandesh³. These grants give the following genealogy :—

Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa (Year 67)

Mahārāja Bhulūṇḍa (Year 107)

Mahārāja Rudradāsa (Year 117)

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes *inter se* is not known. All of them are described as *parama-bhattāraka-pād-ānudyātā* 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which clearly shows that they acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power. The dates of their grants must plainly be referred to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era founded by the Ābhīra Śīvarasēna. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in these records correspond to 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 A. C. respectively. These princes were, therefore, probably feudatories of the Ābhīra Emperors.

These princes ruled from Valkha which is probably identical with Vāghlī, now a small village, 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District⁴. Most of the places mentioned in their grants can be identified in the vicinity of Vāghlī⁵.

No copper-plates or stone inscriptions of any successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā⁶ we find similar names ending in *dāsa* which may have belonged to the same dynasty. This inscription gives the following genealogy :—

(Name lost)
|
Dhṛitarāshtra
|
Harisāmba
|
Saurisāmba
|
Upēndragupta
|
Kācha I

¹ Nos. 2 and 3.

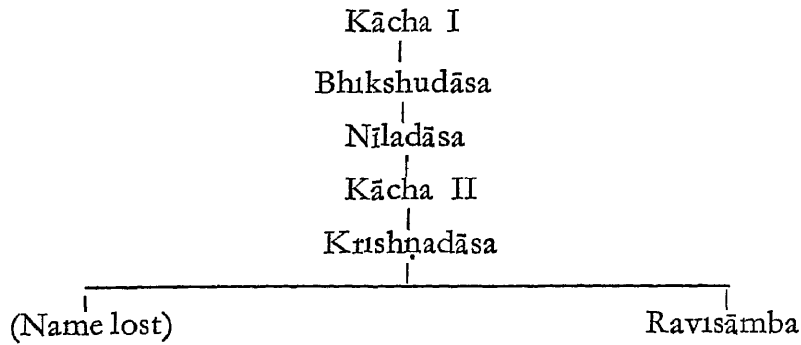
² No. 4.

³ The grants were taken to Indore by Pandit Vaman Shastri Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting copper-plates, Sanskrit manuscripts and other antiquities.

⁴ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has suggested that Valkha may be identical with Bāhal in the Chalisgaon *tāluka* of East Khandesh, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently discovered. *J. N. S. I*, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

⁵ See below, pp. 7 ff.

⁶ For a fuller account of this inscription, see my edition of it in *H. A. S.* No. 15.



The elder son of Krishnadāsa, whose name is now illegible, was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba. He began to lead a pious life and caused several *stūpas* and *vihāras* to be constructed. He also got the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX at Ajantā excavated, while Harishēṇa, 'the moon among princes' (*śśhitīndra-chandra*), was protecting the earth.

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajantā cave XVII shows that the last of these princes was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēṇa, who flourished from *circa* 475 A. C. to 500 A. C.¹ He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may, therefore, be placed in *circa* 275-300 A. C. He seems to have been placed in charge of a part of Khandesh by the contemporary Ābhīra Emperor.

Some of these princes mentioned in this Ajantā inscription were evidently contemporaries of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulunda and Rudradāsa, whose dates range from 316 A. C. to 366 A. C., but the latter names do not occur anywhere, in the genealogy of the Ajantā inscription. There were, therefore, two separate branches of the same family ruling in different parts of Khandesh. One of them was ruling at Valkha as shown above.² The capital of the other is not known.

After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes of Khandesh seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas. A fragmentary verse in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā states that the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēṇa raided or exacted tribute from Trikūta³ which comprised the territory round Nasik. Khandesh, which lay between Vīdarbha and Trikūta, must have likewise submitted to the Vākātakas. This is also indicated by the manner in which the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēṇa is mentioned in the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVII. Further, the *Daśakumāracharita* which, in its last *uchchhvāsa*, gives a narrative reflecting the last period of Vākātaka rule,⁴ viz., the reign of Harishēṇa's son, mentions the ruler of Rīshika (i. e., modern Khandesh)⁵ as a feudatory of the king of

¹ H. A. S., No. 14, p. 9.

² D. C. Sircar has recently objected to the view mentioned above on the ground that the *Paramabhāttāraka* overlords of feudatory *Mahārājas* are unknown before the age of the Imperial Guptas. He would place these *Mahārājas* of Valkha in the Anūpa country and refer the dates of their grants, viz., the years 67, 107 and 117 to the Gupta era. H. C. I. P., Vol. II, p. 222, n. 3. It is difficult to accept this view. We have no other grants, made by feudatory princes of the Deccan in the pre-Gupta age, from which we could have drawn any conclusion about their titles and the manner in which they described their own feudatory status. The suggestion that these dates refer to the Gupta era is also not free from difficulties. The Guptas do not seem to have penetrated to the Anūpa country as early as G. 67 (386-87 A. C.). The earliest Gupta record found even in Eastern Malwa is dated G. 82. Anūpa, which lay farther west, could not have been included in the Gupta Empire fifteen years before. That these *Mahārājas* belonged to Khandesh is clearly indicated by the similarity of the names of two of them to those of some rulers of Khandesh, mentioned in the inscription in Ajantā cave XVII which belongs to the Vākātaka age.

³ H. A. S., No. 14 p. 11.

⁴ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 ff.

⁵ For this identification, see *ibid.* Vol. XXV, pp. 167 ff.

Vīdarbha. After the fall of the Vākātakas, this feudatory family of Khandesh was overthrown by the Kalachuris who occupied Northern Maharashtra in *circa* 550 A. C.

Īśvararāta—Another feudatory who probably owed allegiance to the Ābhīras was ruling in Central Gujarat. He is known from a fragmentary copper-plate grant discovered at Kalachhala near Chhota Udaipur in the Bombay State. Only the first plate of this grant, which originally must have consisted of two or three plates, has been found. It mentions one Īśvararāta, who meditated on the feet of a lord paramount (*Paramabbattāra-kapād-ānudhyāta*). Īśvararāta, though he bears no royal title, was plainly a feudatory of some imperial power. He appears to have ruled over a fairly extensive territory, for, among the persons to whom he addressed his order are included such high officers of the State as *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*¹. The extant portion of the grant contains no date, but its palæography and wording, which closely resemble those of the aforementioned grants from Khandesh, indicate that Īśvararāta flourished in the 4th century A. C. Like the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, he was probably a feudatory of the Ābhīras.

Īśvararāta's grant was made at Prachakāśā. This place may be identical with Prachāsha on the Tāpī in North Khandesh. The village Kupikā granted by the charter cannot now be traced, but Vankikā, the headquarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be represented by the modern village Vānkad, about 20 miles from Chhota Udaipur. Īśvararāta, therefore, appears to have held Central Gujarat and some portion of the Khandesh District.

No successor of Īśvararāta is known, but his family may have continued to hold Central Gujarat until it was ousted by Śarva Bhattāraka who appears to have risen to power in *circa* 400 A. C. As shown elsewhere,² the latter's coins, imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas, are found in abundance in Central Gujarat and Saurashtra.

The Kings of Māhishmatī—The Ābhīras appear to have soon extended their rule to Anūpa (the country around Māhishmatī) and Ākarāvanti (Malwa) also. It has been noticed that the potin coins of the Western Kshatrapas, which were intended for circulation in Malwa, suddenly come to an end in 240 A. C.³ The reason for this contraction of Kshatrapa power is supposed to be the rise of the Vākātaka Vindhyaśakti. We have, however, no indication of the extension of the Vākātaka power north of the Narmadā in this early period,⁴ while we have evidence of the spread of the Ābhīra kingdom in the use of the Ābhīra era in the countries of Anūpa and Ākarāvanti in the fourth and fifth centuries A. C. The era must have been introduced there by the Ābhīras or their feudatories.

One of these feudatories was *Mahādandanāyaka* Śaka Śrīdharavarman, the son of Śaka Nanda, whose stone inscription,⁵ recording the excavation of a well, was found at Kānākhērā near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State. Though a Śaka by extraction, Śrīdharavarman did not probably belong to the house of Chashtana; for unlike the Western Kshatrapas, he dated his record in the era of the Ābhīras, not in that of the Śakas. The title *Mahādandanāyaka* prefixed to his name in the Kānākhērā inscription indicates that he began his career as a military officer, probably of the contemporary Ābhīra king. Later, he may

¹ For *Kumārāmātya* and *Uparika*, see below, p. 36, notes 4 and 3 respectively.

² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VI, pp. 14 ff. Dr. Altekar places Śarva Bhattāraka in the period 348-378 A. C. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.

³ *C. A. D.*, Introd., p. cxxxiii, *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 54.

⁴ I have shown elsewhere that the original home of the Vākātakas lay in South India. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. xxxii, pp. 1 ff. Prithivīshēna, whose feudatory Vyāghra's inscriptions have been found at Nachna and Ganj in Vindhya Pradesh, was the second Vākātaka prince of that name who flourished in c. 470-490 A. C.

⁵ No. 5, pp. 13 ff., below.

have risen to the status of a feudatory¹ As the power of the Ābhīras declined, he appears to have declared his independence and begun to date his records in his regnal years, though he did not, for some years, discard his previous military title² or the Ābhīra era which had become well established in the country under his rule.

The Kānākhērā inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Śrīdharavarman's reign. It contains another date at the end, the reading and interpretation of which are, unfortunately, not quite certain As shown elsewhere,³ the correct reading of the date appears to be 102, which, being referred to the Ābhīra era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A C. Śrīdharavarman seems, therefore, to have declared his independence in *circa* 339 A C

Another inscription⁴ of Śrīdharavarman has recently come to light at Ēran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh. In this record Śrīdharavarman is seen to have discarded his previous military title and assumed instead the titles *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa* which, as in the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kshatrapas, signified complete independence. He has also omitted therein all reference to the Ābhīra era, perhaps because it recalled his previous submission to another power The Ēran inscription is dated in the 27th regnal year It seems, therefore, to have been put up in 365 A C Śrīdharavarman may have flourished from 339 A C to 368 A C.

Neither of these two inscriptions mentions any capital of Śrīdharavarman That he held the Vidiśā-Ērikina territory is certain, for, his records have been found in that part of the country It is, however, not unlikely that his rule extended farther west to the Anūpa country also, where the Ābhīra era continued in use for at least 50 years more; for, no other ruler of his power and prestige is known to have flourished in Central India in that period If this supposition is correct, Māhishmatī may have been his capital⁵

The Ēran record is incised on a pillar, called *yashti*, erected by Satyanāga, the *Ārakshika* and *Sēnāpati* of Śrīdharavarman, as a memorial to the Nāga soldiers who met with a hero's death in a battle fought at the *adbishthāna* of Ērikina (modern Ēran) In that record Satyanāga, who hailed from Maharashtra, expressed the hope that the *yashti*, raised by the Nāgas themselves, would inspire future generations of warlike people to perform similar heroic deeds, for, it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Unfortunately, no particulars of the battle in which these Nāga soldiers laid down their lives have been preserved in the inscription Perhaps the enemy was the ruler of some neighbouring country like Mēkalā

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions the Śakas and the Muruṇḍas as border chiefs who submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor and solicited his charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their own territories⁶ The Śaka chief is usually taken to be one of the Western Kshatrapas, but the kingdom of the Kshatrapas lay far in the west. Besides, their rule in Malwa seems to have come to an end about the middle of the third century A C. with the rise of the Ābhīras. The Śaka king who submitted to Samudragupta must, therefore, be identified with Śrīdhavarman. He may have paid homage to the Gupta Emperor some time after 365 A C ,

¹ It is not known whether his father held any office under the Ābhīras No title is prefixed to his name, but as in the case of Īsvararāta, this negative evidence is not conclusive

² Other instances of a similar type are the *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, who retained his military title even after performing two *Aśvamēdhas* (*Ep Ind*, Vol XX, p 57), and the *Mahāsēnāpati* Śaka Māna who issued his coins mentioning the military title (*J N S I*, Vol XII, pp 90 ff)

³ See below, pp 14 ff

⁴ No 119, pp 605 ff, below

⁵ This is a tentative suggestion which may be corroborated or modified by future discoveries

⁶ *C. I I*, Vol III, p 8.

when he heard reports of the latter's brilliant victories in North and South India. Later, Samudragupta, on some provocation, appears to have attacked the Saka king's territory and obtained a decisive victory over him in the battle of Ērikina. He then annexed the territory round Ērikina¹ which had strategic importance, and erected a monument there 'for augmenting his own fame'. He appears, however, to have allowed the Saka king to continue in possession of the rest of his kingdom as he did in the case of some republican tribes such as the Sanakānikas and the Kharaparikas². It is well known that it was Samudragupta's son Chandragupta II, who first conquered Eastern and Western Malwa in the course of his 'conquest of the whole earth', some time in the last decade of the 4th century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Guptas found in Malwa is the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II, dated G. 82 (401-2 A. C.).

Śrīdharavarman, though he belonged to the Śaka race, was a follower of the Hindu religion. Both he and his father Nanda bear Hindu names. He was a devout worshipper of Kārttikēya and, like an orthodox Hindu, believed that he could secure permanent residence in heaven by means of charitable works like the excavation of a well. In both the records of his reign he is described as *dharmavyajin* or a righteous conqueror, which implies that he did not wage any war for self-aggrandizement. His liberal policy attracted able men from distant countries like Maharashtra. He trusted them and appointed them to important military posts. His inscriptions are written in a good Sanskrit *kāvya* style. They show that the revival of the classical language had already commenced before the age of the Guptas. Like the Western Kshatrapas and the Ābhīras, the Śakas of Central India also appear to have given liberal patronage to Sanskrit poets at their court.

We do not know how long the Śakas continued to rule in Central India. They were probably overthrown when they suffered a defeat at the hands of Chandragupta II towards the close of the 4th century A. C. Thereafter, we have two copper-plate grants of *Mahārāja* Subandhu, both made at Māhishmatī, one of which was found somewhere in the former Barwānī State and the other in one of the famous Bāgh caves.

These grants of Subandhu bear close resemblance in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign-manual to the aforementioned grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh. All of them probably belong to the same period. The era in which they are dated must therefore be identical. The date of the Bāgh cave plate is lost, but that of the Barwānī plate which is well preserved is the year 167. If this is referred to the Ābhīra era, it becomes equivalent to 416-17 A. C. Subandhu, therefore, flourished in the first quarter of the fifth century A. C.

Unlike the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in a general manner, which shows that he was an independent ruler. In 416-17 A. C. the Gupta power had, no doubt, reached its peak. Chandragupta II was dead at the time and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I, but there is no reason to suppose that the Gupta dominion

¹ Cf. *śva-bhōga-nagar-Aṣṛikina-pradēśē* in the Ēran inscription of Samudragupta. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 20. The battle of Ērikina appears to have been fought towards the close of Samudragupta's reign. The inscription at Ēran which mentions the monument which he erected there 'for augmenting his fame' is probably posthumous, for it uses the past tense in describing the Gupta Emperor. Besides, the description it gives of him indicates that he had already won all his major victories. He is said to have been of irresistible valour and to have overthrown the whole tribe of kings upon the earth. His enemies were terrified by his prowess even in their dreams. Again, it describes his queen as one who went about in the company of sons and grandsons. The description plainly shows that Samudragupta was considerably advanced in age when the monument was erected, and may have died before the inscription was put up.

² That the Sanakānikas and the Kharaparikas belonged to Central India is shown by some inscriptions. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25 and *I. C. P. B.*, p. 58.

had suffered any diminution at the beginning of the latter's reign. It may, therefore, be asked how Kumāragupta allowed Subandhu to enjoy independence just on the border of the Avanti province which was undoubtedly under Gupta rule at the time. The reason is not far to seek. The Anūpa country, where Subandhu was ruling, comprised the territory along both the banks of the Narmadā, now included in the Nemad Districts of Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat as well as the adjoining territory. Just about this time there was rising the powerful State of the Traikūtakas across the Narmadā.¹ According to the Purānas, the Ābhīra rule lasted for 167 years. The Ābhīras were succeeded by the Traikūtakas, who soon extended their sway to Northern Maharashtra, Konkan and Gujarat. The kingdom of Māhishmatī may, therefore, have been allowed to continue as a buffer state between the dominions of the Traikūtakas and the Guptas.

Subandhu's descendants may have continued to rule from Māhishmatī for some years more, but when the Vākātaka Narēndrasēna (circa 450-470 A. C.) extended his suzerainty to Malwa, he must have annexed the intervening kingdom of Anūpa. Thereafter, the country was governed by a scion of the Vākātaka family. The narrative in the eighth chapter of the *Dasakumāracharita*, which appears to have a historical basis,² shows that the last Vākātaka Emperor (probably Harishēṇa) had placed one of his sons on the throne of Māhishmatī. Soon thereafter, the country was occupied by the Kalachuris in circa 525 A. C.

THE TRAIKUTAKAS

This royal dynasty derived its name from Trikūta or a three-peaked mountain or the district in which it was situated. This was evidently the home of the royal family. Several mountains named Trikūta situated in all the four directions of India are known from Sanskrit literature and lexicons. According to the *Viṣṇu*³ and *Mārkaṇḍeya*⁴ Purānas, Trikūta was the name of the southern ridge of the mythical Mēru mountain. It was, therefore, situated in the north. Hēmachandra⁵ and Mahēśvara,⁶ who in their lexicons give Suvēla as its synonym, evidently place it in Ceylon. An ancient commentator of Bhartrihari's *Vākyapadīya*⁷ states that Trikūta was the name of a mountain in the Trikalīnga or Andhra country. Finally, Kālidāsa places Trikūta in Aparānta⁸ or North Konkan, and his view receives confirmation from Kēśava's *Kalpadrūkōśa*⁹ which gives it as a name of the Sahyādri range. In recent times, R. B. Hiralal, who identified the Traikūtakas with the Kalachuris, has expressed the view that Trikūta is identical with the Sātpurā mountain which was so called on account of its three prominent peaks, viz., the

¹ The earliest known Traikūtika king was Indradatta, who must have flourished about 415 A. C. as his son Dahrasēna's Pardi grant is dated in K. 207 (456-57 A. C.). Dahrasēna is known to have performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. See No. 8, 1 2.

² See my article entitled 'Historical Data in Dandin's *Dasakumāracharita*' in *A. B. O. R. I*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f.

³ *VSHP.*, amśa II, adhyāya 2, v. 28.

⁴ *MP.*, adhyāya 55, v. 6.

⁵ *Suvēlaḥ syāt Trimukutas=Triakūtas=Triakakuch=cha sab* in *Abhidhānabhināmani*, Bhūmikānda, v. 96.

⁶ *Viśvaparakāśa* (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 39. According to Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana* (Aranya-kānda, 2, 1) Rāvana's Lankā was situated on Trikūta.

⁷ Commenting on the *kārikā*, *Parvatāt āgamam labdhvā*, etc., of the *Vākyapadīya* (Kānda II, v. 489), Punyarāja says, *Parvatāt Triakūt-āikadēśa-varti-Trikaling-āikadēśāt*.

⁸ *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto IV, vv. 58-59.

⁹ *Sahyāchalas=tu Mūrdhādris=Triakūtas=Triakakuch=cha sab* in *Kalpadrūkōśa*, Vol. I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 342, sl. 14. *Triakakut* which is given here as a synonym of *Triakūta* is mentioned by Pāṇini (V, 4, 147), but it cannot evidently be the Trikūta of North Konkan.

Amrakūta or Amarakantaka in the former Rewa State, Sālakūṭa in the Balaghat District and Madhukūta in the Chhindwara District.¹ As shown below, the inscriptions and coins of the Traikūtakas have been found only in South Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Traikūta, from which they derived their name, cannot, therefore, be located in the north, east, south or centre of India, but must be looked for in the west. Kālidāsa's description, which, as already stated, is supported by a lexicon, clearly indicates that it was situated in Aparānta or North Konkan. Bhagvanlal Indraji suggested its identification with Junnar, in the Poona District, which is encircled by three ranges of hills.² The matter is now placed beyond doubt by the mention of the Pūrva-Trīkūta *viśhaya* (East Trīkūta District) in the Anjaneri plates of Bhōgaśakti,³ which shows that there was a district named after the mountain which divided it into two parts. A tax levied on the inhabitants of the eastern sub-division was assigned for the worship of the god Bhōgēśvara at Jayapura near Nasik. This clearly shows that Trīkūta was probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west.⁴ This identification squares with the provenance of Traikūtaka inscriptions and coins.

The earliest mention of the Traikūtakas occurs in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarman.⁵ This record includes Trēkūta (*i. e.*, the Traikūtakas) among the contemporaries of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, which shows that the Traikūtakas were a power of some importance in the beginning of the fourth century A. C., to which period the Chandravalli inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds. The country of Trīkūta had previously been included in the Sātavāhana kingdom. The Traikūtakas seem, therefore, to have risen into prominence on the decline of the Sātavāhana power in Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of the Traikūtakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Kshatrapas which were current in Maharashtra. On the obverse, there is the king's face to the right as on Kshatrapa coins, but without any date, while on the reverse, inside a circle of dots and a circularly written legend, appear the usual Kshatrapa symbols, the chaitya, the sun and the moon.⁶ This close resemblance suggests, as Rapson has remarked,⁷ that the coins were intended for circulation in the districts which had previously been under the rules of the Kshatrapas.

Though the Traikūtakas rose into prominence about the middle of the third century A. C., we have no Traikūtaka records during the first two centuries of their rule. On the other hand we find an Ābhīra record of about the middle of the third century A. C. in the Nasik District,⁸ which, as we have seen above, was the home province of the Traikūtakas. The names of the two Ābhīras, Śivadatta and his son *Rājan* Īśvarasēna, resemble those of the later Traikūtaka kings, which end in either *datta* or *sēna*. Pandit Bhagvanlal, therefore, first propounded the theory that the Traikūtakas were identical with the Ābhīras.⁹ The Chandravalli inscription, however, mentions the Traikūtas separately from the Ābhīras, thus indicating that the two royal families, though contemporary, were not identical. The

¹ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 283-84.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 57.

³ No. 31, l. 38.

⁴ In this connection it may be noted that the Pāndu Lēna hill near Nasik is called Trīraśmi (three-rayed) in the cave inscriptions there, and that the range of hills to the south of the Nasik District is still called Trimbak hill.

⁵ *A. R. A. S. M.* (1929), p. 50.

⁶ *C. A. D.*, pp. 198-99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Introd., p. clx.

⁸ No. 1.

⁹ *P. V. O. C.*, p. 222.

similarity of their names suggests some sort of connection between them. The Traikūtakas were probably at first the feudatories of the Ābhīras whose era they adopted in their records. On the decline of the Ābhīra power, they seem to have asserted their independence. None of the three Traikūtaka kings, known from inscriptions and coins, seems to have assumed a higher title than *Mahārāja*. But two of them are known to have issued coins, while one of them, Dahrasēna, explicitly mentions in his copper-plate inscription that he had performed an *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice. The later Traikūtakas were, therefore, probably independent monarchs, though, as we shall see below, the last of them was ultimately defeated and forced to pay tribute by the Vākātaka king Harishēna.

The mention of Trikūta in the description of Raghu's *dagvijaya* suggests that Kālīdāsa, who flourished about 400 A. C. during the reign of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, knew of a Traikūtaka kingdom on the western coast. The three copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty edited here belong to a later date. From them and from coins, we get the following genealogy of the Traikūtakas.—

Mahārāja Indradatta

|
(son)

Mahārāja Dahrasēna (K. 207=456-57 A. C.)

|
(son)

Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna (K. 241=490-91 A. C.)

The first of these, Indradatta, is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasēna. He is therein given the title *Mahārāja*. As his son was ruling in the Kalachuri year 207 (=456-57 A. C.), he may be assigned to the period 415-440 A. C.

The second king Dahrasēna is known from his Pārdī plates and silver coins¹ found at Daman in South Gujarat,² Karhad in the Satara District,³ Kazad in the Indapur *tāluka* of the Poona District⁴ and some other places.⁵ Like his father, he calls himself *Mahārāja* both in the copper-plate inscription and coin-legends. The former supplies the additional information that he performed an *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice. On his coins he called himself *paramavaishnava*, 'a devout worshipper of Vishnu', and in his copper-plate inscription, *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. The Pārdī plates were issued from the victorious royal camp at Āmrakā, and record the donation of a village in the Antarmandalī *visbhaya*, which, on the analogy of the Antar-Narmadā *visbhaya* mentioned in inscription No. 11, seems to have comprised the territory on both the banks of the Mandalī or modern Mindhōlā river. The places mentioned in the grant can be identified in the country between the Pūrṇā and the Mindhōlā in South Gujarat. As shown elsewhere, the date of the plates, the year 207, refers to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 456-57 A. C. Dahrasēna may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 440 A. C. to 465 A. C.

Vyāghrasēna, the son and successor of Dahrasēna, is known from his Surat plates and silver coins found at Kazad in the Indapur *tāluka* and other places. His coins⁶, which

¹ The coins have the legend *Maharaj-Andradatta-putra-paramavaishnava-sra-Maharaja-Dabhasana* representing *Mahārāj-Ēndradatta-putra-paramavaishnava-srī-Mahārāja-Dabhasēna*.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part 1, p. 58.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, 1862, p. 11.

⁴ *C. A. D.*, p. clx, n. 2.

⁵ 'The provenance of the coins, considerable numbers of which exist in various collections, has not been very fully recorded.' *Introd.*, *C. A. D.*, p. clx. Some Traikūtaka coins have been recently brought to light at Kamrej near Surat. *A. B. I. A.* for 1935, p. 34.

⁶ These coins have the legend *Maharaja-Dabhasana-putra-parama-vashnava-sra-Maharaja-Vyaghrasana* representing *Mahārāja-Dabhasēna-putra-paramavaishnava-srī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna*. *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, pp. 806-7.

resemble those of his father, are, however, rare and of one variety only. Like his father, he calls himself *Mahārāja*, and describes himself as *paramavaishnava* as well as *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*. His Surat plates were issued from the victorious Aniruddhapura. As no affix like *vāsakāt* is added to it, the place may have been the royal capital. The plates record the grant of a village in the Iksharakī *ābhāra*. Iksharakī may be identical with Achchhāran, about 9 m. north of Surat. The date of the plates, the year 241, must be referred to the Kalachuri era, and corresponds to 490-91 A. C. Vyāghrasēna may, therefore, be assigned to the period from *circa* 465 A. C. to 492 A. C.

One more inscription, consisting of a single plate, was found inside a Buddhist *stūpa* at Kanhēri in North Konkan. It records the construction of a *chaitya* (i.e., the *stūpa* in which the inscription together with some relics was found) dedicated by a pilgrim from Sindh to the venerable Śāradvatīputra, the foremost disciple of the Buddha. The inscription mentions only the increasingly victorious reign of the Traikūtakas, but does not name any reigning king. It is dated in the year 245 (494-95 A. C.). As a period of as many as 36 years intervenes between the date of the Pārdī plates of Dahrasēna and that of the Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna, it seems that the latter were probably issued towards the close of Vyāghrasēna's reign. The Traikūtika king during whose reign the Kanhēri plate was issued may, therefore, have been the successor of Vyāghrasēna. During his reign the Trikūta country was invaded by Harishēna, the last known Vākātaka king who flourished in *circa* 475-500 A. C. In the inscription in the Ajantā cave XVI, Harishēna is credited with a victory over Trikūta,¹ but it is not known if he supplanted the ruling dynasty. He was possibly content with exacting a tribute from it as he must have done from the other countries mentioned in the same inscription, *viz.*, Kuntala, Avantī, Kalinga, Kōsala, Lāta and Andhra.

After the Vākātakas, the Kalachuris became supreme in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of Krishnarāja, the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty, have been found in the islands of Bombay and Sāshtī as well as the districts of Nasik and Satara.² Copper-plate inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris recording grants of villages in South Gujarat and the Nasik District have also been discovered. In the Kalachuri inscriptions Sankaragana, the son of Krishnarāja, is described as the lord of the countries between the eastern and western seas.³ Konkan also must, therefore, have been included in the Kalachuri Empire. But no grants of land made by the Kalachuris have yet been discovered in Konkan, which seems to have been ruled by a feudatory family. For about a century after the date of the Kanhēri plate, however, we have no definite information about the history of Konkan.⁴ From the Aihōle inscription⁵ of Pulakēśin II we learn that his father Kīrtivarman was 'the night of destruction to the Mauryas', and that Pulakēśin himself stormed their capital Purī and probably annexed their kingdom. As the Traikūtakas vanish from history in the beginning of the sixth century A. C. and the Mauryas come on the scene within about fifty years, it has been conjectured that the Traikūtakas

¹ *H. A. S.*, No. 14, p. 11. The passage mentions Trikūta and Lāta separately. Does this show that the Traikūtika kingdom was at that time divided into two parts?

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 13. The king Krishnarāja is there wrongly said to be of the Rāshtrakūta lineage.

³ No. 12, l. 15.

⁴ A stone inscription from Vāda in the north of the Thana District mentions a Maurya king named Sukētivarman ruling in Konkan. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 372-373.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5.

themselves came in course of time to be known as the Mauryas.¹ But if the Traikūtakas were descended from the imperial family of Magadha, it looks strange that they make no mention of their proud lineage in their records. It would appear, therefore, that when the Kalachuris conquered Konkan, they supplanted the Traikūtakas by the Mauryas, who continued as their feudatories until both the royal families were ousted by Pulakēśin II. The downfall of the Traikūtakas may thus be dated in the first quarter of the sixth century A. C.

The Traikūtika kingdom at its largest extent seems to have extended from the Kīm in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south, and to have comprised South Gujarat, North Konkan, and the Nasik, Poona and Satara Districts of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note that the Traikūtakas maintained a fleet for the protection of their maritime provinces. During their regime Trikūta seems to have become famous as an emporium of salt. Their capital has not yet been definitely located. As observed already, Aniruddhapura seems to have been the capital at least during the reign of Vyāghrasēna. Dr Hultzsch, on the authority of a statement of the lexicographer Yādava, identifies Aniruddhapura with Sūrpāraka, modern Sōpārā, in the Thana District. But Yādava merely states that the Aparānta country included Sūrpāraka.² Aniruddhapura, mentioned as the place of issue in the Surat plates, is probably identical with the victorious Aniruddhapurī, a Brāhmaṇa resident of which received a grant of land in the Surat District from the Sēndraka prince Allaśakti. It would, therefore, appear that Aniruddhapura was situated somewhere in the Surat District, but its exact location cannot be fixed.

The Traikūtakas were followers of Hinduism and devotees of the god Viṣṇu. Both their copper-plate grants were made to Brāhmaṇas for the increase of religious merit of their parents and themselves. That Buddhism also flourished in their kingdom is shown by the Kanhērī plate which records the erection of a *chaitya* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra. The pilgrim who got it built came from the distant province of Sindh. This testifies to the peace and order which generally prevailed in the kingdom of the Traikūtakas.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS OF MAHISHMATI

We have no definite information about the capital of the Kātachchuris or Early Kalachuris. All their known copper-plate grants were issued from their camps fixed at different places such as Ujjayinī and Vidiśā in Malwa and Ānandapura in Gujarat. It appears probable, however, that they ruled from Māhishmatī, modern Onkār Māndhātā,³ which from very early times has been famous as a holy city. Even in later times when it had ceased to be their capital, the memory of its past glory was fresh in the mind of the people, for Rājaśekhara in his *Bālarāmāyana*⁴ and Murārī in his *Anargharāghava*⁵ mention it as the common or family capital of the Kalachuri kings. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the south as feudatories of the Chālukyas, mention with pride their title *Māhishmatī-puravar-ēśvara* 'the lord of Māhishmatī, the best of towns'.⁶

¹ C A D, p. clx n. 1.

² See below, p. 27.

³ For the identification, see Fleet's article 'Mahishamandala and Māhishmatī' in *J. R. A. S.* (1910), pp. 425 ff. Like Kālidāsa, Rājaśekhara also describes Māhishmatī as surrounded by the Narmadā. Some identify the city with Maheshvar in the former Indore State.

⁴ See यन्मेखला भवति मेकलशैलकन्या वीतेन्धनो वसति यत्र च चित्रभानु । तामेष पाति कृतवीर्यशोवत्सा माहिष्मती कलचुरे कलराजधानीम् ॥ *Bālarāmāyana*, III, 35.

⁵ Cf. इयं कलचुरिकुलनरेन्द्रसाधारणाग्रमहिषी माहिष्मती नाम चेदिमण्डलमुण्डमाला नगरी । *Anargharāghava*, Act VII.

⁶ See e.g. the Kēmbhāvī inscription (dated 1054 A. C.) of *Mahāmandalēśvara* Rēvarasa *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 439.

The mention of the Ārjunāyanas in the list of frontier tribes who submitted to Samudragupta¹ has been taken by some² to refer to the Kalachuris who trace their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya. The Ārjunāyanas were indeed an ancient tribe. Their coins bearing the tribal name in Sanskrit are known in several varieties and on the evidence of palæography are ascribed to 100 B. C. Prof. Rapson dates their rise as a political community as early as the fourth century B. C.³ They are included in the *rājanyādi gana* (mentioned in Pāṇini, IV, 2, 53), which shows that their country was called Ārjunāyanaka. Varāhamihira places them in the northern division, and the provenance of their coins indicates that their homeland lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Āgrā⁴. This shows, however, that they were distinct from the Kalachuris who dwelt in the valley of the Narmadā. Besides, according to the *Kāśikā*⁵ on Pāṇini, II, 4, 66, the Ārjunāyanas were the descendants of Arjuna who belonged to the Bhārata clan, and were, therefore, different from the Kalachuris who claimed their descent from Arjuna, the son of Kṛitavīrya.

Though the Early Kalachuris do not call themselves Haihayas in their grants, they soon came to be referred to by that name, for we learn from some inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas that Vinayāditya, the son of Vikramāditya I (680-697 A. C.), subjugated the Haihayas,⁶ and Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.) married two Haihaya princesses, Lōkamahādēvī and her younger sister Trailōkyamahādēvī.⁷ The Eastern Chālukya prince Vishnuvardhana IV (764-799 A. C.) similarly espoused a princess of the Haihaya lineage whose son Nṛiparudra is mentioned as *Dūtaka* in a grant of Vijayāditya II.⁸ These Haihayas were evidently identical with the Early Kalachuris.

It is not known whether the Early Kalachuris were descended from *Mahārāja* Subandhu who ruled from Māhishmatī in an earlier age, for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet been discovered. The Early Kalachuris rose into prominence on the downfall of the Traikūtaka dynasty. After the year 245 of the Kanhēri plate⁹ incised during the sovereignty of the Traikūtakas, the next known date of the Kalachuri era is the year 292 furnished by the Sunao Kala grant of Sangamasimha¹⁰. He seems to have come to power after the Traikūtakas, for the phraseology of the formal part of his grant bears close resemblance to that of the Traikūtaka records, especially the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna.¹¹ Sangamasimha issued the plates from Bharukachchha. Sōnavvā, the village granted by him, is only two miles north of the Kīm and 18 miles north of Surat. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Sangamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously included in the Traikūtaka kingdom. But Sangamasimha, though he calls himself *Mahārāja*, was in reality a *Mahāsāmanta* (i. e., a great feudatory) of some other power. The only powerful contemporary dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalachuris. We have unfortunately no records of the Early Kalachuris who were the real founders of the Kalachuri Empire of the sixth century A. C. The earliest dated record of the Kalachuris is Sankara-

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 10.

³ C. H. I., Vol. I, p. 528.

⁴ A. C. A. I., p. lxxxii ff.

⁵ Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* gives a different illustration (*viz.*, *Auddālakāyana*) to explain the rule.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 91 ff. and Vol. VII, p. 302.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 3.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 415.

⁹ No. 10.

¹⁰ No. 11.

¹¹ See below, p. 34.

gaṇa's Ābhōṇa grant of K 347 (596-97 A C) As shown below, Sankaragana's son Buddharāja was defeated by Mangalēśa in *circa* 601 A. C. Sankaragana can, therefore, be referred to *circa* 575-600 A C., and his father Krishnarāja, to *circa* 550-575 A C. Sangamasimha, who made his grant in 541 A C, was, therefore, probably a feudatory of Krishnarāja's father whose name¹ unfortunately has not come down to us.

This Kalachuri prince must have found a favourable opportunity for the extension of his power in the political conditions of the second quarter of the sixth century A C The Vākātaka dynasty seems to have come to an end with Harishēṇa's son In Central India the meteoric rise of Yaśōdharman was followed by confusion and chaos In the west the Maṭṭrakas, who had founded a kingdom at Valabhī about half a century before, were not yet powerful enough to pursue an aggressive policy In the south, though Pulakēśin I is said to have performed an *Aśvamēdha*, his power was probably confined to the northern Kanarese districts. Krishnarāja's father seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south In the west he supplanted the Traikūtakas and divided their extensive kingdom among his feudatories The Mauryas, as we have already seen, were placed in charge of Aparānta or North Konkan, while Gujarat or at least the central part of it was given in charge of Sangamasimha We do not know whether Maharashtra including ancient Vidarbha was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom during his reign or during that of his son Krishnarāja

Krishnarāja seems to have still further extended the kingdom inherited from his father His silver coins,² which are imitated from those of the Traikūtakas, were at first intended for circulation in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. Like the latter coins, they have on the obverse the bust of the king facing right, and on the reverse inside a circle of dots, runs the legend *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-sri-Krishnarājah*. In the middle, in place of the chaitya, the sun and the moon which figure on the Kshatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins, the king, who was a devotee of Śiva, inserted the figure of the recumbent bull, Nandī, facing right These coins, which in their weight³ and fabric, approximated to the Kshatrapa, Gupta and Traikūṭaka coins, were in circulation over a very wide country. They have been discovered in such distant parts as Rajputana⁴ and Malwa⁵ in the north, the districts of Satara⁶ and Nasik⁷ in the south, the islands of Bombay⁸ and Sāshtī⁹ in the west, and the districts Betul¹⁰ and Amaravati¹¹ of Madhya Pradesh in the east As these coins were in circulation for at least a hundred and fifty years after the time of Krishnarāja,¹² be-

¹ In the place of the patronymic which occurs in the legend on Traikūṭaka coins, Krishnarāja substituted *mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta* 'he who meditates on the feet of his mother and father' So his father's name does not appear even on his coins

² The legend on these coins was first correctly read by Fleet See *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 68.

³ The weight of these coins is about 30 grains

⁴ *C C M I*, p 8 Cunningham ascribed these coins to Krishnarāja Rāshtrakūṭa (375-400 A C), but the Rāshtrakūṭas were not then in power See Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p 27.

⁵ Seven coins were brought to light during excavations at Besnagar *A. R. A S I* (1913-14), p 214.

⁶ They were found near Karhad *Bomb. Gaz*, Vol. I, part II, p 13

⁷ They were discovered at Baglan near Nasik, *loc cit* p 13.

⁸ *Loc cit*, p 13. A hoard of 200 coins was discovered in Bombay proper See *J B B R. A S*, Vol XX (Extra Number) (1900), pp 7 and 9

⁹ Two coins were discovered at Mulgaon near Marole in Sāshtī, *loc cit* p 9

¹⁰ Some coins of this type were discovered in 1937 at Pattan in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh.

¹¹ A hoard of 1600 coins was found at Dhāmōri in the Amaravati District

¹² They are mentioned as *Krishnarāja-rūpakas* in the Anjaneri inscription of Bhōgaśakti, dated K 461 (No 31)

ing used by several later dynasties, it is not possible to say if the Kalachuri Empire in the time of Krishnarāja comprised all these distant territories. But that Gujarat, Konkan, and Maharashtra including Vidarbha were in any case comprised in it, seems beyond all doubt.

Krishnarāja's suzerainty over Vidarbha is also indicated by the recently discovered Nagardhan plates of the reign of Svāmīrāja.¹ They were issued by his brother Nannarāja from Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan near Ramtek in the Nagpur District, which is well known in history as one of the early capitals of the Vākātaka dynasty. The royal family to which Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja belonged is not mentioned in the grant, but as similar names occur in some Rāshtrakūta grants found in Vidarbha,² these princes probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūta lineage. In the initial portion of this grant, Svāmīrāja is described as 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount'. The plates are dated in the year 322, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era and corresponds to 573-74 A. C. This is the only record of the Kalachuri era found in Vidarbha.³ The use of this era indicates that the unnamed suzerain of Svāmīdāsa was some Kalachuri king, probably Krishnarāja who flourished from *circa* 550 A. C. to 575 A. C.; for the era evidently spread to Vidarbha with the extension of the Kalachuri power.

The Nagardhan plates record two gifts—(i) one of 12 *nivartanas* of land in the village Chīñchapattikā, made by a Corporation of Mahāmātras (Elephant-drivers) and (ii) the other of the village Ankōlikā made by the ruling king at Prayāga. It is noteworthy that the seal of the plates has the figure of a goad as the emblem of the Corporation, with the legend *gana-dattih*, meaning 'a gift of the Corporation'.

The descendants of Svāmīrāja probably ruled in Vidarbha for a long time. On the downfall of the Kalachuris, they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas, and like them, dated their records in the Śaka era.

Krishnarāja's son Sankaragana is known from several records. His own Ābhōṇa plates⁴ were issued from his camp at Ujjayinī, and record the donation of land in a village situated in the northern part of the Hyderabad State. It is not known if Western Malwa was permanently annexed to the Kalachuri Empire, but that Sankaragana first conquered it and held it for some time is indicated by the fact that the epithets, employed to describe him in the Ābhōṇa plates and repeated in subsequent Kalachuri charters, were borrowed from or suggested by Gupta records, with which the drafter must have been acquainted in Ujjayinī. It is noteworthy that no such epithets occur in the description of his father Krishnarāja.

The Ābhōṇa plates show that Sankaragana ruled over a vast empire which extended from Malwa in the north to Maharashtra in the south. That it comprised Gujarat is shown by the Sankhedā plate of the general Śāntilla, which mentions Nirihullaka as his governor in Central Gujarat.⁵ Sankaragana is probably referred to as Gaṇa Sankara in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as shown by Dr. Jayaswal.⁶ His Ābhōṇa plates are dated in K. 347 (597 A. C.). His reign must have ended soon thereafter, as his son Buddharāja was defeated by Mangalarāja in *circa* 601 A. C. Sankaragana may, therefore, be assigned approximately to the period 575-600 A. C.

¹ No. 120

² See, e.g., the Multai plates of Nannarāja, dated Ś. 631 (709-10 A. C.).

³ The earlier grants of the Vākātakas are dated in regnal years, while the later ones of the Rāshtrakūtas are dated in the Śaka era.

⁴ No. 12

⁵ No. 13

⁶ *Imperial History of India*, p. 30.

Soon after his accession, Buddharāja found himself involved in a fight on the southern frontier of his kingdom. Several Chālukya inscriptions mention his defeat by the Early Chālukya king Mangalēśa or Mangalarāja. We learn, for instance, from Mangalēśa's Mahākūta inscription¹ (602 A.C.) that Mangalēśa, having set his heart on the conquest of the northern regions, defeated king Buddha and captured his whole treasure. The Nēnur plates² add further details that this Buddharāja was the son of Sankaragana and was possessed of the power of elephants, horses and footsoldiers. Finally, the Aihōlē stone inscription of Pulakēśin II describes in a figurative language that Mangalēśa, 'in that house which was the battlefield, took in marriage the damsel *viṣ*, the Fortune of the Katachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, *viṣ*, the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers.'³ These references leave no doubt about the identity of Buddharāja. Mangalēśa obtained a decisive victory over him. Buddharāja was completely routed and fled away, leaving his whole treasure behind which was captured by Mangalēśa. The latter could not, however, follow up the victory, for, just then Svāmīrāja of the Chālukya family, a redoubtable warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and who was probably ruling in Rēvatīdvīpa⁴ (modern Rēdi) in South Konkan as a feudatory of the Chālukyas, rose in rebellion, seemingly at the instigation of Buddharāja. Mangalēśa had, therefore, to abandon his original plan of making an expedition of conquest in the north, and rushed to Konkan to chastise the rebellious chieftain. In the fight which ensued, he killed Svāmīrāja and by way of thanksgiving made the grant of a village in South Konkan on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika after observing a fast on the preceding day. The Nēnur plates, in which this grant is recorded, are not dated, but the Mahākūta inscription, in which also the victory over Buddharāja is mentioned, is dated in the fifth regnal year, the cyclic year being Siddhārtha. As Fleet has shown, the inscription was probably incised in 601-2 A.C. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharāja,⁵ which may, therefore, be dated approximately in 601 A.C.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17-18. R. G. Bhandarkar, who did not accept Fleet's reading of the date in l. 15 of the Mahākūta inscription, placed Mangalēśa's accession in 591 A.C. (*E. H. D.*, p. 69). In the Mahākūta inscription the reading *rājya-pañchama-śrīvarshē pravartamānē* in l. 15 is clear. So the inscription belongs to the fifth year of Mangalēśa's reign. If we accept Bhandarkar's view that he came to the throne in 591 A.C., his fifth year would fall in 595-596 A.C. But the Ābhōna plates show that in 595-596 A.C. Sankaragana, not Buddharāja, was reigning. Fleet's view about the accession of Mangalēśa presents no chronological difficulty.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 161 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 8.

⁴ The Nēnur plates, which mention the defeat and death of Svāmīrāja at the hands of Mangalēśa, do not explicitly say that he was ruling over Rēvatīdvīpa, but they state that the event occurred after the defeat of Buddharāja. The Aihōlē inscription describes Mangalēśa's capture of the island of Rēvatī after the defeat of the Kalachuri king. Svāmīrāja was, therefore, probably the ruler of the island of Rēvatī, modern Rēdi. Nēnur is only 16 miles south of Rēdi. The village Kundivātaka granted by the plates is probably identical with the modern Kudāl, about 3½ m. north-east of Nēnur. After killing Svāmīrāja, Mangalēśa seems to have placed the island in charge of his relative Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, who was the ruler of the adjoining territory. See his Goa plates issued from the Revatīdvīpa in the twentieth year of his reign. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

⁵ Fleet translates *Kalatsūri-dhanam sva-grāha-dēva-drōṇyām gatam* in the Mahākūta inscription by 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been expended in the idol procession of the temple of our own god.' The sense, however, seems to be 'the wealth of the Kalachuris has been deposited in the treasury (*drōṇī*) of the temple of our own god.' Mangalēśa seems to have assigned the ten villages mentioned in the inscription to the god Makutēsvaranātha, having acquired them with the wealth of the Kalachuri king as well as that donated by his father and eldest brother.

For some reason Mangalēśa could not execute his original plan of making conquests in the north and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī. He seems to have been fully occupied in his own country in ensuring the succession of his son after himself and in thwarting the legitimate ambition of his nephew Pulakēśin II. These internal dissensions of the Chālukyas gave the necessary respite to Buddharāja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Only two grants of this king have come to light so far. Both of them are dated after his defeat by Mangalēśa. The earlier of them, recorded in the Vadnēr plates¹, was made in K 360 (610 A C) at the royal camp fixed at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in Central India). The donated village was situated in the Nasik district. The later or Sarsavnī grant² was made in K 361 (610 A C) at the royal camp fixed at Ānandapura (probably modern Vadnagar in North Gujarat). The village granted was situated in the Broach District. These grants are separated by the short interval of about two months and a half³, during which Buddharāja had to march from Vidiśā to Ānandapura. Again, the villages granted are not situated in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarat but in the Nasik and Broach Districts. It seems plain, therefore, that the grants were made during the victorious campaigns of Buddharāja, and that Malwa and Northern Gujarat were not permanently annexed to the Kalachuri empire. This surmise receives confirmation from Yuan Chwang's mention of Śilāditya as a former king of Malwa⁴. This king is evidently identical with Śilāditya I-Dharmāditya, whose known dates range from G 286 to G 292 (i.e., from 605 A. C. to 611 A. C.). It will be noticed that they are subsequent to the date K 347 (597 A C) of the Ābhōṇa plates issued by Sankaragaṇa from his camp at Ujjayinī. Again, within six years of the date of Buddharāja's Sarsavnī plates, we find Śilāditya's brother Kharagraha I making two grants⁵ (dated G. 297) from his camp at Ujjayinī. Malwa conquered by Sankaragaṇa does not, therefore, seem to have remained under the sway of the Kalachuris for a long time. Buddharāja probably lost it to the king of Valabhī in the beginning of his reign when he suffered a defeat at the hands of Mangalēśa.

It has been suggested⁶ that Buddharāja was the Mālava king who, according to Bāṇa's account, marched on Kanauj when he heard of the death of Prabhākaravardhana, the mighty king of Thaneshvar, and killing his son-in-law, the young Maukharī prince Grahavarman, threw the latter's wife Rājyaśrī into prison 'like a brigand's wife with a pair of fetters kissing her feet'. Buddharāja's army was subsequently routed by Rājyavardhana, who captured thousands of elephants and horses as well as a large treasure. There are several difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. The inscriptions of Harsha do not mention Buddharāja as an adversary of Rājyavardhana. On the other hand, they name Dēvagupta as the leader of the confederacy whom, together with all his allies, Rājyavardhana subdued and turned away like a wild horse. That in the time of Prabhākaravardhana, Malwa—probably the eastern part of it—was held by a king whose name ended in *gupta* seems certain, because Bāṇa mentions as Mālava princes the brothers Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta who were asked to attend on Rājyavardhana and Harsha⁷. Buhler, therefore, conjectured⁸ that the

¹ No. 14.

² No. 15.

³ See p. 53, below.

⁴ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 242.

⁵ P. T. A. I. O. C. (1933), pp. 659 ff., *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 7 ff.

⁶ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 406 ff.

⁷ *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasagar ed.), p. 138.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 70. Buhler suggested, however, that the word Mālava perhaps referred to the country of Mālava in the Panjab, which was much nearer to Thaneshvar than Malwa in Central India.

Mālava king who killed Grahavarman was Dēvagupta, and Hoernle thought that the latter was a brother of Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, and had usurped the throne of Malwa¹. It is not unlikely that Dēvagupta was responsible for the destruction of Grahavarman. He was probably ruling over Eastern Malwa with Vidiśā as his capital, for, according to Yuan Chwang's testimony, Western Malwa was then under the rule of Śilāditya I—Dharmāditya. Buddharāja cannot, therefore, be identified with the Mālava king mentioned by Bāna. Besides, in 605 A. C. when the aforementioned events took place, Mangalēśa was still supreme in the south. Only four years before, Buddharāja had sustained a crushing defeat at his hands and though for some reason Mangalēśa did not follow up the victory, the danger of his invasion could not have passed altogether. It is, therefore, doubtful if Buddharāja would have dared to carry his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

When Harsha swore to avenge the treacherous murder of his brother Rājyavardhana by Śaśānka, the king of Gauda, he must have proceeded to make political alliances to achieve his object. His two powerful foes were Śaśānka, the king of Gauda, and the king of Mālava. His alliance with Bhāskaravarman, the prince of Kāmarūpa (Assam), was obviously intended to hold the Gauda king in check on his eastern frontier. Unfortunately, Bāna's narrative comes to an abrupt close. It does not, therefore, tell us what measures Harsha adopted against the Mālava king, who, though defeated by Rājyavardhana, was not completely crushed. It is possible to conjecture that he sought the help of Buddharāja, who was the southern neighbour of the king of Malwa. Buddharāja's victorious campaigns in Eastern Malwa and Northern Gujarāt were evidently directed against Dēvagupta and Śilāditya I. The latter may have been one of Dēvagupta's allies who are referred to in a general way in the inscriptions of Harsha. These expeditions were undertaken in 610 A. C. when, owing to the civil war in the Chālukyan kingdom, there was no danger of Buddharāja's territory being invaded by the Chālukyas. As we shall see later on, Harsha himself made war on the king of Valabhī probably after he had subdued the kings of the North.

The Vaṇṇēr and Sarsavṇī grants of Buddharāja indicate that notwithstanding the crushing defeat he sustained at the beginning of his career, Buddharāja retained his hold over the whole country from Gujarat to Maharashtra. With the accession of Pulakēśin II, however, matters took a different turn. After consolidating his position in the Kanarese country and subjugating his immediate southern neighbours, the Gangas and the Ālupas, Pulakēśin seems to have turned his attention to the north. He stormed Purī, the capital of the Mauryas, which he captured after a hard-fought battle. He also became the lord of the three Mahārāshtras², comprising the Marathi-speaking districts in the States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad. The Aihōlī inscription does not name his adversary, but there can be little doubt that he was Buddharāja. The record says that Pulakēśin used all the three royal powers (*viz.*, energy, counsel and royal position) to gain his object. Diplomacy seems, therefore, to have played as great a part as actual fight in the defeat of Buddharāja, which may have taken place about 620 A. C.

History does not know the names of Buddharāja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Māhishmatī with more or less independence. It seems that one of them made a last effort to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but the attempt was not crowned with success, and the Haihayas were reduced to a state of servitude similar to that of the Ālupas (*i. e.*, Ālupas), Gangas and others who had already become the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas. As this event is referred to in Vinayāditya's grant³ of Śaka 609,

¹ J. R. A. S., (1903), p. 562

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 64.

the defeat of the Haihayas must have occurred before 687 A. C. Thereafter, we do not hear of the Haihayas till the 8th century A. C., except in connection with the marriages of the princesses of the family with the scions of the Eastern and Western Chālukya dynasties.¹ The Haihayas, therefore, seem to have remained loyal to their overlords, the Chālukyas, until the latter's overthrow by the Rāshtrakūtas. The rise of the Rāshtrakūtas led to a change in the political fortune of the Haihayas or Kalachuris, to which we shall turn in a subsequent section.

THE EARLY GURJARAS

Several inscriptions² of the Gurjaras, all of them on copper-plates, dated in the Kalachuri era have been discovered in Western India between the Kīm and the Mahī. They range in dates from K. 380 to K. 486. This country was under the direct rule of the Kalachuris till K. 361 at least, for, in that year Buddharāja made the grant of a village in the Broach District.³ After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II extended the northern limit of his empire to the Kīm, adding to it the provinces of Konkan, the three Maharashtras and southern Gujarat. Just about that time Harsha, the mighty ruler of Kanauj, was making extensive conquests in the north, and countries far and near were submitting to him. It must have seemed very likely that he would soon press to the south. Pulakēśin, therefore, wisely decided to create a buffer state in Central Gujarat under Dadda II of the Gurjara race, who had probably acquired already some portion of it during the hostilities of the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas in the south. Dadda II on his part was only too glad to acknowledge the suzerainty and get the support of his powerful southern neighbour. The Aihōlē inscription⁴ tells us that the king of Lāta, who was none other than this Dadda, as well as the Mālava and the Gurjara, being impressed by Pulakēśin's valour, became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force ought to behave. The grants of Dadda II are the earliest Gurjara records so far discovered in Gujarat. Kielhorn has shown that both in their eulogistic and formal parts they were drafted on the model of the earlier Kalachuri grants, and from this he rightly conjectured that 'the family of these chiefs (i. e., the Gurjaras) rose to independence only after the time of the Kalachuri Buddharāja'.⁵

The Kairā grants of Dadda II mention two earlier princes of the dynasty, viz., his grandfather Dadda I and father Jayabhata I *alias* Vitarāga. The former, who is styled *Sāmanta*, was only a feudal lord. As regards the suzerain to whom he owed allegiance, Fleet conjectured that he and also his son Jayabhata I must have been vassals of the Kalachuri king Buddharāja.⁶ As the known dates of Dadda II range from K. 380 to K. 392, he probably flourished from *circa* K. 370 to K. 395. His grandfather Dadda I must, therefore, be referred to the period from *circa* K. 320 to K. 345 or from 570 A. C. to 595 A. C. The contemporary Kalachuri emperors were Krishnarāja and his son Sankaragana,⁷ and not Buddharāja. It is again doubtful if Dadda I was at all ruling in Gujarat. From a copper-plate found at Sankhēdā⁸ we learn that Nirihullaka was ruling over the lower Narmadā valley, later on the heart of the Gurjara kingdom, as a feudatory

¹ See above, p. xlv.

² Nos. 16-24.

³ No. 15, l. 22.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 296.

⁶ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 315.

⁷ See above, pp. xlv ff.

⁸ No. 13.

f the Kalachuri Sankaragana. Subsequently the country was under the direct rule f the Kalachuris as shown by Buddharāja's Sarsavṇī grant. The Gurjaras, therefore, came into possession of it after the Kalachuris. The sign-manuals of the Gurjara princes are in northern characters, though their grants are written in the southern script. This early indicates their northern origin. Dr R. C. Majumdar has shown that Dadda I was probably identical with the homonymous son of the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra from his śhatriya wife Bhadrā, who is mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāta āuka¹ and who probably flourished about 575 A. C.² He was apparently ruling somewhere in the vicinity of Māndavyapura (modern Māndōr near Jodhpur), which he and his brothers are said to have conquered. The connection of the two families is also indicated by the similarities of some names noticed in them.³

No records of Dadda I have yet been discovered, but from the Kairā grants⁴ of his grandson we learn that he was a devotee of the Sun. We are again told that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, which seems to suggest that he raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain from his base in Rajputana. He may be referred to the period 570-595 A. C.

About his son and successor Jayabhata I, we know very little. From the *biruda* *ītarāga*, 'one whose passion has vanished', applied to him, he seems to have been a man of tranquil nature. He had two sons, Dadda II who succeeded him and Raṇagraha who was apparently placed by his brother in charge of the eastern part of his kingdom. Jayabhata I may have flourished from *circa* 595 A. C. to 620 A. C.

Dadda II *alias* Praśāntarāga, 'one whose passion has subsided', is known from several inscriptions. He was the real founder of the Gurjara kingdom in the Lāṭa country. His Kairā plates (two sets) are dated in K. 380 (629-30 A. C.) and K. 385 (634-35 A. C.), and record the grant of Śirīshapadraka (modern Sisōdrā, 11 miles from Anklēśvar in the Broach District) to certain Brāhmaṇas. Two other sets of plates,⁵ issued on the same day in K. 392 (641-2 A. C.), register the grant of two fields in the village Kshīrasara in the *viśhaya* (district) of Sangamakhēṭaka (modern Sankhēḍā *prānt* of the Baroda District). He is also mentioned in a fragmentary Sankhēḍā grant⁶ of his brother Raṇagraha, dated K. 391. As stated above, he was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Pulakēśin II soon after he carved out a kingdom for himself in the lower Narmadā valley. On the seals of his plates he is styled *Sāmanta* or a feudal lord, while in his grants he is said to have won the *pañchamahā-abda* (the right to use the five great sounds). Like his grandfather, he was a devotee of the sun.

Dadda II heads the genealogy in all later records. His descendants took pride in describing him as one 'who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious Harshadēva'.⁷ It has been recognized that Dadda II, the ruler of a petty state, a mere *Sāmanta*, could not have, unaided, given protection

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 91.

² Majumdar places his father Harichandra in about 550 A. C.

³ *Viz.*, two Nāgabhatas in the Māndōr line and four Jayabhatas in the Gujarat line. It must, however, be noted that the Māndōr line traces itself back to Lakshmana, the brother of Rāma, while the Gujarat line claims to have descended from Karna, a hero of the Bhārata war. But both these Paurāṇic pedigrees were invented in later times—the former in the ninth and the latter in the seventh century A. C.

⁴ Nos. 16 and 17.

⁵ Nos. 19 and 20.

⁶ No. 18. Three other grants purporting to have been issued by Dadda II are dated in Ś. 400, 414 and Ś. 417, but they are spurious. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 117 ff.

⁷ Below, p. 85. The expression occurs in Nos. 21, 22, and 24.

to the ruler of Valabhī against the armies of the most powerful ruler of the time with the resources of a vast empire at his command. Besides, it is noteworthy that Dadda himself is silent about this glorious achievement ascribed to him,¹ for there is no mention of it even in his grants of K. 392 (641-42 A C), which were made towards the end of his reign and before which the event must certainly have happened. Scholars are, however, not agreed about the power that supported him. According to Dr R C Majumdar, Dadda II was at the time a feudatory of the dynasty of Harichandra which bore hereditary enmity to the royal house of Thaneshvar.² It is, however, doubtful if the Pratihāras of Māndavyapura were then so powerful as to resist the victorious march of the mighty Emperor of North India. From the Aihōlē inscription³ and the account of Yuan Chwang,⁴ on the other hand, we learn that gathering troops from the five Indias and the best generals from all countries, Harsha advanced in person relying on his formidable elephant force. He was opposed by Pulakēśin II, the great king of Maharashtra. The battle was probably fought on the bank of the Narmadā⁵ in the heart of the Gurjara kingdom. Harsha's huge elephants fell in the fight and turned the scales in favour of his enemy. In this war the Gurjara Dadda was probably fighting on behalf of his liege lord Pulakēśin II. Though he himself did not claim credit for the victory, his descendants who were less punctilious in this regard ascribed it solely to his arms.

One of the causes of this war may have been the protection that Dadda gave to the king of Valabhī when he was attacked by Harsha. Dr Altekar⁶ points out that the war could not have been fought during the first two or three decades of the seventh century A C. when Harsha and Pulakēśin, both of whom aspired for the most enviable position of *Chakravartin*, were increasing their power and consolidating their position by conquering small kingdoms in the north and the south respectively. Pulakēśin's victory is mentioned in the Aihōlē inscription of 634 A C, while the earlier Lōhanēr plates⁷ issued by him in 630 A C are altogether silent about it. The war seems, therefore, to have been fought between 630 A C and 634 A C. The Valabhī ruler who sought Dadda's protection was Dhruvabhata II *alias* Bālāditya, whose earliest grant is dated in G 310 (629-30 A C). From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that Harsha later⁸ made peace with the Valabhī ruler and cemented the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to him. As stated above, Dadda II probably flourished from 620 A C to 645 A C.

Dadda II was succeeded by his son Jayabhata II, who is known only from the grants of his successors. He is praised therein in general terms, altogether devoid of historical information. Soon after his accession, his country seems to have been invaded by the Valabhī ruler Dharasēna IV, the son and successor of Dhruvasēna II, who from his grants is known to have assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*.

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal tentatively suggested that 'the protection given to the Valabhī king is perhaps referred to in the Khēdā grants in the mention of 'strangers and suppliants and people in distress,' but further on he admitted that 'the phrase quoted is by no means decisive' *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, part 1, p 116

² *J D L*, Vol. X, p 12

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol VI, p 6

⁴ *O Y C*, Vol II, p 239

⁵ In the Aihōlē inscription, after mentioning the defeat of Harsha, Ravikīrti describes the army of Pulakēśin II as encamped on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā) at the foot of the Vindhya mountain

⁶ *A. B O R I*, Vol XIII, pp 302 ff

⁷ *S. M H D*, Vol I, pp 1-8

⁸ I do not agree with Dr Altekar's view that 'Harsha's conquest or winning over of the Valabhī ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakēśin'. There seems to have been only one war during which the ruler of Valabhī fled to the court of Dadda. He was pursued by Harsha, who was defeated by Pulakēśin and his feudatory Dadda II.

and *Chakravartin*, and appears to have been the most powerful ruler of the time. Dharasēna advanced to and occupied Broach, which was probably the Gurjara capital at the time.¹ From his victorious camp at Broach, Dharasēna issued two sets of plates² in the same year G 330 (648 A. C.). The villages granted by him lay, however, in the Khētakāhāra *visbhaya* (modern Kairā District) which was outside the Gurjara kingdom. It has, therefore, been suggested that Dharasēna IV was enjoying the hospitality of the Gurjara king.³ The argument does not, however, appear convincing, for though in ancient times kings sometimes made grants of land situated in the territory which they had recently conquered, they did not do so invariably—especially when the country was only raided and not permanently occupied.⁴ Again, the adjective ‘victorious’ prefixed to Dharasēna’s camp in these grants indicates that he had gone to Bharukachchha in the course of a military campaign. Dharasēna seems to have soon retired to his country, perhaps after exacting a heavy tribute from Jayabhata II.

Like his father, Jayabhata II was probably a devotee of the Sun, though there is no express mention of it in Gurjara records. A temple of the Sun called Jayāditya situated at Kōtipura near Kāpikā (modern Kāvī in the Jambusar *tālukā* of the Broach District) was probably built by him.⁵ It is known from a grant made several years later (in 827 A. C.) for its repairs by Gōvinda of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta branch.⁶ Jayabhata II may be referred to the period 645–665 A. C.

Jayabhata was followed by Dadda III, who was the first Gurjara prince to become a devotee of Śiva. Only one grant of his has been discovered so far, *viz.* that recorded on the Prince of Wales Museum plates, dated K. 427 (675 A. C.).⁷ He is also mentioned in the grants of his successors. He had the *biruda* *Bāhusabāya* (one whose sole helper is his arm) and attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. He seems to have pursued a more vigorous policy than his predecessor, for, he is said to have obtained victories over the kings of the east and the west. The king of the west was probably the Valabhī ruler Silāditya III (*circa* 660–685 A. C.) who was his contemporary. It seems that soon after his accession Dadda made an incursion into the Valabhī kingdom in retaliation for the previous invasion by the Maitrakas. He seems to have attained some success as suggested by the aforementioned statement. This occurred some time before 675 A. C., the date of his Prince of Wales Museum plates.⁷

During the reign of Dadda III the Gurjara kingdom was invaded by a ruler named Vajrata or Vajjada as stated in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. Like the earlier invasion of Harsha, this attack also was repelled with the help of the Chālukya suzerain. The whole army of Vajjada was annihilated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā by Jayasimha, a younger son of Pulakeśin II.⁸ This victory of the Chālukyas was regarded

¹ The Gurjara capital till the end of Dadda II’s reign was Nāndīpura as all the four grants of his reign are issued from that city. The capital was shifted to Bharukachchha (Broach) sometime before K. 427 (675 A. C.), the date of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff and Vol. XV, pp. 339 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 316, *J. D. L.*, Vol. X, p. 18.

⁴ As instances we may point out that the Vadnēr plates of Buddhārāja, though issued from his victorious camp at Vidiśā in Eastern Malwa, record the grant of a village in the Nasik District, and the Karhad plates of Krishna III, though issued from his victorious camp at Mēlpātī in North Arcot, record the grant of a village near Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State.

⁵ As shown above, Jayabhata I did not probably rule in Gujarat and Jayabhata III and IV were devotees of Śiva.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

⁷ No. 121.

⁸ See No. 28, ll. 9–10.

as memorable as it was decisive, for, like the earlier one over Harsha, it is mentioned in many records of the Rāshtrakūtas as the most glorious achievement of their enemies, the Early Chālukyas¹ The identification of Vajjada and the approximate date of this victory will be discussed later on² Dadda III flourished from *circa* 665 A. C. to 690 A. C.

Dadda III's son and successor Jayabhata III is known from two records³ His Navsārī plates were issued from his camp at Kāyāvātāra (the modern Kārwan, about 15 m. south of Baroda) They record the grant of the village Samīpadraka near Kārwan on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in K. 456 (706 A. C.). The second set of plates, though discovered at Anjanerī near Nasik, registers the grant of a village near Nāndīpurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpīpla State) on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Libra in K. 460 (710 A. C.) The plates were issued from Bharukachchha

In both the grants we find the old racial name Gurjara of the family discarded, and the claim made instead that the royal family was descended from Karna, evidently the hero of the Bhārata war⁴ Like his father, Jayabhata III was a Śaiva and won the *pañchamahāśabda* His descendants give him a higher title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* 'the lord of the great feudatories', but it is not noticed in his own records Jayabhata III probably flourished from *circa* 690 A. C. to 715 A. C.

The next prince Ahirōla, the son of Jayabhata III, is known only from the grants of his son Jayabhata IV. He had the same titles as his father, and was, like him, a devotee of Śiva If the description given of him is not altogether conventional, he seems to have been a learned, pious and self-controlled prince. His reign was altogether uneventful and probably very short He may be referred to the period 715-720 A. C.

Ahirōla's son and successor was Jayabhata IV He is known from two copper-plate records.⁵ The earlier one which is fragmentary was discovered at Kāvī. It registers the grant of some land in favour of the god Āśramadēva installed at Kēmajju, not far from Kāvī in the Broach District The grant was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer in K. 486 (736 A. C.) The second record, which was incised nearly three months and a half later in the same year, registers the grant of the village Mannātha in the same district to a Brāhmaṇa of the Hētāvuka sub-caste.

The description of Jayabhata IV in both these records is given generally in conventional terms Like his father, he was a Śaiva and *Mahāsāmantādhipati* There is, however, one verse in a rather corrupt form which refers to an important historical event⁶ We learn from it that Jayabhata, by the edge of his sword, forcibly vanquished in the city of the lord of Valabhī the Tājikas who oppressed all people. This verse which occurs in the Kāvī plate also had been known for a long time, but several letters of it were lost by the breaking off of its right and left upper edges Buhler, who edited the Kāvī plate, had, therefore, no complete text of the verse before him One of his readings was also incorrect His translation, 'who (*i.e.*, Jayabhata) by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī,'⁷ was responsible for the conclusion, drawn by him and others who followed him, that this Jayabhata inflicted a defeat on the contemporary ruler of Valabhī.

¹ See e.g. the Anjanavati plates of Gōvinda III, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XXIII, p. 14

² See below, pp. lx ff

³ The Kāvī plate dated K. 486 was for a long time ascribed to Jayabhata III, whose reign was supposed to have begun shortly before K. 456 But the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24), recently discovered, show that it belongs to his grandson Jayabhata IV

⁴ This is also noticed in the earlier Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III (No. 121).

⁵ Nos. 23 and 24

⁶ See below, pp. lxiv ff

⁷ *Ind Ant*, Vol. V, p. 115

The correct reading of the verse which can now be restored with the help of the better preserved Prince of Wales Museum plates shows, on the other hand, that Jayabhata went to the rescue of the king of Valabhī, when his capital was attacked by the Tājikas or Arabs, and inflicted a defeat on the enemy.

Jayabhata IV may have come to the throne in *circa* 720 A. C. His Kāvī and Prince of Wales Museum grants are both dated in 736 A. C. The first encounter with the Arabs, in which Jayabhata obtained a decisive victory, must, therefore, be placed between 720 A. C. and 735 A. C. The only period during this interval when the Arabs followed a vigorous policy was that of the governorship of Junaid. Al Bilāduri¹ tells us that after defeating Jaishiya and storming Kīraj, Junaid sent his officers against Marmad, Mandal, Dahanaj and Barūs. He also sent forces against Ujain, Mālība and Baharīmad, and conquered Bailaimān and Jurz. During one of these raids, his forces must have attacked Valabhī.² Jayabhata IV, realizing the common danger, seems to have gone to the help of the king of Valabhī and defeated the Arabs. Now, Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh by Umar and confirmed by Khalīf Hasham (724-743 A. C.) As he was succeeded about 726 A. C. by Tamīm,³ we may place the raid of Valabhī in *circa* 725 A. C. The contemporary king of Valabhī who was thus saved by Jayabhata IV was probably Śilāditya V.⁴

But the Arabs were not completely vanquished. Before long they overran the kingdom of Jayabhata himself, and pressed forward as far as Navasārikā. At this point their further advance was checked by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin,⁵ who inflicted a crushing defeat on them some time before 740 A. C., the date of his Navsāri plates. The Gurjara kingdom was thereafter probably annexed by the Gujarat Chālukyas. After the overthrow of the latter by the Rāshtrakūta prince Dantidurga, the country to the north of the Kīm was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family with its capital at Bharukachchha. The Hānsōt plates⁶ of Bhartrivaddha, a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhatta, were issued from Bharukachchha in V. 813 (756 A. C.).

The Gurjara kingdom seems to have been bounded by the Kīm in the south and the Arabian sea in the west. Northward it followed the course of the Mahī up to the former Rewakantha Agency, from where the boundary line ran along the eastern limit of the Panch-Mahals District to Chhota-Udaipur in the east. Over this country the Gurjaras ruled almost continuously for six generations comprising about a hundred and twenty years. Their capital was at first Nāndīpurī (Nāndōd in the former Rajpipla State), as all the records of Dadda II are issued from it. After him it seems to have been shifted to the prosperous emporium Bharukachchha (Broach). Of the five later records—one of Dadda III, two of Jayabhata III and two of Jayabhata IV—one was issued from the royal camp at Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwan) south of Baroda, and two from Bharukachchha (without the addition of a word like *vāsakāt*), while the place of issue in the case of the other two is not known. It is again noteworthy that the expeditions of Dharasēna IV, Śilāditya III and later on of the Arabs were directed against Broach itself. It was, therefore, probably the later capital of the Gurjaras.

¹ *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

² Prof. Hodivala has ingeniously suggested that Mālība against which Junaid sent an army may be Balība (Valabhī).

³ *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, p. 442.

⁴ He was ruling in G. 403 (722-23 A. C.) See *I. N. I.* Nos. 1369-70.

⁵ See No. 30, ll. 25 ff.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.

The Gurjaras were staunch adherents of Hinduism. Nearly all their grants were made to Brāhmanas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The earlier rulers down to Jayabhata II were worshippers of the Sun, while the later ones were, without exception, devotees of Śiva.

THE SENDRAKAS OF GUJARAT

The Sēndrakas first appear on the political horizon of South India as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kadambas. The Gokak plates,¹ dated in *circa* 532-33 A.C., mention the Sēndraka prince Indrananda as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūta king Dējja-Mahārāja. He was ruling over the territory round Jamkhandi, about 80 miles south by east of Kolhapur. Some other records mention the Sēndrakas in connection with the Kadambas. A copper-plate inscription² of the Kadamba king Harivarman records the royal grant of the village Maradē at the request of Bhānuśakti who is described therein as 'the ornament of the family of the Sēndrakas'. Another Kadamba inscription³ mentions the *Sēndraka-vishaya* or the home province of the Sēndrakas. After the fall of the Kadambas, the Sēndrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them became matrimonially connected. From the Chiplun plates of Pulakēśin II⁴ we learn that his maternal uncle Śrīvallabha Sēnānanda was 'an ornament of the Sēndrakas'. He was probably ruling over South Konkan as a feudatory of Pulakēśin II as the latter sanctioned his grant of the village Āmravātaka and some allotment at another village Avañchapālī in the Avarētika *vishaya*.⁵ These villages were evidently situated in the vicinity of Chiplun, the former being probably identical with Āmbōlī, 15 m. north of Chiplun. Another Sēndraka chief seems to have been appointed to govern some part of the Banavāsī kingdom which had been conquered from the Kadambas, for, a later inscription of the time of Pulakēśin II's grandson Vinayāditya⁶ mentions the *Mahārāja* Pōgillī of the Sēndraka family ruling over the Nagarkhand District, which, as we know from other records, was comprised in the Banavāsī Twelve-thousand. Again, the Sēndraka feudatory Dēvaśakti is mentioned in a record of the tenth year of Vikramāditya I, found in Karnul District of the Madras State.⁷ The Sēndrakas claimed to be of the Bhujagēndra *anvaya*⁸ or Phanīndra *vamśa*.⁹ They, therefore, belonged to the Nāga race. Their modern representatives are the Śindēs, whose crest contains the Nāga emblem.

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II divided their extensive kingdom among his relatives and trusted chiefs. Southern Gujarat extending from the Kīm in the north to the Damangangā in the south was placed in charge of a Sēndraka chief. The

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 289 ff

² *Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 31, *J B B R A S*, Vol IX, p 239

³ *Ep Carn*, Vol V, p 594

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol III p 50. For three other Sēndraka inscriptions of the same period, see *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 289 ff

⁵ Mr Jackson suggested that Avarētikā was identical with Aparānta. *J B B R A S*, Vol XX, p. 41

⁶ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 142

⁷ *J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 239. A stone inscription at Lakshmeshvar (*Ind Ant*, Vol VII, pp 101 ff) near the south-east corner of the Dharwar District mentions king Durgaśakti, son of Kundaśakti who was son of Vijayasakti of the Sēndraka family, as a contemporary of Satyāśraya, son of Ranaparākrama (who is obviously intended to be Pulakēśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I), but the inscription is spurious. See *Ind Ant*, Vol XXX, p 218

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol VII, p 106

⁹ *S M H D*, Vol I, pp 21 and 82-83

Sēndrakas ruled over this territory for three generations. They seem to have made numerous grants; for, Pandit Bhagvanlal once informed Dr Buhler that he had in his possession several sets of Sēndraka plates from Southern Gujarat¹. It is very unfortunate that they are not forthcoming now.

Only four grants² of the family have been published so far. Of these, three were made by Allaśakti. The earliest of them was discovered at Kāsārē in West Khandesh. Before its publication it was thought that the rule of the Sēndrakas was confined to Southern Gujarāt. The Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti³ which register his donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēta, modern Pimpalner,⁴ about 45 miles west of Dhulia, clearly show that the Sēndrakas held Khandesh also. The plates are dated in the year 404 of the Kalachuri era (653 A. C.). Another inscription of Allaśakti was found at Bagumrā⁵ in the Surat District. It is dated in the Kalachuri year 406 (656 A. C.), and registers the grant of the village Balisa, the modern Wanasa in the Bārdoli *tāluka* of the Surat District.

From these grants we learn that Bhānuśakti, who is called Nikumbha in the Kāsārē plates, was the founder of the family. As his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in 653 and 656 A. C., Bhānuśakti has to be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. C. He seems, therefore, to have been invested by Pulakēśin II with the government of Southern Gujarat and Khandesh after the defeat of the Kalachuri Buddhārāja. In his grants he is said to have attained victory in the clash of many battles with the onslaught of four-tusked elephants. His son was Ādityaśakti, and the latter's son, Allaśakti⁶. In his grants Allaśakti claims to have won the *pañcamahāśabda* and assumes the *virūdas* *Prithvivallabha* and *Nikumbha*.

The Sēndrakas, though they were raised to power by the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, make no mention of their liege lords in their grants. From this Dr Fleet inferred that the Bagumrā grant 'belongs to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance'.⁷ When Fleet wrote, this inference appeared quite justified, because in other inscriptions of that period such as the Navsārī and Surat plates of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya, the reigning sovereign was invariably mentioned.⁸ Since then several other grants of the period have come to light, e. g., the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, the Anjanerī plates of Bhōgaśakti and the Mundakhēdē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, in which the reigning suzerain is not specifically mentioned, but which were made after the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267. Pandit Bhagvanlal is known to have bequeathed by his will all his coins and copper-plates to the British Museum (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 297), but no Sēndraka grant can now be traced there.

² Two of these, viz., the Nāgad plates of Allaśakti and the Mundakhēdē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti bear dates of the Śaka era, and are, therefore, not included in this Volume. The Nāgad plates dated in Śaka 577 (656 A. C.) were issued from Allaśakti's camp near Kāyāvātāra (modern Kārwan in Gujarat) and record his grant of a village near Nāndīpuradvārī (modern Nandurbar in West Khandesh) (*N. I. A.*, Vol. I, pp. 747-48). For an account of the Mundakhēdē plates, dated Śaka 602 (681 A. C.), see below, p. lix, n. 2.

³ No. 25.

⁴ Some lines originally engraved on the second plate were cancelled and others incised over them. The statement refers to the later record.

⁵ No. 26.

⁶ His name is given as Nikumbhallaśakti by Buhler, but that *Nikumbha* was only a *virūda* is evident from the seal of the Kāsārē plates which has the legend *Allaśakti*. The same name occurs in l. 17 of the Kāsārē plates. *Nikumbha* is prefixed as a *virūda* to the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. See his Mundakhēdē plates, *A. R. B. I. S. M. for Śaka* 1834, pp. 169 ff.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 361.

⁸ Fleet pointed out that no paramount sovereign is mentioned in the Kairā plates of Vijayarāja (No. 34) which he referred to the same period. But the record is spurious.

re-establishment of Chālukya suzerainty even according to Fleet's view. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Sēndrakas, though there was undoubtedly much disturbance and disorder in the Chālukya dominion owing to Pallava invasions in the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign.

After the issue of the Bagumrā plates, however, the Sēndrakas seem to have been ousted from Southern Gujarat, for within fifteen years from the date of that grant we find a subordinate branch of the Western Chālukyas established in the lower Tāpī valley. The next date of the Kalachuri era that comes from Gujarat, viz., K 421, is furnished by the grant¹ which the prince-regent Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya made on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. As we shall see later, it records the gift of a village situated within twenty miles of Balisa or Wanesa which was granted by the Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. It is plain, therefore, that Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya was ruling over the same territory which was previously held by the Sēndrakas. The Sēndrakas then removed their seat of government to Khandesh, where we find Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti granting the village Sēnānā by his Mundakhēdē plates² dated Śaka 602 (680 A. C.). The donated village is now represented by Saundanē near the western border of the Khandesh District. The use of the Śaka era in dating the record also shows that the grant was made outside Gujarat where the Kalachuri era remained current for more than half a century afterwards.³

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakēśin II seems to have annexed Maharashtra to the country under his direct rule.⁴ In the Aihōlē inscription⁵ he is called the lord of the three Mahārāshtras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages. Yuan Chwang, who travelled in South India during his reign, also mentions him as the king of Mo-ha-la-ch'a (Maharashtra).⁶ Pulakēśin seems to have placed the southern districts, viz., Satara, Panadharpur and perhaps also Sholapur under his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana, for, the Satara plates⁷ of the latter prince record the grant of a village on the southern

¹ No 27. The Manor plates of Jayāśraya Mangalarasa, which have been published recently, mention Śaka 613 (691-92 A. C.) as the twenty-first year, evidently, of the reign of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVIII, p 21. The dynastic change seems, therefore, to have occurred in 671 A. C. The Surat plates of Ywarāja Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya, dated K 421 (670-71), seem to have been issued soon after Gujarat came into the possession of Jayasimha.

² These plates have been edited twice in Marāṭhī, first in the Marāṭhī journal *Prabhāta* (Vol I) of Dhulia and then in *A. R. B. I. S. M.* (Śaka 1834), but unfortunately they are not forthcoming now. The plates were found in the possession of the Patel of Mundakhēdē, not far from Dhulia. They were issued by Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, of the Sēndraka family from Jayapuradvārī and record the grant of the village Sēnānā in the *viśaya* of Kundalikāmala to a Brāhmana residing at Kallivana. I have elsewhere identified these places. Thus, Jayapuradvārī, which was so called probably because it was situated at the entrance to a defile, is modern Jēur, 6 m. north of Nāndgaon, which lies at the entrance to the valley between the Sātmālā and Ajantā ranges. Kundalikāmala is Kundalgaon, 11 m. south-west of Jeur. Sēnānā, the donated village, is the modern Saundanē near Kundalgaon. The grant, therefore, undoubtedly belongs to Khāndesh. The Nasik District was then under Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. See No 28.

³ The Navsārī plates, the last record of Gujarat dated in the Kalachuri era, were granted in K 490 (740 A. C.).

⁴ The Nirpan grant of Nāgavardhana mentions Dharāśraya-Jayasimha as a younger brother of Pulakēśin apparently as the ruler of the Nasik District, but the grant is probably spurious, for, Dharāśraya-Jayasimha was Pulakēśin's son, not brother. See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol I, part II, p 358, n 1.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol VI, pp 1 ff.

⁶ *O. Y. C.*, Vol II, p 239.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XIX, p 303.

bank of the Bhīmā The districts in Northern Maharashtra together with the country near the western coast seem to have been under Pulakēśin's direct rule¹ His second capital was probably Nasik This city, as Fleet has shown,² answers to the description of Pulakēśin's capital given by the Chinese traveller.

Vikramāditya I, who succeeded Pulakēśin II, appointed his younger brother Dharāśraya-Jayasimha to govern South Gujarat, parts of North Konkan and the Nasik District The Navasāri plates of Jayasimha's son Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, which were evidently issued soon after this appointment, state explicitly that the prosperity of Jayasimha was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya I³ The Sēndrakas who were previously ruling over South Gujarat moved to Khandesh This change seems to have occurred in 671 A. C., for, the recently discovered Manor plates state that Śaka 613 (691-92) was the twenty-first regnal year of Jayasimha⁴

Jayasimha seems to have himself ruled over only the Nasik District. The Nasik plates dated in K 436 (685 A. C.) record his grant of a village in that district He placed his two sons in charge of the other parts of his kingdom, investing them with power to make grants of land in their own name His elder son Yuvārāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, who ruled over South Gujarat, is known to have made two grants of land recorded in the Navsāri and Surat plates⁵ These are dated in the Kalachuri era which was then current in Gujarat. His second son Jayāśraya-Mangalarasa also made two land-grants recorded in the Manor and Balsar plates⁶ These are dated in the Śaka era which was apparently current in parts of North Konkan where Jayāśraya-Mangalarasa was ruling The Nasik plates state that with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasimha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā⁷ As we have already seen, this country was under the rule of the Gurjara princes who called themselves *Sāmantas* and evidently owed allegiance to the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It seems that some king named Vajjada invaded the country of the Gurjaras, evidently from the North The Gurjara ruler sought the help of his suzerain, the Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, who ordered Jayasimha to proceed to the north to the rescue of the Gurjara feudatory. He won a decisive victory which is placed on a par with Pulakēśin II's brilliant victory over Harsha and mentioned as one of the most glorious achievements of the Western Chālukyas in many records of their political successors, the Rāshtrakūtas⁸

Before the discovery of Jayasimha's Nasik plates, no reference to this victory over Vajjada was known to occur in any record of the Western Chālukyas Fleet, however, conjectured⁹ that this victory was identical with the one obtained by Vinayāditya over some paramount king of North India, which is mentioned in the records of his son and successor Vijayāditya.¹⁰ Thus from the Nerur plates of the latter, dated Śaka 622 and 627, we

¹ The Lōhanēr plates, dated Śaka 552 (630-31 A. C.) record Pulakēśin II's grant of a village in the Baglan *tālukā* of the Nasik District *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVII, pp 37 ff

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XXII, p 115

³ No 27, 19

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVIII, pp 17 ff

⁵ Nos 27 and 29

⁶ *Ep Ind* Vol XXVIII pp 17 ff and *J B B R A. S.*, Vol XVI, p 5

⁷ See No 28, lines 9-13

⁸ Dantivarman, the founder of the Rāshtrakūta power, is thus described—काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचोल-पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षम् । कार्णाटक बलमनन्तमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि य सहसा जिगाय ॥ See, e.g., *Ep Ind.*, Vol XXIII, p 14 Vajrata, mentioned here, is plainly identical with the Vajjada of the Nāsik plates

⁹ *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, part II, p 368

¹⁰ The same view has been stated recently by Venkataramanayya, who identifies this paramount king with Vajrāyudha of Kanauj. *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol. XX, pp 181 ff. I have examined it in detail in the same journal, Vol XX, pp 353 ff

learn that Vinayāditya acquired the *pāṇḍhvaja* banner and all other insignia of sovereignty by vanquishing the lord of the whole Uttarāpatha (North India) ¹ The Nasik plates, however, clearly show that the two victories were not identical For, Jayasimha's victory was decisive, he is said to have completely exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the territory between the Mahī and the Narmadā On the other hand, Vinayāditya did not emerge completely triumphant in his encounter with the lord paramount of North India, for, though with the help of his valiant son Vijayāditya, he won the *pāṇḍhvaja* banner, the signs of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā, the insignia of *dhakkā*, elephants, etc, he was not altogether happy, as his son Vijayāditya was taken captive by the retreating hostile forces Secondly, Jayasimha's success was attained sometime before K 436 (685 A C), the date of the Nāsik plates, while Vinayāditya's battle with the emperor of the North was not fought till Śaka 616 (694 A C) at least, since it is not referred to in his Harihar plates² issued in that year It is mentioned for the first time in the Nerur plates of his son Vijayāditya, dated Śaka 622. The war seems to have been fought towards the end of Vinayāditya's reign; for, he died soon thereafter while his son was in captivity There was anarchy in the kingdom, which Vijayāditya suppressed when he effected his escape.³ We may, therefore, date it in *circa* 695 A. C Jayasimha was probably living at the time, for, only two years before this date his son *Yuvarāja* Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya made a grant in his name;⁴ but he was then probably too old to take the field. Vajjada is, therefore, not identical with the lord paramount of North India defeated by Vinayāditya.

Who was then this king Vajjada? The name is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajrata or Vajrabhata As stated above, the Rāshtrakūta records name the king as Vajrata, but they belong to a much later age Besides, no name like Vajrata occurs in any genealogical list of the period ⁵ Even if we take the name to be Vajrabhata, we get no better result. Similar names ending in *bhata* no doubt occur in the dynastic lists of the Gurjara-Pratihāras⁶ and the Maṭtrakas of Valabhī,⁷ but there is no name in them corresponding to Vajjada The Vasantagadh inscription⁸ dated V. 682 indeed mentions one Vajrabhata as a feudatory of Varmalāta, but he flourished too early for this invasion which, as we have seen, took place between K 406 and K 436 (656 A C and 685 A C); for his son Rajjila was on the throne in V 682 (625 A C) The history of North India between the death of Harsha and the rise of Yaśōvarman is shrouded in obscurity So the problem of the identity of Vajrata is likely to remain unsolved until more records bearing upon it come to light. But the conjecture may be hazarded that he was Śilāditya III, the king of Valabhī (*circa* 660-685 A C) ⁹ He was a very powerful ruler, for he assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramē-*

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, pp 125 and 130

² *Ibid*, Vol VII, pp 300 ff

³ *Ibid*, Vol IX, p 125 See the description of Vijayāditya in the Nerur plates

⁴ That Jayasimha lived for some years after 693 A C is rendered probable by the fact that the name of his son Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya is omitted in the grants of Mangalarāja and Pulakēśin This is generally taken to indicate that he predeceased his father

⁵ Two princes of this name are mentioned in *I N I*, Nos 1657 and 1664, but they belong to much later periods

⁶ For instance, Nāgabhatas I and II in the Imperial Pratihāra Dynasty

⁷ For instance, Dhruvabhata, the son-in-law of Harsha, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and Dērabhata mentioned in *I N I*, Nos 1352 and 1353.

⁸ *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p. 191.

⁹ Śilāditya III may have been provoked into launching this attack on the Gurjara kingdom by Dadda III's incursion into the Valabhī territory See above, p liv.

śvara From a copper-plate inscription¹ recently published by Mr A. S. Gadre, it seems that Śilāditya III occupied the Gurjara country for some time during this very period; for the inscription records his grant of a field in the village Antikā situated in the *viśhaya* of Bharukachchha (modern Broach) to a Brāhmaṇa who had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at Śraddhikā, modern Sādhi, about 5 miles south by west of Padra in the Baroda District. The grant is dated in G 357 (676-77 A. C.), i. e., only about 9 years before Jayasimha's Nasik grant which records his victory over Vajjada. Now, Bharukachchha was not only included in the country of the Gurjaras, but was their capital in this period. When a foreign ruler makes a grant in this district, it clearly indicates that the Gurjaras had lost their hold over that territory. The dates of the Gurjara kings also suggest that they had suffered reverses in this period. Between K. 392 (642 A. C.), the last known date of Dadda II—Praśāntarāga and K. 456 (706 A. C.), the next known date of his great-grandson Jayabhata III, there is a gap of 64 years. Two Gurjara princes Jayabhata II and Dadda III ruled in this period, but only one record of this period has been discovered.² These were troublous times for the Gurjaras; for, their country was invaded twice by the Maitrakas of Valabhī, their powerful neighbours on the west. The first invader was Dharasēna IV. This king, who assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Chakravartin*, issued two grants from his victorious camp at Bharukachchha in G 330 (649-50 A. C.).³ The villages granted lay, however, in the Khetaka *viśhaya* outside the Gurjara kingdom. Dharasēna IV seems, therefore, to have only raided the Gurjara territory. He did not annex it to his kingdom. This invasion took place during the reign of Jayabhata II (*circa* 645—665 A. C.). Twenty-seven years later Śilāditya III tried to emulate the achievement of his ancestor. He invaded the Gurjara kingdom and occupied the territory round Broach for some time as is indicated by his aforementioned grant of G 357 (676-77 A. C.).⁴ Dadda III—Bāhusahāya then sought the aid of the Chālukya Emperor, by whose command Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, who was ruling over the adjoining territory, proceeded to the north and drove the enemy out of the Gurjara kingdom. It is noteworthy that the Navsārī plates of Jayabhata III, son and successor of Dadda III, record his grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa who also, like the donee of Śilāditya III's grant, had emigrated from Girinagara and was then residing at the same village Śraddhikā. This clearly shows that the Gurjaras had recovered possession of the Bharukachchha *viśhaya* before K. 456.

It may, however, be objected that Śilāditya III is not known by the name Vajrata. This objection has not much force; for from the middle of the seventh century A. C. *Śilāditya* became the conventional name of all kings of Valabhī. Śilāditya III was followed by four other kings, all of whom were known by the same name *Śilāditya*. As in the case of the Daddas and the Jayabhatas of the Gurjara dynasty, they must have had other personal names by which they were distinguished from one another. Some of the predecessors of Śilāditya III had personal names in addition to those ending in *āditya*. See, e. g., the names of Dhruvasēna II—Bālāditya and Kharagraha II—Dharmāditya. Some of these names again ended in *ja*. The inference seems, therefore, justifiable that Vajrata was another name of Śilāditya III. His defeat by Dharāśraya-Jayasimha may have occurred some time between 677 A. C. and 685 A. C.

¹ *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 18 ff.

² See No. 121, pp. 617 ff., below.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 73 ff., and XV, pp. 329 ff.

⁴ This is the only grant of land in the Broach District made by Śilāditya III. He did not make four such grants as incorrectly stated by Gadre. *Important Inscriptions etc.*, p. 18.

Two inscriptions of the time of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha have been found in Southern Gujarat. The earlier one, dated K 421 (671 A C), records the grant of the village Āsatti-grāma, which Buhler has identified with Astgaon, 7 miles south-east of Navasārī.¹ The second inscription,² dated K 443 (693 A C), which was found at Surat, registers the grant of a field in the village of Ōsumbhalā, modern Umbhēl, 7 miles south of Kamrej. Both these grants were made by the prince-regent Śryāśraya-Śilāditya—the former from Navasārīkā and the latter from his victorious camp at Kusumēśvara (modern Kōsmārā, 3 m north-west of Umbhēl). That he was ruling on behalf of his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha is indicated not only by his title *Yuvarāja*, but also by the seal of the latter grant which bears the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya*. Jayasimha seems to have lived for a few years after K 443, for, his son Śryāśraya-Śilāditya apparently predeceased him, since his name is omitted in the later records of the dynasty.

Jayasimha's younger son Mangalarasa who succeeded him³ was ruling in North Konkan. He is known to have made two land grants. The Manor plates recently discovered in the Thana District, Bombay State, are dated in the Śaka year 613 (691 A C). They mention the prince's name with the *birudas*, *Vinayāditya*, *Prithvivīrabha*, *Yuddhamalla* and *Jayāśraya*, and record his grant of some villages and hamlets for the worship of the Sun-god and the repairs of his temple at Mānapura, modern Manor in the Palghar *tāluka* of the Thana District. Another copper-plate grant of this prince was found at Balsar in the Surat District.⁴ It was made at Mangalapuri which was probably founded by Mangalarasa himself and was evidently his capital. This grant mentions the same *birudas* of Mangalarasa. It is dated in the Śaka year 653 (731-32 A C). Mangalapuri has not been identified, but the dating of the record in the Śaka era suggests that the grant must have been made outside Gujarat,⁵ probably in North Konkan where the Śaka era was then current. The plates, though granted in Konkan, seem to have been taken over to Gujarat just as the Anjaneri plates of Jayabhata, issued in Central Gujarat, were found in the Nasik District and the Kāsāre plates of Allaśakti, also issued in Gujarat, were discovered in West Khandesh. Besides, if the grant had been made in Gujarat, Navasārīkā, which was the Chālukya capital in South Gujarat, would in all probability have been mentioned as the place of issue. Mangalarasa is also mentioned with only one *biruda* *Jayāśraya* in the Navsārī plates⁶ of his younger brother Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. From the description given therein it appears that Mangalarasa regained by the might of his arm the territory which had previously been lost. The name of the enemy from whom he wrested it has, however, not been specified.

It has been generally held that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin succeeded Mangalarasa in Southern Gujarat, for, in his Navsārī plates dated K 490, he mentions himself as medi-

¹ No. 27

² No. 28.

³ If the date of the Kairā plates of the Chālukya Vijayarāja is referred to the Gupta era, Vijayarāja will have to be placed between Śryāśraya-Śilāditya and Mangalarasa, but the plates are probably spurious. See below, pp. 168-69.

⁴ This record is known only from the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5. The original plates have not been published. From Bhagvanlal's account it appears that the name of the donor is given therein as *Mangalarāja*.

⁵ It must, however, be admitted that the Nāgad plates of Allaśakti, though issued from his camp at Kāyāvatāra (modern Kārwan) in Gujarat, are dated in the Śaka era. This was probably because the grant was of a village in Khandesh where the Śaka era was current. The Mundakhēdē plates of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti are likewise dated in the Śaka era.

⁶ No. 30.

tating on his feet. But a careful study of the record shows that while the expression denoting succession which occurs as many as three times in that record is *tat-pād-ānudhyāta* (meditating on his feet), that used to express Pulakēśin's relation to his brother is *tat-pāda-pankaj-ārādhana-ānudhyāta*¹ (meditating on the propitiation of his lotus-like feet) The difference in the two expressions is certainly striking and seems to suggest that Pulakēśin was ruling in Gujarat contemporaneously with his brother who was governing parts of North Konkan.

The Navsārī plates of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin record his grant of a village in the *ābhāra* and *visbhaya* of Kārmanēya (modern Kamrej, 10 m. north-east of Surat) They are dated in K. 490 (740 A. C.) Their historical importance lies in the graphic account they furnish of Pulakēśin's victory over the Tājikas or Arabs. The Arabs, we are told, had already conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhella, Saurāshtra, Chāvōtaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings before they invaded the district of Navasārikā in the course of their campaign to conquer all the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. We find this description fully corroborated by the account of Muhammadan chroniclers. Of the princes named above, Saindhava is generally identified with the king of Sindh. From Futu-hu-l Buldān² of Al Bilāduri also we know that during the Khalifat of Walīd I, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, crossed the Sindhu and defeated and killed Dāhīr, the king of Sindh. Sulaimān, the successor of Walīd I, called back Muhammad Jaisingh, son of Dāhīr, took advantage of this opportunity to regain his territory, but when Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh during the Khalifat of Hashām (724-743 A. C.), he again pursued a vigorous policy and defeated and killed Jaisingh.³ It appears, however, from the Ghumli plates recently discovered, that the Saindhava king defeated by the Arab army was probably Pushyadēva (circa 734-754 A. C.), the founder of the Saindhava feudatory family which ruled in North Saurāshtra.⁴ Kachchhella is the king of Cutch. One of the Arab raids during the governorship of Junaid was directed against Kīraj which Elliot identified with Cutch.⁵ Saurāshtra was under the Maṭrakas of Valabhī. Though their territory was invaded by the Arabs, they repelled the attack with the help of the Gurjara prince Jayabhata IV.⁶ Perhaps in a later raid the Arabs were more successful. The Chāvōtaka king was plainly of the Chāpa dynasty which was ruling at Bhilmāl. This can be inferred from the statement in the *Brahmagupta-siddhānta* that the astronomer Brahmagupta, the Bhūllamalakāchārya or the teacher residing at Bhilmāl, wrote the *Siddhānta* in the Śaka year 550 (628 A. C.) under Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty.⁷ From Al Bilāduri's work also we learn that Junaid raided Bālamān which is probably identical with Bhilmāl. The Maurya king was probably Dhavala who is known from the Kanaswa inscription of his friend Śivagaṇa,⁸ dated V 795 (738-39 A. C.). He was probably ruling over the country corresponding to modern Mewad.⁹ Finally, the Gurjara king was probably

¹ This expression clearly shows that *pād-ānudhyāta* which occurs frequently in Sanskrit inscriptions means 'meditating on the feet of' and not 'blessed or favoured by the feet of' as suggested by some scholars. See my note on the expression in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, pp. 288 ff.

² *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 121-22.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 125.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 189.

⁵ *E. D. H. I.*, p. 391.

⁶ See above, p. lv.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 55 ff.

⁹ Dhavala is probably identical with Dhavalappadēva whose inscription dated G. 407 was found at Dabok in Mewad (*A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. X, p. 31, n. 1).

Jayabhata IV whose kingdom the Arabs must have overrun before they advanced as far as Navsārī

The Navsārī plates record that Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin inflicted a defeat on the invading Arab army. This raid is evidently later than that which was directed against Broach during the governorship of Junaid, for, as we have seen, the latter must have taken place in *circa* 725 A. C., as Junaid was succeeded by Tamīm about 726 A. C. The raid against Navsārī is not recorded by Muslim chroniclers probably because the Arabs this time sustained a crushing defeat.¹ The graphic and detailed description of the fight, which for its vigour is unsurpassed in inscriptional literature, suggests that it must have been composed soon after the fight. Again, the wording of the eulogistic part of the grant shows that it must have been drafted after the annexation of the Gurjara principality.² We may, therefore, date the Arab raid about 739 A. C.

The Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi, whose name has not been specifically mentioned, but who must have been Vikramāditya II (733-747 A. C.), was so much pleased with Pulakēśin's heroism that he conferred on him the four titles *Dakṣiṇāpāthasādhāra* (the Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpātha), *Chalukakulālakāra* (the Ornament of the Chālukya family), *Prithvīvallabha* (the dear Lord of the Earth) and *Anuvartakāmvartayitṛi* (the Repeller of the unrepellable). Pulakēśin seems to have annexed the territory to the north of the Kīṃ after this Arab raid.

Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin is the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Chālukyas. Within eighteen years after the date of the Navsārī plates we find a Rāshtrakūta family established in the Surat District. The Antroli-Chharoli plates³ of the Rāshtrakūta prince Karka II, dated Śaka 679 (757 A. C.), record the grant of the village Sthāvarapallikā (the modern Chharoli in the Surat District). The country to the north of the Kīṃ was occupied by a feudatory Chāhamāna family⁴ which owed allegiance to the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Jābālipura (modern Jālōr).⁵

The country under the rule of the Gujarat Chālukyas originally extended along the western coast from the Kīṃ in the north to the Thana District in the South. Eastward it stretched up to the Ghāts. This kingdom was extended by Pulakēśin who annexed the Gurjara territory to it.⁶ Mangalapuri, not yet identified, was the capital of Mangalarasa,

¹ Al Bilāduri, however, has recorded that in the days of Tamīm, the successor of Junaid, the Muslims retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions. *E D H I*, Vol. I, p. 126.

² The eulogistic portion of the record on the Navsārī plates contains some expressions which are known to occur only in Gurjara grants, see below, p. 280.

³ *J B B R A S*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

⁴ See the Hānsōt plates of the Chāhamāna Bhartṛivaddha, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁵ *A B O R I*, Vol. XVIII, p. 398.

⁶ Some scholars suppose that the Chālukya rule extended to Kairā in North Gujarat, for, it was from a marriage pandal at Khetaka (modern Kairā) that a Chālukya princess was abducted by the Rāshtrakūta prince Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. See *Ep Ind*, Vol. XVIII, p. 243. The princess is supposed to be the daughter of either Mangalarasa or Pulakēśin. This view is open to several objections. If the Ellora plates of Dantidurga are dated in Śaka 663, they would show that the marriage must have taken place in any case not later than 720 A. C. Kairā was not then included in the dominion of the Gujarat Chālukyas. Besides, it is doubtful if *khetaka-mandapa* in that passage refers to any place-name at all. It appears there as an adjective of *raṇē* and means '(in the battle) in which there was a pandal made by the shields (of the fighting men)'. Even if *Khetaka* is taken as a place-name, it cannot refer to Kairā, for (i) it was not included in the kingdom of the Gujarat Chālukyas, and (ii) it was far away from the principality of Indra II. It is doubtful if he was then powerful enough to penetrate so far to the north. Besides, there were other places of that name in the dominion of the Chālukya Emperor where the incident could have happened. See my article on Dantidurga in *J. M S G U*, Vol. I, p. 36, n. 22.

while Navasārīkā, modern Navsārī in the Surat District, was the capital of Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya and Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. The grant of K. 421 was made by Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya while residing at Navasārī. This was also probably the place of issue in the case of Pulakēśirāja's Navsārī plates, though there is no specific mention to that effect.

The Gujarat Chālukyas were patrons of Hinduism. They were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara. All their known grants were made to Brāhmanas for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices and such other rites.

THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

Two sets of Anjanerī plates¹ recently discovered have brought to light a new feudatory family which ruled over Northern Konkan and the Nasik District in the seventh and eighth centuries A. C. This family claimed descent from Hariśchandra, doubtless the famous legendary king of the solar race. Svāmichandra, who heads the genealogical list in both the Anjanerī grants, rose to power during the reign of Vikramāditya I. The Anjanerī plates inform us that the Chālukya Emperor loved him as his own son, and it was doubtless by his favour that he became the ruler of 'the entire Konkan country consisting of fourteen thousand villages'. As one of the Anjanerī grants of his grandson Bhōgaśakti is dated in 710-11 A. C., Svāmichandra must have flourished about 660 A. C. Vikramāditya I seems to have appointed him first to rule over Konkan.² Svāmichandra's descendants continued to mention gratefully this favour of Vikramāditya I, though they made no reference to the contemporary Chālukya suzerain of Bādāmi.³

Three generations of this family are known from the Anjanerī plates—Svāmichandra, his son Simhavarman and the latter's son Bhōgaśakti *alias* Prithivīchandra (the Moon on the earth) who made the two grants. The name of the last prince recalls similar names of Sēndraka princes which also end in *śakti*. The question, therefore, arises if these princes belonged to the same clan as the Sēndrakas. It must, however, be noted that as Bhōgaśakti traced his descent from Hariśchandra, he could not have belonged to the Sēndraka family which claimed connection with the Nāga race. The lion seal of the Anjanerī plates and the use of small circles to embellish the tops and corners of the letters incised on them indicate some sort of connection with the Kadambas; for we find these peculiarities in the Bannahallī plates of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman II.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of this family edited here, that which is dated K. 461 (710-11 A. C.) records the grant of eight villages and certain rights, dues and taxes

¹ Nos. 31 and 32.

² The Sanjān plates, edited by Mr. Jackson in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 40 ff., purport to record the grant of Buddhavarasārāja, a younger brother of Pulakēśin II, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Pausa. The plates are not dated, but as the genealogy of the Imperial family is carried down to Vikramāditya I, they purport to belong to his reign. The only year during the period from 645 A. C. to 680 A. C. in which there was a solar eclipse in the *amānta* Pausa was 660 A. C. Buddhavarasa may, therefore, be regarded as a predecessor of Svāmichandra in Northern Konkan, but the plates are probably spurious, because (1) though Buddhavarasārāja claims to be a Chālukya, the emblem on his seal is the figure of a lion and not that of a boar, (2) the grant is very incorrectly written and contains two long expressions borrowed *verbatim* from ll. 10-11 of the Bagumrā grant of Allaśakti. The record seems to have been fabricated with the help of Chālukya and Sēndraka grants, and the seal was formed on the model of that of Bhōgaśakti's grants. Prof. Sten Konow also, who has re-edited the grant in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff., regards the plates as spurious.

³ In 671 A. C. Vikramāditya I appears to have transferred Thana and some other districts of North Konkan to Dharmāśraya-Jayasimha. See above, p. lx.

in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa who was named Bhōgēśvara evidently after the donor, and was installed in a temple at Jayapura, modern Jarwar Budrukh near Anjaneri in the Nasik District. In the eulogistic portion of the record Bhōgaśakti is said to have brought by his valour the whole territory of his dominion under his sway. As we have seen above, a similar statement is also made about the Chālukya prince Mangalarasa who flourished in the same period. This suggests that the two families had experienced a disaster from which they recovered by the valour of Bhōgaśakti and Mangalarasa respectively. This was probably at the time of Vinayāditya's death (696 A.C.) when owing to the captivity of his son Vijayāditya there was anarchy in the kingdom.¹ The devastation which the country suffered is reflected in the second set of the Anjaneri plates. From it we learn that Bhōgaśakti granted certain rights, privileges and exemptions to the merchants of Samagripattana when he resettled the town and the neighbouring villages some time after their devastation.

The successor of Bhōgaśakti was probably overthrown by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga, for, from the Ellorā plates the latter appears to have occupied the Nasik District some time before 715 A.C.²

Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti, is said to have ruled over the whole Kōnkana country consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The country under his sway probably extended along the western coast from the southern limit of the Thana District in the north to the river Vāsishthī in the south. Some time after Jayasimha's death in *circa* 695, Bhōgaśakti seems to have extended his sway to the Nasik District above the Ghāts. The capital of this country was probably Purī as it is said to be the chief city of the Kōnkana of fourteen thousand villages. This city, as we have seen, was also the capital of the Mauryas. It has not yet been definitely located, but may be identical with Rājpurī in the former Janjira State.³

THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

Until recently there was a perfect blank in the history of the Kalachuris for more than two centuries after the overthrow of Buddharāja. Kōkalla I (*circa* 850-885 A.C.), mentioned at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription⁴ and the Banaras plates of Karna,⁵ was believed to be the founder of the Tripurī branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. The discovery of two lithic records, one at Saugor,⁶ the headquarters of the Saugor District, and the other at Kārītālāi⁷ in the Murwārā *tabasil* of the Jabalpur District, has carried back the genealogy of the Tripurī branch by a few generations. The Saugor inscription was put up during the reign of Śankaragana who meditated on the feet of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 ff. As shown elsewhere, I read the date of this grant as K. 463 and take it as equivalent to 715 A.C. If the date is read as 663 and referred to the Śaka era, it would be equivalent to 741 A.C.

³ *P. I. H. C.*, (1940), pp. 86 ff.

⁴ No. 45.

⁵ No. 48.

⁶ No. 35. This inscription has been known for a long time. It was listed by Hiralal in the first edition (published in 1916) of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, but he gave no account of it then. In the second edition also of that work he gave no detailed description of its contents. He, however, called it the oldest Kalachuri record and referred it to the ninth century A.C. He doubtfully read in it the name *Vāgharāja* in place of *Vāmarāja*. The contents of the record were for the first time discussed by the present writer in his article entitled 'Vāmadēva, An Early Kalachuri King', published in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas, pp. 152 ff.

⁷ No. 42.

Vāmarājadēva Both Sankaragana and Vāmarājadēva are mentioned in this record with the imperial titles *Paramabbattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. This Vāmarājadēva is plainly identical with Vāmadēva who is invariably mentioned with the same imperial titles in the beginning of the formal portion of all official records of the Later Kalachuris of Tripurī and on whose feet they are described as meditating.¹ Vāmarāja² was held in such a veneration by all Kalachuri kings of Tripurī probably because he was the founder of the northern Kalachuri power.³

When did this Vāmarāja flourish? The aforementioned Saugor inscription is the earliest record which names him. It is not dated, but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the middle of the eighth century A.C. Though this inscription states that Sankaragana, during whose reign it was put up, meditated on the feet of Vāmarāja, it would be rash to assert that the latter was his immediate predecessor, for, we find the expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* repeated in connection with the names of as many as five other kings. But it would not perhaps be wrong to refer Vāmarāja to the end of the seventh century A.C.⁴

We have seen above how after the overthrow of Buddhajāja, the Kalachuris had to remain in obscurity and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chālukya Emperors. But their stubborn spirit and the memory of their past achievements did not allow them to remain in a subordinate position for a long time. As the Chālukyas were then supreme in the south, the Kalachuris turned their attention to the north where they found a favourable field for the expansion of their power in the latter half of the seventh century A.C. After the death of Harsha, his extensive kingdom crumbled to pieces. In the consequent confusion and scramble for power, Vāmarāja seems to have found the opportunity he was seeking. He overran Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and established himself at Kālāñjara, the impregnable fort in the Bāndā District, 90 miles west-south-west of Allahabad.⁵ From very ancient times this fort has been sacred to Śiva. It is mentioned as one of the nine holy places in North India.⁶ In the beginning of the sixth century A.C., it was in the occupation of Udayana of the Sōmavamśī dynasty.⁷ The subsequent history of the fort is not clear until its occupation by the Kalachuris. It seems to have remained in their

¹ Kielhorn has shown that the expression *Paramabbattāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs in connection with five Kalachuri kings, viz., Karna, Yaśahkarna, Narasimha, Jayasimha and Vijayasimha. For the different interpretations of this expression, see my article on Vāmadēva mentioned above, p. lxvii, n. 6.

² In subsequent records, his name has been contracted into *Vāmadēva*.

³ The expression *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta* occurs also in connection with the name of the Chandēlla king Trailokyamalla or Trailōkyavarman in the Dhureti plates of his reign (No. 72) and also in a record of his feudatory Kumārapāladēva of Karkarēdī. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230 ff. But this is plainly due to the ignorance of the drafters of the records, who blindly copied the expression from earlier inscriptions. It may be noted in this connection that the ancestors of Kumārapāladēva were feudatories of the Kalachuris. Two of their records (Nos. 65 and 68) actually use this expression in connection with the name of the contemporary Kalachuri suzerains.

⁴ As shown below, he was probably identical with the unnamed brother of Lakshmanarāja mentioned in the beginning of the Kahla plates, who lived towards the close of the 7th century A.C.

⁵ The fort of Chitrakūta near Kāmṭā in Bundelkhand may also have been occupied by Vāmarāja. The Kanarese poet Pampa says that it was situated in the Chēḍī country. *J. R. A. S.* for 1882, p. 19. In some Rāshtrakūta records, its name is coupled with Kālāñjara and the two are described as important outposts of the Rāshtrakūtas. See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

⁶ See *Padmapurāṇa*, Svargakhaṇḍa, adhyāya 39, v. 54.

⁷ A stone inscription of this king recording the erection of a temple of Vishnu has been found at Kālāñjara. *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and Plate IX. His descendants moved to Chhattisgarh where we find them ruling in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 ff.

possession up to the end of the eighth century A C. Afterwards it was occupied successively by the Pratihāras,¹ Rāshtrakūtas,² Chandēllas³ and Muhammadans,⁴ but the Kalachuris' occupation of the fort was remembered for a long time. The Kalachuryas of South India mention with pride in their records the title *Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara*, 'the lord of Kālañjara, the best of cities'⁵. This, like other similar titles, must be interpreted to mean that these princes were descended from a Kalachuri king who formerly ruled at Kālañjara.

The Kahla plates of Sōdhadēva⁶ state that an illustrious Kalachuri prince established himself at Kālañjara, from where he raided and conquered Ayōmukha (modern Partapgarh and Rai Bareilly Districts, U P). We are further informed that after having defeated his enemies, he gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmanarāja, who, in turn, conquered Śvētapada. As shown below, this Lakshmanarāja is identical with Lakshmanarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā stone inscription. Like the former, the latter also had a uterine brother. Besides, he is said to have first occupied a fort (Kālañjara) and later on established himself at Saivaya⁷ which may be identical with Śvētapada⁸. As shown below, Lakshmanarāja I's great-grandson Lakshmanarāja II *alias* Rājaputra flourished about 775 A C. Lakshmanarāja I can, therefore, be placed in *circa* 700 A C. The elder brother who placed him in charge of the territory round Kālañjara is unfortunately not named in the Kahla plates. His name is, again, lost in the Kasiā stone inscription, but in view of what is said above, he may be identified with Vāmarāja. As his younger brother Lakshmanarāja I was probably ruling in 700 A C, Vāmarāja may have flourished from *circa* 675 A.C. to 700 A.C.

The Kasiā inscription names two ancestors of Lakshmanarāja I, *viz.*, his grandfather Sankaragana and his father Nannarāja. Sankaragana may have flourished from 625 A.C. to 650 A C, and Nannarāja, from 650 A C to 675 A C. It is not stated where they were ruling, but if Vāmarāja was the first prince who conquered and established himself at Kālañjara, his father and grandfather might have been reigning at Māhishmatī, the old Kalachuri capital. In that case, Sankaragana may have been a son of Buddharāja (*circa* 600-625 A C) who was defeated by Pulakēśin II. In India a grandson is often named after his grandfather. So Sankaragana of the Kasiā inscription may have been named after Buddharāja's father Sankaragana. The connection of the Earlier and the Later Kalachuris may, therefore, be stated in the following genealogical table⁹ —

¹ The Barah plate of Bhōjadēva shows that in the beginning of the ninth century A C, the Kālañjara *mandala* was ruled over by Śarvavarman, who was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhatta II. See *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 18.

² In the tenth century, the Pratihāras seem to have lost both Chitrakūta and Kālañjara which were occupied by the Rāshtrakūtas probably during the northern campaign of Indra III. The two forts were in the occupation of the Rāshtrakūtas till the time of Krishna III. *Ibid*, Vol IV, p 284.

³ According to the Khajuraho stone inscription (*ibid*, Vol I, pp 127-28), the fort of Kālañjara was occupied by the Chandēllas during the reign of Yaśōvarman (*circa* 930-950 A C).

⁴ It was taken by Kutub-ud-din Ibak in April 1203 A C., but was soon recovered by the Chandēllas.

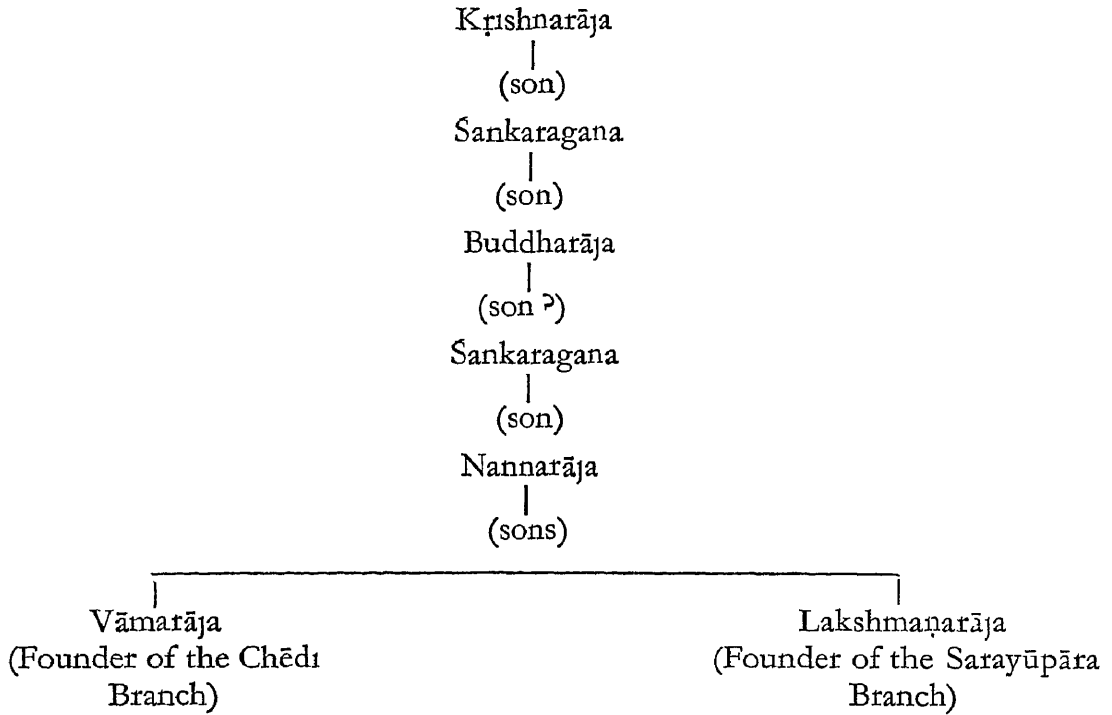
⁵ See, e g, *Ep Ind*, Vol V, p 24.

⁶ No 74, l 5.

⁷ No 73, ll 15 and 16.

⁸ Śvētapada was wrongly identified by R. D. Banerji with the northern part of the Nasik District (*Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 70). The correct reading in l 25 of the Kalvan plates of Yaśōvarman is *Śvētapata* meaning *Śvētāmbara*. Śvētapada may be identical with Svētapatha or Sētapatha mentioned in Sāñichī inscriptions, No 89 and No 475 respectively (*M S*, Vol I, p 299), but the country has not been identified. Saivaya seems to be the Sanskritised form of Prakrit *Seavaa* derived from Śvētapada.

⁹ The identification of Vāmarāja with the elder brother of Lakshmanarāja I, mentioned in the Kasiā and Kahla inscriptions, on which the table is based, is probable, though not quite certain.



Vāmarāja thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from the Gumtī in the north to the Narmadā in the south, and comprising the modern Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Saugor and Jabalpur Districts of Madhya Pradesh and the central portion of Uttar Pradesh. He assumed the Imperial titles *Paramabbhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. As no records of his time have yet been discovered, we have no further knowledge of the political events in his reign.

Since the time of Vāmarāja, the Kalachuris came to be known as Chaidyas or lords of the Chēdi country. As Pargiter has shown,¹ Chēdi was originally the name of the country along the south bank of the Yamunā from the Chambal on the north-west to the Kārvī (which flows north-east of Chitrakūta) on the south-east. Its limits southward were the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand. In later times, Chēdi came to signify the modern province of Baghelkhand, which remained in the possession of the Kalachuris almost till their downfall. Vāmarāja seems to have transferred his capital from Māhishmatī to Tripurī, modern Tewar, 6 miles west of Jabalpur. This city dates back to very ancient times. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,² and is also known from very rare copper coins with the legend *Tipurī* (Sanskrit, *Tripurī*) in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B.C.³ Varāhamihira places the city in the south-eastern division,⁴ and Hēmachandra calls it Chēdi-nagarī, the capital of the Chēdi country.⁵ The surrounding country called Traipura is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁶ and the *Matsya-purāna*.⁷ The *Tripurī-vishaya* (the district of Tripurī) is described, in the Betul plates of Sankshōbha, as situated in the Dabhālā (i.e. Dāhala) country,⁸ which was under the rule

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, pp. 249 ff.

² *Sabhāparvan*, adhyāya 31, v. 60, mentions that a king of Tripurī was defeated by Sahadēva.

³ *A. C. A. I.*, *Intro.*, p. cxl.

⁴ *Brhatsambitā*, adhyāya 14, v. 9.

⁵ Hēmachandra, *Abhidhānachintāmanī*, IV, v. 41.

⁶ *Sabhāparvan*, adhyāya 31, v. 60.

⁷ *Matsya-purāna* (Anand Sk. series), adhyāya 114, v. 53.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287.

of the Parivrājaka kings down to 528 A C at least. It is, however, not known who was holding that country when Vāmarāja invaded it and annexed it to his kingdom.

Two or three generations seem to have separated Vāmarāja from Sankaragana I of Tripurī. We do not know even the names of the princes who ruled in this period. Perhaps Māyurāja, the author of the Sanskrit play *Udāttarāghava*, was one of them. He is described by Rājasēkhara as a Karachuli (i.e., Kalachuri) poet.¹ Another Sanskrit poet, Bhīmata, whom Rājasēkhara mentions as the lord of Kālāñjara, perhaps belonged to the same royal family. Rājasēkhara tells us that he composed five Sanskrit plays, of which *Svapnadaśānana* was judged to be the best.

Sankaragana I is the next known Kalachuri prince. Only two records of his reign have so far been discovered. The one discovered at Saugor registers some religious or charitable work done by a woman for the spiritual merit of her father and mother. In this record Sankaragana is mentioned with the imperial titles of *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, which show that he must have been ruling over a fairly large territory. The second inscription is incised on the pillar of a temple at Chhōti Dēori, about a hundred miles to the east of Saugor. It records the donation of a granary in two villages in the neighbourhood, apparently to the god Śiva enshrined in the temple. This record also is not dated, but on palæographic grounds it can be referred to the same age as the aforementioned Saugor stone inscription, viz., about the middle of the eighth century A C.

The names of the successors of this Sankaragana are not known until we come to Lakshmanarāja I of the Kārītālī stone inscription dated K 593 (841-42 A C). In the century that intervened between the reigns of these two kings, several important events took place in the political history of North India. In the second half of the eighth century A C, the Pratihāras and the Pālas were contending for supremacy at Kanauj, but they were both vanquished by the Rāshtrakūta kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III. The Sañjān plates² of Amōghavarsha I tell us that Gōvinda III, after defeating Nāgabhatta II and Chandragupta, both of whom were evidently rulers of Central India, marched to the foot of the Himālayas, where Dharmapāla and his protégé Chakrāyudha, the king of Kanauj, submitted to him. Then he returned to the bank of the Narmadā, and acquiring Mālava, Kōsala, Kalinga, Vēngī, Dāhala and Odraka countries, made his servants rule them. This suggests that Gōvinda III raided these countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes, or after deposing them, placed his own nominees in charge of their territories. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates³ of Karka, dated Śaka 734, state that Karka was made a door-bolt to protect the king of Malwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauda and Vanga. In some other records of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūtas, we find references to battles fought by them with the Gurjara-Pratihāras in Ujjayinī. Malwa was, therefore, made a protectorate, and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūtas was established in Gujarat to check the advance of the Pratihāras. In the case of the Kalachuris also, he followed a similar policy. He did not, of course, supplant the ruling prince, but he made him acknowledge his suzerainty.⁴ The subordinate position of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja I is indicated by the Kārītālī inscription⁵ of his reign, which, even in its present fragmentary condi-

¹ Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* (Gaekwad's Or Series), p 46.

² *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII, pp 235 ff.

³ *Ind Ant* Vol XII, p 158

⁴ The Nīlgund inscription of Amōghavarsha I states that Gōvinda III fettered the prince of the fort Chitrakūta. *Ep Ind*, Vol VI, p 103. This fort was probably in the occupation of the Kalachuris at that time.

⁵ No 37.

tion, clearly shows that it eulogized the achievements, not of Lakshmanarāja, but of his suzerain's father Gōvinda III.¹ It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning Kalachuri king is relegated to the margin. Later on, the Rāshtrakūtas, from time to time, entered into matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris of Tripurī² and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara-Pratihāras

The Kārītalāi inscription of the reign of Lakshmanarāja I is dated K 593 (841-42 A C) We may, therefore, place the Kalachuri king from *circa* 825 A C to 850 A C

Lakshmanarāja I was probably succeeded by Kōkalla I, who may have been his son. No inscription of this king has yet been found, but we get some account of him in two later records, the Bilhāri stone inscription³ and the Banaras plates of Karna⁴. Kōkalla made some matrimonial alliances which increased his power and prestige. He himself married a Chandēlla princess named Nattādēvi.⁵ From the Cambay plates we learn that the king Akālarsha (i.e., the Rāshtrakūta Krishna II) married the daughter of Kōkalla, an ornament of the dynasty of Sahasrārjuna.⁶ She became his chief queen and bore him a son named Jagattunga. This latter prince also, as we shall see later, married two Kalachuri princesses.

The Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates describe the help that Kōkalla rendered to a number of his contemporaries. The former says that Kōkalladēva, after having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Krishnarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north.⁷ The statement evidently means that Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones. The Banaras plates state that Kōkalla's hand gave freedom from fear to Bhōja, Vallabharāja, Śrī-Harsha, the lord of Chitrakūta, and the king Śankaragana.⁸ That this is no empty boast is shown by the records of the other dynasties also.

Krishnarāja who is figuratively called Kōkalla's pillar of victory in the south is none other than the Rāshtrakūta king, Krishna II-Akālarsha. He is identical with the Vallabharāja who received protection from Kōkalla, for, *Vallabha* or *Śrī-vallabha* was a title assumed by many Rāshtrakūta kings.⁹ The Arabs called the Rāshtrakūtas by the name of *Balharā*,¹⁰ which is admittedly a corrupt form of *Vallabharāja*. As already shown, Krishna II was the son-in-law of Kōkalla. He must have sought his father-in-law's help when he was engaged in a conflict with the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844-88 A C). We find references to these hostilities in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. Thus

¹ In line 9 it mentions the routing of Nāgabhatta (II), evidently by Gōvinda III.

² The aforementioned Kārītalāi inscription indicates that the Rāshtrakūta Emperor Amōghavarsha used to visit the place to pay his respects to a saintly person there. Though Amōghavarsha I was forty-two years old at the time of this Kārītalāi inscription, it is doubtful if his son Krishna II was already married to Kōkalla's daughter at the time, for, the son is known to have reigned till 914 A C. The inscription does not state when Amōghavarsha had gone to Kārītalāi. Perhaps, one of the objects of his visit was to seek Kōkalla I's help when he was deposed by his kinsman in the early part of his reign.

³ No. 45.

⁴ No. 48.

⁵ No. 48, l. 10.

⁶ *Ep Ind*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

⁷ No. 45, l. 8.

⁸ No. 48, ll. 8-9.

⁹ See the discussion of this matter by Fleet in *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff. The Bagumrā plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta Krishna refer to a Vallabha-*nrīpa* who can be none other than the Rāshtrakūta Emperor Krishna II.

¹⁰ *Ind, Ant*, Vol. XII, p. 218.

the Ederu plates of Amma¹ tell us that Vijayāditya frightened Krishna and Saṅkila and burnt their city completely. The Pīthāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva² states that Vijayāditya III burnt Chakrakūta and terrified Sankila, residing in Kiranapura and joined by Krishna. The Maliapundi inscription of Ammaraja II³ gives the further detail that this Sankila was the lord of the excellent Dāhala (country). He was, therefore, a Kalachuri prince and is evidently identical with Sankuka⁴ (called also Sankaragana in the Kardā plates), the son of Kōkalla, whose younger sister was married to Krishna II. Success seems at first to have attended the arms of Vijayāditya, for, he is said to have burnt Chakrakūta and also Kiranapura where Krishna II and Sankila were then encamped. The former of these two places has been identified with the central portion of the Bastar District⁵ and the latter with a place of that name in the Balaghat District of Madhya Pradesh.⁶ Pāṇḍaranga, the general of Vijayāditya, pressed as far as Achalapura in Berar, which he is said to have stormed and burnt.⁷ Later, on however, Krishna II won notable successes as implied in the Kalachuri records. The Eastern Chālukyas themselves admit in their records that on the death of Vijayāditya III, their country was overrun by the forces of a kinsman of the Ratta king⁸ and that the diadem of Chālukya-Bhīma I, the successor of Vijayāditya III, was struck at by Vallabha.⁹ These wars must have been waged during the period 880-890 A.C. Sankila or Sankaragana, though described in some Chālukya records as the lord of the Dāhala country, was probably the crown prince at the time and was sent by his father to help his son-in-law in his wars with the Eastern Chālukyas.¹⁰

Another son of Kōkalla I, named Arjuna, seems to have helped Krishna II's son Jagattunga with a large army probably during his wars with the Gurjara-Pratihāras on the northern frontier of the Rāshtrakūta kingdom.¹¹

The identification of Bhōja, the second prince helped by Kōkalla I, is more difficult. Kielhorn was of opinion that this Bhōja was the first prince of that name in the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty,¹² who flourished from circa 835 to 885 A.C. Some scholars¹³ have, however, latterly advanced the view that the protégé of Kōkalla I was Bhōja II, the son and successor of Mahēndrapāla and grandson of Bhōja I. According to these scholars, there was a war of succession after the death of Mahēndrapāla. Kōkalla espoused the

¹ *S I I*, Vol I, p. 39. Fleet and Hultzsch rendered *Sankila* by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake in *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p. 226.

² *Ibid*, Vol IV, p. 233.

³ *Ibid*, Vol IX, p. 51.

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p. 265.

⁵ *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp. 178 ff.

⁶ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūtas*, etc., p. 95.

⁷ *A R S I E* (1923), pp. 61 and 98. Achalapura was probably the capital of a feudatory Rāshtrakūta family which at this time owed allegiance to the Imperial Rāshtrakūtas of Mānyakhēta. See also below, p. lxxxiii.

⁸ *S I I*, Vol I, p. 40. The inscription has the word *dāyāda* (meaning 'an agnate') referring to this kinsman. He seems, therefore, to have been a Rāshtrakūta prince, perhaps of the Gujarat branch. It is noteworthy that the Masulipatam grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I mentions his defeat of a king of Lāta who was an ally of Krishnavallabha. *A R S I E* (1914), p. 84. If *dāyāda* was used in a wider sense, it might refer to Sankaragana.

⁹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII, p. 231.

¹⁰ Perhaps Sankaragana had ascended the Kalachuri throne before these wars came to a close.

¹¹ See v. 16 of Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. *Ep Ind* Vol VII, p. 38. The verse occurs also in the Sāngli plates of the same king. *Ind Ant*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

¹² *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p. 253.

¹³ See, e.g., Altekar, *Rāshtrakūtas*, etc., p. 101, Banerji, *Hathayas of Tripurī*, etc., p. 4, Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 255-56.

cause of Bhōja II and succeeded in placing him on the throne of Kanauj. This prince, however, ruled only for a short time, for, we find Mahīpāla I succeeding him within two or three years of his accession.¹ It is, therefore, doubtful if Kōkalla's achievement in this case would at all be glorified by his successors as the erection of a column of victory in the north. Besides, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that there was a war of succession. Bhōja II is known only from one record, namely, the Asiatic Society of Bengal plate (dated V 988) of Vināyakapāla, who is described therein as meditating on his feet. If Vināyakapāla is identical with Mahīpāla, as is generally held,² it looks strange that he should reverentially mention his predecessor Bhōja II, whom he is said to have dethroned. Besides, it is doubtful if Kōkalla I was living at the time of this supposed war of succession. As we have seen, he was fairly advanced in age in 880 A C, as his son Sankaragana was then sufficiently grown up to take the field against Vijayāditya III. It is, therefore, doubtful if he lived to meddle in the matter of succession to the Pratihāra throne thirty years later. As shown below,³ his grandson Yuvaījadēva I was a contemporary of Mahīpāla, and he was preceded by two other princes on the Chēdi throne. Kōkalla, therefore, seems to have died some time during the reign of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla. The Bhōja whom he rendered help must consequently be identified with Bhōja I.

When did Bhōja I require the help of the Kālachuri king? This must plainly have been in the early part of his reign when he had to contend against the mighty Dēvapāla of Bengal (circa 810-855 A C). We know that Rāmabhadra, the father of Bhōja, was a weak king. That he lost a large part of his kingdom is clear from the Barah plate of Bhōja I, which confirms a grant in the Kālañjara *mandala* which had been interrupted during the reign of Rāmabhadra,⁴ evidently due to the inroads of Dēvapāla. According to the Monghyr plates, the elephants of this Pāla king reached the Vindhya and his cavalry

¹ The last known date of Mahēndrapāla is V 964 (907-8 A C), mentioned in the Siyadōnī stone inscription. He may, therefore, have closed his reign about 910 A C. The earliest known date of Mahīpāla is Ś 836 (914 A C), furnished by the Haddālā plates. So Bhōja II could have reigned only for two or three years.

² This identification is open to doubt, for, Mahīpāla nowhere in his inscriptions mentions Bhōja as his predecessor. It is more likely that Mahēndrapāla had three sons Mahīpāla, Bhōja II and Vināyakapāla, who succeeded him one after another. As Mahāmahōpādhyāya G. S. Ojha has pointed out, the dates of Mahīpāla and Vināyakapāla do not overlap. Besides, it seems clear from Āryakshēmiśvara's *Chandakaustika* that Mahīpāla bore the name of Kārttikēya, for, the poet refers to his patron as Mahīpāla in the prologue of his play and as Kārttikēya in the last verse of the fifth Act. Mahīpāla is, therefore, not likely to have been known also by the name of Vināyakapāla or Hērambapāla. On the other hand, Vināyakapāla seems to have been a younger brother of Mahīpāla, as Ganēśa was of Kārttikēya. The only possible objection to this view is that unless we identify Mahīpāla with Vināyakapāla (or Hērambapāla), the statement in the Siyadōnī inscription that Dēvapāla meditated on the feet of Mahīpāla would conflict with that in the Khajuraho inscription of Dhanga that Dēvapāla was the son of Hērambapāla. Ojha tries to solve this difficulty by taking the two Dēvapālas as distinct persons. He says that Dēvapāla who is called *Hayapati* (lord of horses) in the Khajuraho inscription could not have been a Pratihāra prince as *Hayapati* was never the accepted title of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. We have, however, to remember that according to the testimony of the Arab writer Sulaiman, the Pratihāras maintained a fine cavalry, and in contemporary records Bhōja is described as having an army of excellent and controllable horses (*sad-vaśya-vāh-ānvitah*), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 184. The Kudlur plates of the Ganga king Mārasimha state that the Rāshtrakūta king Kṛishna III crowned Mārasimha king before proceeding to the north to conquer Aśvapati who was proud of his horses (*A. R. A. S. M. for 1921*, p. 23). This passage also seems to use *Aśvapati* as a title of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Perhaps the word *sīnu*, used in the Khajuraho inscription to state the relation of Dēvapāla to Hērambapāla, is employed in the wider sense of a nephew, just as *tāta* (father) sometimes denotes 'an uncle'.

³ See below, p. lxxviii.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.

roamed in the Kāmbōja country¹ The Bādal pillar inscription states that Dēvapāla humbled the arrogance of the lord of the Gurjaras² Bhōja seems to have ultimately succeeded in retrieving his position towards the end of Dēvapāla's reign.³ Like Gunāmbhōdhi of the Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri family,⁴ Kōkalla I apparently rendered help to the Gurjara Pratihāra king in these wars The relations between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras seem to have been more or less amicable during the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I, since much of the latter's time and energy was spent in quelling internal rebellions and in fighting with his eastern neighbours, the Chālukyas of Vēngī, as well as with his kinsmen who were probably the Rāshtrakūṭas of Gujarat⁵ Notwithstanding his matrimonial alliance with Amōghavarsha I, therefore, Kōkalla I could render help to Bhōja I in strengthening his position in the north It is also not unlikely that the help he gave to the mighty king of Kanauj has been exaggerated in the aforementioned inscriptions of his descendants

After the conclusion of his war with the Pāla king, Kōkalla seems to have entered into a matrimonial alliance with him From the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla, we learn that his father Vīgrahapāla, the son of Jayapāla, married a princess named Lajjā who had adorned the family of the Haihayas⁶ The inscription does not name any ancestors of Lajjā; but in view of Kōkalla's policy of making matrimonial alliances, it is not unlikely that she was his daughter or some near relative

Śrī-Harsha and the lord of Chitrakūṭa, who also are said to have received protection from Kōkalla, are usually taken to be identical Kielhorn identified this Harsha with the homonymous prince of the Chandēlla dynasty,⁷ but it is doubtful if his rule had at this time extended in the north as far as Chitrakūṭa From the Khajuraho inscription dated V 1011 (954 A C), we learn that it was Yaśōvarman, the son of Harsha, who first annexed the hill of Kālāñjara⁸ Chitrakūṭa, which lies 25 miles north-east of Kālāñjara, seems then to have been, like the latter, held by the Gurjaras It has, therefore, been suggested that the Harsha who received protection from Kōkalla was the Guhila prince of that name whose rule might have extended to Chitrakūṭa (modern Chitor in Mewad)⁹ According to the Chātsū inscription of Bālāditya, this Harsha conquered the kings of the north and presented horses to Bhōja who can be none other than the great Pratihāra Emperor The identification, therefore, appears quite plausible in view of the alliance of both this Harsha and Kōkalla with Bhōja I

Finally, Sankaragana was identified by Kielhorn with Kōkalla's own son There is, however, no point in saying that Kōkalla gave protection from fear to his own son Sankaragana is more likely to be the homonymous prince of the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri dynasty which had settled in the Gōrakhpur District of Uttar Pradesh The Kahla plates of Sōdhadēva state that this Sankaragana was the father of Gunāmbhōdhi The same record tells us further that Gunāmbhōdhi took away

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII, p 305

² *Ibid*, Vol II, p 163

³ In the Gwalior *prastāvi* Bhōja is said to have remarried Lakshmī, the source of the fame of Dharma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was evidently Dēvapāla *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, pp 109 and 113, n. 4

⁴ See the Kahla plates of Sōdhadēva (No 74) This record states that Gunāmbhōdhi deprived the Gauda king of his royal fortune

⁵ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas* etc, p 77

⁶ *Ind Ant*, Vol XV, p 305

⁷ *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 301

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol I, pp 127-28

⁹ *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol XIII, p 486

the fortune of the Gauda king, for which he received some territory from Bhōja. His father Sankaragana may, therefore, have received some help from Kōkalla I during the early part of the latter's reign.

The Amōdā plates¹ of Prithvidēva I, dated K. 831 (1079 A.C.), state that Kōkalla, an ancestor of Prithvidēva I, forcibly dispossessed the rulers of Karnāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Kōnkana and Śākambharī, the Turushkas and a descendant of Raghu, of treasures, horses and elephants, and erected a column of victory on the earth.¹ As shown below, this Kōkalla was probably the first king of that name who ruled at Tripurī, but it is doubtful how far the description of his conquests contained in this record, dated nearly two centuries after him, can be taken to be correct, for, we have no corroboration of it in other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or even of Tripurī. Besides, we find that Kōkalla I formed alliances with the Rāshtrakūtas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras, who are probably referred to here as the lord of Karnāṭa and a descendant of Raghu respectively. His hostility with these kings is, therefore, not likely.

Kōkalla I was succeeded by his son, who is called Mugdhatunga in the Bilhārī inscription and Prasiddhadhavalā in the Banaras grant. Both these appear to be *birudas* rather than personal names. The former of them was evidently suggested by his association with the Rāshtrakūtas, who were fond of names ending in *tunga*. The personal name of Kōkalla's son and successor was probably Sankaragana. As we have already seen, the Maliapundi inscription calls Sankila (i.e., Sankaragana) the lord of the excellent Dāhala country.² The Kardā plates state that Sankaragana was the lord of Chēḍī.³ There is no doubt, therefore, that Sankaragana ascended the Kalachuri throne, but no prince of this name is mentioned as Kōkalla I's successor either in the Bilhārī inscription or in the Banaras grant—the two records which are our main authorities for the early history of the Tripurī branch. Sankaragana must, therefore, be identified with Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā. A hird *biruda* of his, viz., *Ranavighraha* is mentioned in some Rāshtrakūta records⁴, and is also known from a *subhāṣita* of Rājaśekhara cited in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jalhana.⁵

The Bilhārī inscription states that Mugdhatunga conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away (the country of) Pālī from the lord of Kōsala.⁶ This statement is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavalā, cited in the Banaras grant. It states that Prasiddhadhavalā took possession of Pālī, thinking that there would be born in his family (many) men eminent on account of their greatness in this world.⁷ This apparently means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pālī to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. Several inscriptions⁸ of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty state that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī, and that he made his younger brothers the lords of *mandalas* in the neighbourhood. If this Kōkalla is identified with

¹ No 76, ll 6-8

² *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 51

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p 265

⁴ The Cambay and Sangli plates of Gōvinda IV state that Lakshmī, the wife of the Rāshtrakūta prince Jagattunga, was the daughter of Ranavighraha (*Ep Ind*, Vol VII, p 38 and *Ind Ant*, Vol. XII, p. 10), while the Kardā plates say that she was the daughter of Sankaragana, the lord of Chēḍī (*Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p 264). Ranavighraha was, therefore, a *biruda* of Sankaragana.

⁵ Cf *Nadīnām Mēkala-sūtā nripānām Ranavighrahaḥ | Kavīnām cha Smānandaḥ Chēḍī-maṇḍala-mandanam* || *īktimuktāvalī* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 47

⁶ No 45, l 10

⁷ No 48, l 13

⁸ See, e.g., No 76, ll 8-9, No. 77, ll 5-6 etc

Kōkalla I, it becomes clear that Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā conquered Pālī from the lord of Kōsala and placed one of his brothers in charge of it. This Kōsala is probably Dakṣiṇa or Southern Kōsala, comprising modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country on the east. There is still a village named Pālī in the Bilāspur District, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur, which was no doubt situated in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. There is even now an exquisitely carved temple at Pālī, which testifies to its past importance. The surrounding territory was evidently called the country of Pālī, which was wrested by Mugdhatunga from the lord of Kōsala. The latter, as shown below,¹ must have been a prince of the Bāna dynasty, probably Vikramāditya I, called also Jayamēru, the son of Malladēva, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva and has left an inscription incised over the door of its *garbhagṛha*. As he flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.C.,² his date squares with that of Sankaragana II *alias* Mugdhatunga who probably reigned from 890 A.C. to 910 A.C.

Sankaragana II had a son named Bālaharsha, who succeeded him, and two daughters, Lakshmī and Gōvindhāmbā, both of whom married the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Jagattunga, the son of Sankaragana's brother-in-law Kṛishna II. Jagattunga had, from Lakshmī, a son named Indra III, who succeeded Kṛishna II,³ and from Gōvindhāmbā, another named Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, who also later on sat on the Rāshtrakūṭa throne.⁴ Some Rāshtrakūṭa records⁵ further mention Sankaragana's brother Arjuna, who must have been ruling over a *mandala* of the Chēdi kingdom. The latter's son Ammanadēva had a daughter named Vijāmbā, who married Indra III and bore him two sons, Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV, both of whom succeeded their father, one after the other.

Sankaragana II was followed by his son Bālaharsha. He is mentioned only in the Banaias plates, which give him a merely conventional praise. The Bilhārī inscription omits his name probably because he was a collateral. Bālaharsha sounds like a *viruda*, but we have now no means of knowing the personal name of this prince.

Bālaharsha had probably a very short reign (*circa* 910-915 A.C.). He seems to have died sonless, for, he was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva I. No inscriptions of this prince also have yet been discovered; but from the records of other dynasties and especially from a play of his court-poet Rājaśēkhara, we have more information about him than about any other early member of the Tripurī house.

The Bilhārī inscription states that Yuvarājadēva I fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauda, sported with the ladies of Karnāṭa, applied the ornamental mark to the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa, enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, and was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kalinga.⁶ This implies that Yuvarājadēva raided Bengal, Karnatak, Gujarat, Kashmir and Orissa, and married beautiful and accomplished ladies from these provinces. Curious as it might seem, the foregoing description in the Bilhārī inscription is corroborated by a passage in the Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabbhañjīkā* of Rājaśēkhara, which was staged at Tripurī. Yuvarājadēva I himself is the hero of this play. From the fourth Act of it, we learn that the king had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avanti, Jālandhara

¹ Below, p. 418.

² The known dates of his son Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A.C.) to Śaka 831 (909-10 A.C.). Vikramāditya I may, therefore, be referred to the period 870-895 A.C.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

⁶ No. 45, ll. 10-11.

and Kērala.¹ In another Act of the same play, he is called *Ujjayinī-bhujanga*, which suggests his victorious raid on Malwa.² Even in an inscription of his enemies, Yuvarājadēva I is described as one who had planted his foot on the heads of famous kings.³ There is not, therefore, much exaggeration in what the Bilhāri inscription says of him—"Up to the Kailāsa mountain, where Pārvatī is constantly engaged in sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (of the south) and then up to the western ocean, the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies."⁴ Yuvarājadēva assumed imperial titles. He is called *Paramēśvara* in the Bilhāri inscription and *Chakravartin* in the aforementioned play of Rājaśekhara. Another title *Trikalīngādhipati*,⁵ which indicates his supremacy in the north-east Deccan is known from the same play of Rājaśekhara.

Yuvarājadēva married Nōhalā, who became his chief queen. She belonged to the Chaulukya lineage and was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman. We have no information about the country where these princes were ruling. Perhaps Avanivarman was related to the king Avantivarman mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. As the latter is said to have donated certain places such as Ranipadra (modern Ranōd in Madhya Bharat) to the Śaiva ascetic whom he invited to his country, it is plain that he was ruling in Central India. If Avanivarman, the father of Nōhalā, was related to Avantivarman, he also might have been ruling somewhere in the same part of the country.⁶

The Kardā plates⁷ of the Rāshtrakūta king Karka II state that Yuvarājadēva gave his daughter Kandakadēvī in marriage to Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III, the Rāshtrakūta king of Mānyakhēta. Baddiga was an old man when he ascended the throne after his nephew Gōvinda IV. As he was reigning from *circa* 935 A C to 939 A C, his father-in-law Yuvarājadēva I might have flourished in the period 915-945 A C.

Yuvarājadēva was a patron of men of letters. Rājaśekhara, a well-known Sanskrit poet, flourished in his court. In his early days Rājaśekhara was attracted by the more prosperous court of Kanauj, where he wrote his two Sanskrit plays *Bālarāmāyana* and *Bālabhārata* (or *Prachandapāndava*) and the Prakrit drama *Karpūramañjarī* during the reigns of the Gurjara Pratihāra Emperors Mahēndrapāla I and his son Mahipāla. But as the glory of the latter prince declined owing to the invasion of his kingdom by the Rāshtrakūta king India III and later on due to the raids of Yuvarājadēva I, Rājaśekhara seems to have returned to Tripurī, the home of his ancestors Akālaśalada and others, in the train of the victorious Kalachuri king. There he composed his third Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* and the rhetorical work *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*.⁸ As already stated, the former was staged at

¹ *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* ed by Arte, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12. The same title of *Ujjayinībhujanga* was borne by two captains of the Ganga prince Mārasimha, viz., Śudrakayya and Gōggayamma who also apparently had raided Malwa during the expedition of their master Mārasimha. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 9.

³ Cf. *Vikhyāta-kṣitipāla-mauli-rachanā-viṇyasta-pādāmbujam*. *Chēdirājam*, in verse 28 of the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśōvarman. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

⁴ No. 40, ll. 11-12.

⁵ Mr. Arte's edition of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* has *Triling-ādhipatē* on p. 39, but it is evidently a mistake for *Trikalīng-ādhipatē*. As shown below, the same title was borne by several later Kalachuri kings.

⁶ It is not, however, known if Avantivarman belonged to the Chaulukya dynasty. The Ūnā plates dated Vikrama Samvat 956 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 6 ff.) were issued by a Chālukya prince named Avanivarman II. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I, but he cannot be identified with Nōhalā's father, because his father and grandfather were Balavarman and Avanivarman I respectively.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 ff.

⁸ K. B. Pathak *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

the Kalachuri court and contains a poetic account of certain political events of Yuvarājādēva I's reign, to which we may now turn. Its plot may be summarised as follows —

“The king Vidyādharamalla *alias* Karpūrararsha of Tripurī receives at his court Vīrapāla *alias* Chaṇḍamahāsēna, the lord of Kuntala, who has been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives and falls in love with his daughter Kuvalayamālā. His minister Bhāgurāyana, however, comes to know from astrologers that the king who would marry Mrīgānkāvalī, the daughter of the king Chandravarman of Lāta, would be the sovereign of the whole world. He, therefore, contrives to bring about the marriage of his lord Karpūrararsha with Mrīgānkāvalī. Chandravarman, her father, has no son, and so, since her childhood he has brought her up as a boy under the name Mrīgānkavarman. None but Bhāgurāyana knows of this secret. He manages to have the pretended crown prince of Lāta brought to Tripurī to stay at the Kalachuri court. Karpūrararsha's chief queen Madanasundarī, who, though related to Chandravarman, is shown to be ignorant of the personation, used to dress occasionally the pretended boy in a female garb. When the king sees her once in a dream, he falls in love with her. The queen, in order to play a practical joke on the king, induces him to marry a sister of the pretended boy. This sister is none other than Mrīgānkāvalī herself, though the queen, who is ignorant of her real sex, takes her to be Mrīgānkavarman in a female garb. The king agrees and the marriage is performed. In the meanwhile, news comes from Chandravarman that a son has been born to him. He, therefore, requests his niece, the queen of Karpūrararsha, to bestow his daughter Mrīgānkāvalī, whom he has brought up as a son, on a worthy consort. The queen realizes her mistake when it is too late. To make the best of the situation, however, she bestows both Mrīgānkāvalī and Kuvalayamālā, the Kuntala princess, on the king. Just then comes a messenger bearing the following letter from the king's General Śrī-Vatsa :—

“Through the power of Your Majesty who is an ornament of the Karachulis, through the clear intellect of the great minister Bhāgurāyana as well as through the execution of Your Majesty's orders by insignificant soldiers like myself, all the mighty kings of the east, the west and the north have already been subdued. Only those of the south did not submit. Vīrapāla, the lord of Kuntala, who had been deprived of his kingdom by his kinsmen, sought Your Majesty's protection. As Your Majesty ordered, we placed him at our head and encamped on the bank of the Payōshnī.”

The General then describes how his forces fought with a confederacy of several kings, viz., those of Karṇāta, Sindhala, Pāndya, Murala, Āndhra, Kuntala, Kōṅkana and others, defeated them and placed Vīrapāla on the throne. Finally, Bhāgurāyana declares that the Karachuli king reigns supreme over the whole country ‘from the milky ocean in the north to the sea filled with the water of the Tāmraparṇī in the south, from the western ocean, which receives the Narmadā, to the eastern sea, the shore of which is sanctified by the fall of the Gangā.’

The *Vṛddhaśālabhañjikā* is a drama of harem-intrigue. The plot summarised above resembles in some respects those of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, and the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī* of Harsha. Still it is likely to have a historical basis. The play was staged at Tripurī before the court of Yuvarājādēva, who is none other than the first Kalachuri king of that name. He is also identical with the hero of the play, Vidyādharamalla, whose alternative name Karpūrararsha recalls Kēyūrararsha, the *virūda* of Yuvarājādēva I. Besides, Vidyādharamalla is called *Karachuli-tilaka*, an ornament of the Karachulis (*i.e.*, Kalachuris) and is represented as ruling at Nripurī which is plainly a mistake for Tripurī. He is again called *Trilingādhipati*. This title corresponds to *Trikalingādhipati* assumed by

several later Kalachuri kings. Like the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana¹ and the *Karnasundarī* of Bilhaṇa, the *Viddhaśālabbhañjikā* also seems to have been based on historical events in the career of the contemporary king. From the analysis of the play given above, it will be noticed that it mentions the following events —

(1) Yuvarājadēva married the daughter of Chandravarman, the king of Lāta, and this matrimonial alliance apparently strengthened his position

(2) He espoused the cause of Vīrapāla, the king of Kuntala, who had been dethroned by his kinsmen, and sent an army which fought with a confederacy of kings on the bank of the Payōshṇī, defeated it and placed Vīrapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

It is not possible to say definitely if the first of these was a historical event. It is not stated to which royal family Chandravarman of Lāta belonged. In the *Bālarāmāyana*, Rājaśekhara represents a Chaulukya king as ruling over Lāta and attending the *svayamvara* of Sītā (Act III, verse 57). From the description of the several kings who attended the *svayamvara*, which is full of anachronisms, it is plain that Rājaśekhara is referring to the state of affairs in his own times. So Chandravarman of Lāta may have been intended to be represented as a prince of the Chaulukya dynasty. From some inscriptions² and literary references³ we know that a Chaulukya chief named Bārappa was ruling over Lāta in the third quarter of the 10th century A. C. He was the son of Nimbārka. Earlier members of this line are not known. Perhaps Chandravarman was intended to represent the predecessor of Nimbārka. He would, in that case, be a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I. This must, of course, remain a conjecture until positive evidence of the earlier rule of this family in Lāta becomes available.

The second event described in the *Viddhaśālabbhañjikā* seems to have a foundation in fact. Vīrapāla whose cause was espoused by Yuvarājadēva I is called the king of Kuntala. Kuntala was the name of the country between the Bhīmā and the Vēdavatī, comprising the Southern Maratha Country as well as some Kanarese districts of the Bombay, Madras and Mysore States. In many records the Rāshtrakūtas are referred to as the kings of Kuntala. Vīrapāla was, therefore, apparently a claimant for the Rāshtrakūta throne. His claim seems to have been superseded, and so he sought Yuvarājadēva's help to gain his kingdom.

Was there such a war of succession about this time in the history of the Rāshtrakūtas? The Karhad⁴ and Deoli⁵ plates of Kṛishṇa III tell us that Gōvinda IV, whose known dates range from 930 A. C. to 933 A. C., was the source of the sportive pleasures of love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and when his health was undermined, he ultimately met with death. From some other records, however, we learn that Amōghavarsha III, the uncle of Gōvinda IV, fomented a rebellion among the feudatories of Gōvinda IV which resulted in the king's death. The Prince of Wales Museum plates⁶ of the Śilāhāra prince Chhadvaideva say that Amōghavarsha completely uprooted Gōvinda IV, who was acting unjustly. There was thus a civil war in the Rāshtra-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96 ff.

² See the Surat plates of Kīrtirāja, dated Śaka 940 (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 88), also the Surat plates of Trilōchanapāla, dated Śaka 972 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.). As Bārappa was the grandfather of Kīrtirāja, he may be placed about 960 A. C.

³ Bārappa is called the king of Lāta in Hēmachandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, and the general of Tailapa, the sovereign of Tilingana, in the *Prabandhachiniāmāni* and the *Rāsamālā*. In the *Sukṛitasankīrtana* (Canto II, v. 5), however, he is said to have been the general of the lord of Kānyakubja.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 194.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 283.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

kūta kingdom at the close of Gōvinda's reign. The aforementioned Deoli and Karhad plates further tell us that after the death of Gōvinda IV, the feudatory princes entreated Baddiga *alias* Amōghavarsha III to ascend the throne. This clearly indicates that there was some trouble about succession to the Rāshtrakūta throne at that time. Virapāla of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* was apparently a claimant for the throne, and when he failed to get it, he sought Yuvarājadēva's help. The latter had by that time made extensive conquests in the north, east and west, but as the play states, he could not, for some time, gain a footing in the south. This was evidently due to the increasing power of the Rāshtrakūtas. Yuvarājadēva apparently thought that the civil war at the close of Gōvinda IV's reign afforded him an excellent opportunity to place his own protégé on the Rāshtrakūta throne. He sent a large army under his able general, who defeated the Kuntala king and his allies in the battle of the Payōshnī, and placed Virapāla on the throne of Kuntala.

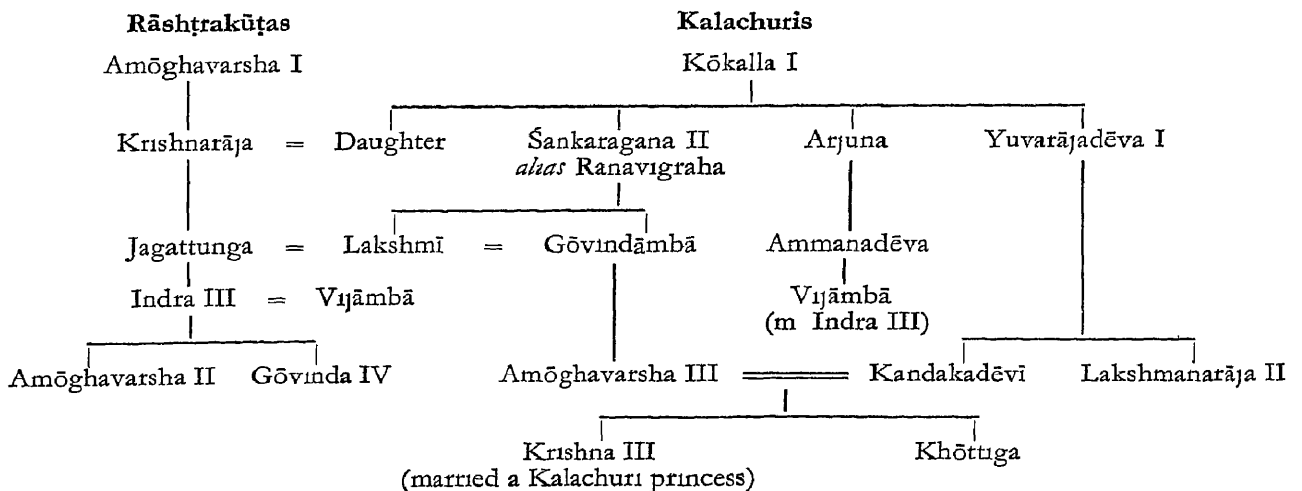
This Virapāla is probably Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III¹. The latter, we know, was Yuvarājadēva's own son-in-law. The Kudlur² and Sudī plates³ further tell us that he was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter Rēvakanimmadī with the Ganga prince Pērmādī Būtuga II. Baddiga's son Krishna III also had married a Kalachuri princess. It is not, therefore, surprising that Yuvarājadēva espoused the cause of Baddiga⁴. Rājāśekhara has changed the names of the historical persons who figure as characters in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. Kēyūīavarsha, for instance, appears as Karpūrarvarsha, and his minister Bhākamiśra, as Bhāgurāyana. So Baddiga may have been represented as Virapāla *alias* Chandamahāsēna⁵.

¹ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūtas and Their Times*, pp. 109 ff.

² *A R A S M.* (1921), pp. 21-22.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p. 179.

⁴ Gōvinda IV also was a relative of Yuvarājadēva, but he was more distantly related to him than Amōghavarsha III, for, he was a grandson of his niece. The following table shows the matrimonial alliances of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris —



⁵ I previously proposed to identify Virapāla with some other claimant for the Rāshtrakūta throne (e.g., Bappuva) on the following grounds—(i) The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* represents that Yuvarājadēva afterwards married Virapāla's daughter. This would evidently be impossible if Virapāla represented Baddiga. (ii) The Karhad plates dated Ś 880 (958 A.C.), state in verse 25 that Krishna III, while he was *Yuvarāja*, defeated Sahasrārjuna who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. R. G. Bhandarkar first suggested that this Sahasrārjuna was a Kalachuri king as the Kalachuris traced their descent from the mythical hero Kārtavīrya-Sahasrārjuna. *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p. 284. This king could be none other than Yuvarājadēva I, who was the father-in-law of Amōghavarsha III, the father of Krishna III. As Amōghavarsha ruled only for about four years, this defeat of the Kalachuri king must have occurred within a year of the former's

The recently published Murud plates of the Śilāhāra prince Aparājita state that Amōghavarsha III exterminated his wicked enemies in a fierce battle fought at the capital of the Rāshtrakūta prince Karkara.¹ The latter is probably identical with Karkarāja, the lord of Achalapura, mentioned in the Sudi and Kudlur plates as an antagonist of Būtuga, the son-in-law of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III.² Achalapura, which is identified with Ellichpur³ in the Amaravati District of Madhya Pradesh, was, therefore, the scene of the battle. This town lies only about 10 miles west of the Pūrnā (ancient Payōshnī) Rājaśekhara's statement that the battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshnī is thus corroborated by independent inscriptional evidence.

This Karkara and his younger brother Bappuva were probably relatives and staunch supporters of Gōvinda IV. The Rāshtrakūta Emperor had made Bappuva the ruler of North Karnāṭaka, and placed Karkara in charge of Vīdarbha. From the Mahākūta temple inscription⁴ we learn that Bappuvarasa (who is plainly identical with the aforementioned Bappuva) granted three rice-fields to Nandikēśvara in 933 A.C. In this inscription he is called *Mahāsāmanta* and is said to have attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. He is further described as a very Bhairava on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gōpāla. This Gōpāla is probably identical with the Rāshtrakūta Emperor Gōvinda IV. Bappuva seems to have taken a leading part in the civil war which raged in the Rāshtrakūta kingdom towards the end of Gōvinda IV's reign. He at first won some successes for his lord, but was afterwards defeated by the Chālukya chief Arikēśarin II, who, as stated in Pampa's *Vikramārjunavyaya*,⁵ fought for Baddiga. Arikēśarin and other allies of Baddiga then seem to have marched on the imperial capital Mānyakhēta where they killed Gōvinda IV.⁶

In the meantime, Yuvarājadēva's army under his able general invaded the Rāshtrakūta kingdom from the north. Baddiga⁷ and probably his valiant son Kṛishṇa III also

(Continued from last page)

accession, for, it is placed first among the achievements of Kṛishṇa III as crown prince. For these and some other reasons, it appeared plausible that Yuvarājadēva, on political grounds, backed up some other claimant than Baddiga, and fought with the latter. *A B O R. I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 369 ff. Prof. Nilkanta Sastri has, however, recently pointed out that the aforementioned verse in the Karhad plates does not record any defeat of the Kalachuri king, but only glorifies Kṛishṇa III by stating that he excelled even Sahasrārjuna, the progenitor of the royal family in which his mother and wife were born. The passage from an unpublished manuscript cited below, p. lxxxiii, note 4, which has recently come to my notice, leaves no room for doubt that Prof. Sastri's interpretation is correct, for, it states that Amōghavarsha continued to stay at the Chēdi capital even after his enemies were exterminated, while Kṛishṇa was governing the kingdom by his command. The difficulty presented by Rājaśekhara's statement that Yuvarājadēva married Vīrapāla's daughter still remains. Perhaps, that incident, as suggested by Dr. Altekar, is a mere poetic invention intended to complicate the love affairs in the drama. See his *Rāshtrakūtas*, etc., p. 110.

¹ Cf. श्रीमत्कर्कराष्ट्रकूटककेऽसद्वशसघर्षतो

रौद्रब्रोह्मदप्रतापशमन निस्त्रिशधारजले ।

येनाकारि समुद्रतेन्द्रधनुषा भूषाश्मभिर्विद्युता

भाति श्रीमदमोघवर्षसुघनोऽसद्बुलिविध्वसनात् ॥ *I I B S*, Vol. I, p. 47

² *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol. XV, pp. 612 ff.

³ The ancient place-name has now been restored.

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol. X, p. 104, Vol. XVIII, p. 316.

⁵ *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 329.

⁶ See Pampa's *Vikramārjunavyaya*, āśvāsa IX, *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 328-29. The description in the Deoli and Karhad plates that Gōvinda IV died early because his health was undermined by his dissolute life is a myth invented by his enemies. The Prince of Wales Museum plates recently edited by me (*Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.) state that Amōghavarsha III completely uprooted Gōjjiga (i.e., Gōvinda IV) who had acted unjustly.

⁷ Rājaśekhara states in his play that the General Vatsa placed Vīrapāla at the head, when he marched to the Payōshnī.

accompanied the forces. They marched on Achalapura, the capital of Karkara¹ If the description in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is correct, a large number of Gōvinda's feudatories and allies had assembled at Achalapura to oppose the invading forces² A sanguinary battle was fought on the bank of the Payōshnī (modern Pūrṇā), which flows only about 10 miles east of the town Karkara and other allies of Gōvinda were defeated The Kalachuri army then marched on to Mānyakhēta, which Arīkēsarin had already stormed and taken. He had also killed the Emperor Gōvinda IV. The feudatories that had gathered at Mānyakhēta then offered the crown to Baddiga and 'entreated him to accept it to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas, and he too, being prompted by the god Śiva, ascended the glorious throne of heroes'³ The last known date of Gōvinda IV is 933 A C and the earliest date of Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III is 937 A C The battle of the Payōshnī may, therefore, have been fought in 935 A C The *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* seems to have been staged at Tripurī in jubilation at this great victory over a formidable confederacy of southern kings Yuvarājadēva I was now at the height of his power, for, he had attained the enviable position of *Chakravartin*.

The cordial relations of the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūtas continued as before. Although some of the feudatories of Gōvinda IV had been defeated and the imperial capital had been occupied, peace and order were not established for some time in the Rāshtrakūta dominion Baddiga, who was a man of quiet and saintly nature, preferred to return to the Kalachuri capital,⁴ while his son Kṛishṇa III, who was appointed *Yuvarāja*, subdued the rebellious feudatories. He killed Bappuva and his ally Dantiga,⁵ and governed the Rāshtrakūta empire in the name of his father, who continued to stay at Tripurī

Soon after this, Yuvarājadēva I suffered a defeat, at the hands of Yaśōvarman, the Chandēlla king, who was ruling over the neighbouring kingdom of Jejābhukti The Khajuraho inscription⁶ says that Yaśōvarman vanquished in battle a Chēdi king who had countless forces, who had planted his lotus-like foot on rows of diadems of famous kings and who was being protected by a multitude of angry and invincible bowmen riding elephants in rut that were marching along like huge mountains of collyrium R B Hirālāl thought that this battle took place at the time of the accession of Yuvarājadēva I⁷ The latter was, however, a senior contemporary of Yaśōvarman Besides, he is described in the aforementioned record as having already defeated a number of famous kings The

¹ I have shown above (p. xlvii) that the Rāshtrakūtas of Vīdarbha were originally feudatories of the Early Kalachuris and later transferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi They were at first ruling from Nandivardhana near Nagpur Later, Achalapura seems to have become their capital

² It is not unlikely that the names of some of them were inserted for the sake of alliteration.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 284, Vol V, p 194

⁴ The following verses which occur at the end of an unpublished commentary on a Śaiva work state that Vandyaga (i.e., Baddiga) was staying at the Chēdi capital (Tripurī) after exterminating his enemies and that his son Kṛishṇa (III) was governing the kingdom by his order in the Śaka year 858 (936 A C) गतवति शककाले मङ्गलेश्वरसंस्थे शरदि विशदपक्षे चाश्विने शुक्रवारे । उडुनि सुरपतीशे योग आयुष्मतीय तिथिरपि च गताना पञ्चमी यत्र शुद्धा ॥ चेदिकुलराजधान्या गतवति श्रीवच्छगे निहत्यारीन् । तच्छासनेन वसुधा परिरक्षति कृष्णराजेषि ॥ The *tiṭhi* mentioned here, viz., Friday, Āśvina śu. di 5, Śaka 858, regularly corresponds to the 23rd September 936 A C, which leaves no room for doubt about the genuineness of the MS and the correctness of the statements made therein I owe this interesting reference to the courtesy of Dr S N Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum

⁵ This Dantiga is probably identical with Dantivarman who was defeated by Būtuga The description in the Sudī and Kudlur plates suggests that he was a ruler of Banavāsī in North Kanara *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 180, *A R A S M* (1921), p 22.

⁶ *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 127

⁷ *A B O R I*, Vol IX, p 287.

battle must, therefore, be dated towards the close of his reign.

Yuvarājadēva was a fervent devotee of Śiva. He invited a Śaiva ascetic named Prabhāvaśiva from Madhumatī which still survives as a small village under the name Mahuā, about a mile to the south of Tērahī in Madhya Bharat. He built for him a monastery at the expense of an enormous amount of money at Gurgi in the former Rewa State and donated several villages for the maintenance of the Śaiva ascetics residing there¹. He also erected a temple of Śiva nearby. At Bhērā-Ghāt near his own capital Tripurī, he built a round hypæthral structure dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginīs². From the characters of the short inscriptions on their pedestals, it appears that most of the images of the Yōginīs installed in the cells of this temple belong to the time of Yuvarājadēva I. This temple, therefore, is of the same age as the hypæthral granite structure at Khajuraho, which also was similarly dedicated to the sixty-four Yōginīs. From its round shape, the temple was known as the Gōlakī Matha (Circular Temple). It became in its turn an important seat of Śaiva Āchāryas and spread its branches in Cudappah, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts of the Madras State. In an inscription³ discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District, it is stated that Yuvarājadēva gave, as *bhikṣhā*, three lakhs of villages to his *guru* Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Gōlakī Matha. This means that he assigned one third of the revenue of the Dāhala country which contained nine lakhs of villages⁴. His queen Nōhalā was also equally devoted to the same Śaiva sect. She called another Śaiva ascetic named Īśvaraśiva and donated two villages to him as a reward for learning (*vidyā-dhana*). She erected a lofty temple of Śiva under the name of Nōhalēśvara⁵ and endowed it with the grant of seven villages situated in the neighbourhood.

Yuvarājadēva had a very learned, pious and capable Brāhmana minister, named Bhāka-miśra. He is probably the prototype of Bhāgurāyana who figures as the counsellor of the hero in the *Viddhaśālabbhañjikā*. Another minister of his, who probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was Gōllāka, also known as Gauda, the son of Bhānu. He was a devotee of Viṣṇu, and caused colossal images of the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Balarāma and Paraśurāma incarnations of Viṣṇu to be carved out of rocks at Bāndhōgarh where he has left his own inscriptions.

Yuvarājadēva I was one of the most powerful rulers of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He raided distant countries and made even famous kings feel the weight of his arm. It is difficult to say if his raids resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory, for, no inscriptions of his reign have been discovered outside the Chēdi country. But his titles *Chākravartin* and *Trīkalīngādhipati* indicate that he occupied for a time the leading position among the powers of North and South India. This was evidently when the power of the Pratihāras declined in the north owing to the raids of Indra III and that of the Rāshtrakūtas was on the wane in the south owing to dissensions in the royal family during the reign of Gōvinda IV. Yuvarājadēva was a pious man, a great builder, and a patron of religion and literature.

¹ No. 46, ll. 43 ff.

² Though the temple is called Chausath Jōginī Temple, there are in all 81 cells, one of which contains an image of Ganapati, and the rest, those of Yōginīs. Five of these are of an earlier, perhaps Kushāna, age. *H. T. M.*, p. 78.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

⁴ This statement needs to be verified from other records. The records of the Śaiva Āchāryas themselves found in the Chēdi country make no mention of this munificent gift.

⁵ It is not known where this temple was situated. It is perhaps identical with the temple at Nōhatā on the main road between Jabalpur and Damoh. According to Cousens, it belongs at the latest to the 10th century A.C. See *A. R. A. S. I. for 1903-4*, p. 58.

Yuvarājadēva I was succeeded by Lakshmanarāja II, who was his son by his favourite wife Nōhalā. In the early part of his reign, Lakshmanarāja seems to have taken part in the northern campaign of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. A Kanarese inscription¹ recently discovered at Jurā, 12 miles from the Maihar railway station, shows that Krishna III led an expedition in the north after he ascended the throne, and set up a monument in the Chēdi country. It is not dated, but as it mentions Krishna's extermination of the Chōla king, it must have been put up after 947 A.C.² It has been suggested that the erection of this monument implies defeat of the Chēdi king; but since there is no mention or even suggestion of it in the Jurā inscription, it seems that Krishna III set up the monument as he marched through the Chēdi kingdom. His relations with Lakshmanarāja II seem to have been as cordial as those of his father with Yuvarājadēva I.

Like his father, Lakshmanarāja also raided distant countries. The Kārītālāi inscription³ of his reign, which must have contained an account of his conquests, has unfortunately lost its initial historical portion, but in the records of his successors, he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated Pāṇḍya, who was an adept in despoiling the king of Lāta, who vanquished the Gurjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra'. There is no corroboration of Lakshmanarāja's raid in Bengal and Kashmir, but the Bilhāri inscription⁴ states that he defeated the lord of Kōsala (i.e., South Kosala or Chhattisgarh) and pressed on as far as Orissa. He vanquished the ruler of this latter country also, and obtained from him an effigy of the (Nāga) Kāliyā, wrought with jewels and gold. As regards his victory in Lāta or Gujarat, we have the statement in the same inscription that Lakshmanarāja, in the course of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Sōmēśvara, evidently identical with Sōmanātha near Verāval in Saurashtra and dedicated to the deity the aforementioned effigy of Kāliyā. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line⁵ in the contemporary Kārītālāi inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparnī. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmanarāja's victory over the Chōlas, who, and not the Pāṇḍyas, were supreme in the south in the latter half of the tenth century A.C., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmanarāja before he could press as far south as Tāmraparnī in the Pāṇḍya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Chōlas had not recovered from the attack of the Rāshtrakūta prince Krishna III and that the Pāṇḍya king was raising his head and trying to re-establish his power with the help of the Rāshtrakūtas,⁶ when his country was raided by Lakshmanarāja. Perhaps the object of the panegyrist was not to enumerate all kings defeated by Lakshmanarāja, and the Pāṇḍya king finds a mention because he was ruling in the extreme south.

The Gurjara king defeated by Lakshmanarāja must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla, as pointed out by R. D. Banerji.⁷ The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmanarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Sōdhadēva, and conjectured that he must

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff.

² Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao ascribes it to 963-64 A.C.

³ No. 42.

⁴ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

⁵ No. 42, line 1.

⁶ Compare *Kṛitvā dakṣiṇa-dig-jay-ōdyata-dhīryā Chaul-ānvay-ōnmūlanam tad-bhūmam nija-bhṛitya-varggaparitāḥ* = *Chēranma-Pāṇḍy-ādikān* in the Karhad plates of Krishna III, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 285.

⁷ H. T. M., p. 13.

have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gurjaras. But these suppositions do not appear to be correct. As stated before, Lakshmanarāja's victory over the king of Kōsala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Odra (Orissa). This Kōsala appears, therefore, to be Dakshina Kōsala or Chhattisgarh and the adjoining country. Besides, Lakshmanarāja who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrakhpur District of the United Provinces must have flourished long before Lakshmanarāja II of the Tripurī house¹

Lakshmanarāja sought to strengthen his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Chālukyas, who were the rivals of the Rāshtrakūtas in the Deccan. He gave his daughter Bonthādēvī in marriage to Vikramāditya IV, whose son Tailapa II (*circa* 956-997 A.C.) later on overthrew the last Rāshtrakūta king Karka II in 973 A.C.

Like his father and mother, Lakshmanarāja was a devout Śaiva. The Bilhārī inscription states that he showed his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, and invited to his country the Śaiva pontiff Hṛidayaśiva, the spiritual successor of Chūdāśiva. The latter ascetic seems to be identical with Śikhāśiva, whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva had already been invited by Yuvarājadēva I. Hṛidayaśiva received from Lakshmanarāja the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha at Bilhārī. He then placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the aforementioned temple of Nōhalēśvara. Another Śaiva ascetic of the time was Praśāntaśiva,² the spiritual successor of Prabhāvaśiva. He became the head of the monastery at Gurgī in the former Rewa state. He built there a temple of Śiva near another built by Yuvarājadēva I, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Hara-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Ganapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the Sōna for the practice of Yōga, and another at Vārāṇasī (Banaras) for the performance of austerities.

The only record of Lakshmanarāja's reign discovered so far is the Kārītalāi stone inscription. It is not dated, but in view of the date of Yuvarājadēva I fixed above, we may place Lakshmanarāja II in the period 945-970 A.C.

Lakshmanarāja had a very learned, accomplished and pious minister named Sōmēśvara, the son of Bhākamiśra who had served his father in the same capacity. He is highly glorified in the aforementioned Kārītalāi inscription. He is said to have mastered the Vēdas, logic, *tantra* and *kāvya*, and to have been proficient in music and other fine arts. He built at Kārītalāi a temple of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu under the name Sōmēśvara and established eight Brāhmaṇas there, for whose maintenance he donated the village Dīrghaśākhika, modern Digḥi, 6 miles south-east of Kārītalāi. The king Lakshmanarāja, his queen Rāhadā and the prince Śankaragaṇa, who is described as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, endowed the temple with gifts of several villages. Another minister of the king, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste, was mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated 1048-49 A.C., but his name is lost in the lower mutilated portion of it.

Lakshmanarāja II was succeeded by Śankaragaṇa III, who was his son probably from the queen Rāhadā. He is mentioned in both the Bilhārī inscription and the Banaras plates, but later inscriptions omit him, probably because he was a collateral. A stone inscription at Bargaon, 27 miles from Murwārā, records certain gifts in honour of the god Śankaranārāyaṇa. The deity was probably installed by Śankaragaṇa III and named after himself³. It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishnava* or a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in the Kārītalāi inscription.

¹ See below, p. cxii.

² He is mentioned in No. 44, ll. 8-9 and No. 46, ll. 11 ff.

³ Compare the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the deity installed in a temple erected by the Rāshtrakūta king Indra III, as stated in the Bodhan stone inscription dated 1056 A.C. *H. A. S.*, No. 7.

Sankaragaṇa seems to have been involved in a conflict with the Chandēllas, whose kingdom was conterminous with his on the west. Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman and brother of Dhanga, was ruling over the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending from Dudahī in the north to Bhilsā in the south¹. From a stone inscription discovered by Dr. F. E. Hall many years ago at Bhilsa, we learn that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, who was the chief minister of Kṛishṇa, conquered the lord of Chēdī and a Śabara chief named Sīmha and placed the kings of Rālā *mandala* and Rōdapādī on their thrones². Another stone inscription discovered by Mr. M. B. Garde at Maser, 25 miles north of Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, mentions that Narasimha of the Sulkī (*i.e.*, Chālukya) family initiated the wives of a Kalachuri king into widowhood by the command of Kṛishṇarāja³. As the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇa was a younger brother of Dhanga, for whom we have dates ranging from 952 to 1002 A.C., he can be referred to the period 960-985 A.C. The Kalachuri king, defeated and perhaps slain by his ministers, was probably Sankaragaṇa. It is significant that both the Bilhārī inscription and the Banaras plates have nothing but conventional praise for him. As his brother Yuvarājadēva II, who succeeded him, was a contemporary of Vākpati-Muñja (*circa* 974—994 A.C.), Sankaragaṇa III seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years from *circa* 970 A.C. to 980 A.C.

Sankaragaṇa III probably left no issue, for, he was succeeded by his brother Yuvarājadēva II. About the political events of his reign we have very little information, for, though he is named in many later inscriptions, they bestow only conventional praise on him. The Karanbēl inscription⁴ alone states that he raided the countries in all quarters, and with great devotion, presented the wealth he obtained from their rulers to the god Sōmēśvara. As no other inscription mentions this achievement of Yuvarājadēva II, and as a similar one is described in connection with his father Lakshmanarāja II,⁵ one is inclined to look with suspicion on this description.

The prestige of the Kalachuris seems to have sunk very low during the reign of Yuvarājadēva II. From the Udaipur *prasaṣti*⁶ we learn that the Paramāra king Vākpati Muñja defeated Yuvarāja, slew his generals, and held his sword on high at Tripurī. Vākpati could not have occupied the Kalachuri capital for a long time, for, he soon found himself involved in a prolonged struggle with the Chālukyas on the southern border of his kingdom. He seems, therefore, to have made peace with the Kalachuri king and returned to his kingdom.

From a verse⁷ which occurs in some inscriptions of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyānī, it has long been believed that Tailapa II, the founder of the Later Chālukya dynasty, defeated a king of Chēdī⁸. Rai Bahadur Hiralal went so far as to identify the Chēdī ruler with Yuvarājadēva II⁹. As Yuvarājadēva's sister Bōnthādēvī was the mother of Tailapa,¹⁰

¹ Four inscriptions found at Dudahī name Kṛishṇapa, the son of Yaśōvarman who is plainly the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhanga. See *Ind Ant*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2.

³ *A. R. A. D. G. S.* (1930-31), p. 10.

⁴ Appendix, No. 3, v. 13.

⁵ No. 45, ll. 23-24.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁷ *Hūna-prānabara-pratāpa-dabanō yātrā-ti-āsan-Māra-vas=Chādya-chēbbēdy=akhila-kshama-jaya-naya-vyut-panna-dhūr=Utpalab | yēn-ātyagra-ran-āgra-darśita-va(ba)la-prāchurya-saury-ōdayah kāragāra-nivēsitah kavi-vrīshāyam varnayan ghūrnatē* || This verse occurs in several inscriptions. See e.g. the Kauthe grant of Vikramāditya V, *Ind Ant*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, the Yēwur grant of Vikramāditya VI, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276, the Miraj grant of Jayasimha, *Ind Ant*, Vol. VIII, p. 11 etc.

⁸ *E. H. D.*, p. 111, *H. T. M.*, p. 14, *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 770.

⁹ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, p. 291.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 276.

there is, of course, no chronological difficulty in this identification, but in view of Tailapa's close relationship with the Kalachuri king, his invasion of the Chēdi country appears improbable. As a matter of fact, the aforementioned verse describes the exploits, not of Tailapa II, but of a king named Utpala, whom he subjugated and threw into prison¹. Dr Fleet identified this Utpala who defeated a Chēdi king with Pāñchāla, a western Ganga prince, whom, according to some other inscriptions, Tailapa killed in battle². From the *Navasābasāṅkacharita*,³ however, we learn that Utpala was a name of the Paramāra king Vākpati-Muñja. So this defeat of the Chēdi king by Utpala is not different from that mentioned in the Udaipuri *prāsaṁsī*, to which we have already referred.

As Yuvarājādēva II's grandson Gāṅgēyādēva closed his reign in 1041 A C, we have to accommodate two reigns, viz., those of Yuvarājādēva II and Kōkalla II in the period 980-1015 A C. Of these, Yuvarājādēva II had probably a shorter reign of about 10 years (*circa* 980-990 A C), for, his son Kōkalla II was very young when he came to the throne. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state that Kōkalla was placed on the throne by the chief ministers of Yuvarājādēva. This seems to suggest that he was a minor, when he began to rule. He may, therefore, have flourished from *circa* 990 to 1015 A C.

The only record of Kōkalla II's reign is the Gurgi stone inscription,⁴ which is besides very much mutilated just where a *prāsaṁsī* of the Chēdi kings begins. Verse 34 of this inscription, which refers to the exploits of Kōkalla II, is somewhat better preserved. It intimates that the Gujara king and the rulers of Gauda and Kuntala, being panic-stricken, evidently when they heard of Kōkalla's advance,⁵ deserted their kingdoms. The Gurjara king, who is said to have sought shelter in the Himālayas, must have been a ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj, probably Rājyapāla. The Gauda king was probably Mahīpāla I (*circa* 992-1040 A C). The king of Kuntala, who was forced to leave his kingdom,⁶ was perhaps Vikramāditya V of the Later Chālukya Dynasty. The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates of Yaśahkarna describe that the progress of Kōkalla's four-membered army was checked only by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans. The vagueness of this description, however, makes it difficult to say if Kōkalla actually made successful incursions into the territories of the aforementioned kings.

That the Kalachuris had lost their place among the leading political powers of North India, during the reigns of Yuvarāja II and Kōkalla II, is also clear from the absence of any reference to them in the list of the prominent Hindu states which opposed Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Ghazni towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A C. When in about 989 A C Jayapāla resolved to make a supreme effort to save India from the aggressions of Sabuktigin, he summoned to his aid the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjar and Kanauj.⁷ Again in 1008 A C when Jayapāla's son, Ānandapāla, thought of invoking the aid of his Hindu compatriots to stem the tide of Mahmud's invasion, he sent emissaries to the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjar, Delhi and Ajmer. In neither

¹ See my article 'Did Tailapa defeat a Chēdi king?' *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol IX, pp 132 ff.

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 18, no. 12.

³ Canto XI, v 92.

⁴ No 46.

⁵ Banerji thought that verse 34 of this inscription described the conquests of Gāṅgēyādēva, but this is incorrect, for, as has been pointed out by N P Chakravarti (*Ep Ind*, XXII, 129), the preceding verse (33) names Kōkalla (II). This leaves no room for doubt that the achievements glorified in verse 34 belong to him and not to Gāṅgēyādēva.

⁶ There is no reference to the ruler of Banavāsī, as wrongly supposed by Banerji.

⁷ *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Translation by Briggs, p 18.

of these lists do we find any mention of the Kalachuris,¹ which shows that in this period they had ceased to count as a great political power in North India

Kōkalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṅgēya in *circa* 1015 A.C. He was an aggressive and able king, and by his conquests raised his family to a high level of glory and prosperity. In the beginning of his reign, however, he occupied a comparatively subordinate position. This is indicated by the modest titles *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* and *Mahārāja*, with which he is mentioned in the Makundpur stone inscription, dated 1019 A.C. A Chandēlla inscription² at Mahōbā states that Bhōja and Kalachuri-chandra (the Moon of the Kalachuris) waited upon the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhaia, the master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja, and who was lying on a couch. The Kalachuri-chandra is probably Gāṅgēya.³ The reference here is evidently to the attack on Rājyapāla for his abject submission to Mahmud, in which the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhaia took a leading part. He was aided by some princes, one of whom, we know, was the Kachchhapaghāta ruler Arjuna.⁴ The Paramāra Bhōja and the Kalachuri Gāṅgēya also seem to have fought under the leadership of Vidyādhara in this expedition against Rājyapāla.⁵

In the south Gāṅgēya carried on the war with the Chālukyas, which had been commenced by his father. He seems to have achieved success for a time. In some records of his son Karna,⁶ Gāṅgēya is described as fond of defeating the king of Kuntala in a clever manner. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarna state that wishing to run away in haste from Gāṅgēya, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear. The king of Kuntala must, of course, be taken to mean the contemporary ruler of the Later Chālukya Dynasty, namely, Jayasimha, who ruled from about 1015 A.C. to 1042 A.C. From the

¹ Firishhta alone mentions this confederacy, but his statement may be incorrect in regard to Delhi and Ajmer. See Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, p. 89, n. 3.

² *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p. 222. Prof. S. H. Hodivala has recently made the ingenious suggestion that Kulchand, mentioned by the Muhammadan historians as 'a Satanic leader who had assumed superiority over all other rulers, defeated, put to flight every one he had fought with, and possessed a great army, numerous elephants and strong forts which were secure from attack and capture, and who defended Mahāvan near Mathurā against Mahmud of Ghazni in 1018 A.C. is really Kōkalla Chid or Kōkalla II of Chēdi. *S. I. M. H.*, p. 146. This is, chronologically, not impossible, because the earliest known date of Gāṅgēya's reign is 1019 A.C. But Prof. Hodivala's other suggestion that he is identical with the Kalachuri-kula-chandra who helped the Chandēlla prince Vidyādhara in defeating the pusillanimous Rājyapāla does not seem to be correct for two reasons: (i) the Muhammadan historians say that Kulchand committed suicide after his defeat at Mahāvan, and (ii) in 1019 A.C. when Rājyapāla was defeated, Gāṅgēya, not Kōkalla II, was on the throne. See the Makundpur stone inscription, dated K. 772 (1019 A.C.).

³ Dr. Hultsch and, following him, Dr. H. C. Ray identify him with Kōkalla II, but this is incorrect. See above, n. 2.

⁴ See the Dubkund inscription. *Ep Ind* Vol II, p. 233.

⁵ The colophon of a *Rāmāyana* Ms., discovered by Prof. Bendall in the Nepal Durbar Library, mentions *Mahārājādhrāja Panyāvalōka* Gāṅgēyadēva, born in the lunar family, as ruling over Tīrabhukti in *samvat* 1076. Prof. Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and took it as equivalent to 1019-20 A.C. He identified Gāṅgēyadēva with the homonymous Kalachuri king, as the date falls in his reign. On the strength of this reference, it was believed for a long time that Gāṅgēya extended his sway to Tīrhut early in his reign. The epithet *Panyāvalōka*, however, made this identification doubtful, for, Kalachuri kings are not known to have assumed such epithets ending in *avalōka*. I have recently drawn attention to another epithet *Garudadhvaṇa* (previously misread by Bendall as *Gaudadhvaṇa*) applied to Gāṅgēya in the same colophon. It clearly shows that this king of Tīrhut was different from the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva who was *parama-māhēśvara*, i.e., a devout worshipper of Śiva. For the identification of this Gāṅgēyadēva of Tīrabhukti, see my article in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Silver Jubilee Vol., pp. 291 ff.

⁶ No. 50, l. 18 and No. 51, l. 9.

Kulenur inscription¹ it seems that Gāṅgēyadēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājendra to attack Jayasimha from three sides. Victory does not, however, appear to have always attended the arms of the allies, for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasimha's cousin Chattadēva *alias* Kundarāja. From another inscription we learn that the battle was fought on the bank of the Gautama-Gaṅgā or Gōdāvarī² Bhōja and his allies appear to have sustained a disastrous defeat; for, the Balagamve inscription states that Jayasimha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava king³

The alliance between the Kalachuris and the Paramāras seems to have been of short duration; for, we find that Bhōja soon attacked and defeated Gāṅgēya. In one of the Nāndī verses of the inscribed Sanskrit play *Pāryātamañjarī*, Bhōja is said to have had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgēya⁴ The Udaipur *prasaśti*⁵ and the Kalwan plates⁶ also refer to Bhōja's victory over a Chēdi king who can be none other than Gāṅgēyadēva.

Verse 19 of the Rewa stone inscription of Karna⁷ describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēya's victory near the sea-coast This may refer to his campaign in Orissa, which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse. This latter verse says that Gāṅgēyadēva, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm the pillar of victory on the shore of the (eastern) ocean after vanquishing the king of Utkala In this war Gāṅgēya was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāna The Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva I⁸ record that Kamalarāja, an early prince of the Tummāna branch, vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva The king of Utkala was, it seems, a member of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Śubhākara II, as shown below During this campaign Gāṅgēya seems to have also defeated Mahāśivagupta—Yayāti, the ruler of South Kōsala In one of his grants Yayāti is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas, *i.e.*, the people of the Chēdi country, and carried fire and sword into their home province of Dāhala⁹ The war seems to have continued for some time, and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gāṅgēyadēva was ultimately victorious, he might have assumed the title of *Trikalīṅgādhipati* after his success We know that his son Karna mentions this title in his first known grant¹⁰ issued just a year after Gāṅgēya's death

The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni had shattered the power and prestige of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Trilōchanapāla is the last known Pratihāra king who was exercising some loose authority over the Gangetic Doab till 1027 A.C., for, his Jhusi grant¹¹ of that year records the donation of a village to the Brāhmanas of Pratiśthāna The power of the Chandēllas, the only other ruling family of Central India capable of thwarting the ambition of Gāṅgēya, was waning after the death of Ganda Some time after 1027 A.C. Gāṅgēya seems to have embarked on a bold policy of conquest and annexation Throwing

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol. XV, p. 330

² *Ibid*, Vol. XVI, p. 359

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol. V, p. 17.

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol. VIII, p. 101

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 235

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 71

⁷ No. 51

⁸ No. 76, l. 13

⁹ *J A S B (N S)*, Vol. I (1905), p. 4

¹⁰ No. 48, l. 34

¹¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

off the yoke of Chandēlla suzerainty, he overran the Doab and even carried his arms as far as the Kāngrā valley; for, he is said to have thrown into the cage of a prison the king of the Kīra country.¹ Gāngēya's conquest of the Doab is corroborated by the find of his coins in Uttar Pradesh. He then fixed his residence in the holy city of Prayāga, which, with some interruption,² he held to the last.

Gāngēya next extended his sway to Banaras. Several powerful rulers seem to have vied with one another for the occupation of this ancient city, which was regarded as holy by the Buddhists as well as the Brāhmanas. Towards the close of the 10th century, it was in the occupation of the Chandēllas, for, a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1055 (998 A.C.) records the grant of a village which the powerful king Dhanga made at Kāśikā or Banaras.³ Thereafter, the city seems to have passed into the possession of the Pālas. The Sārnāth stone inscription⁴ dated V. 1083 (1026 A.C.) records that by the order of the Pāla Mahipāla I of Bengal, Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla established hundreds of precious monuments of glory in Kāśī. Some time after this date, the city seems to have again changed hands. The *Tārīkh-i-Baihaqī* describes a swift raid of Ahmad Niyāl Tigin, the Governor of the Panjab, which he carried out in the summer of H. 424 (1033 A.C.)⁵ This raid was directed against the city of Banaras which belonged to the territory of Gang. This Gang is none other than Gāngēya, for, the date falls in his reign. The Muhammadan army plundered the city from morning to mid-day, but it could remain there no longer 'because of the peril.' This seems, therefore, to have been a surprise raid, and the invaders knew full well what risk they would run if they stayed there longer. They, therefore, left the city in haste and got back in safety.

After these conquests Gāngēya seems to have assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. These titles appear in the Piawan rock inscription of his reign dated K. 789 (1037-38 A.C.) His fame spread far and wide. Albērūnī, writing in 1030 A.C., mentions in his work that Gāngēya was the ruler of the Dāhala country, the capital of which was Tiaurī (Tripurī).⁶

Gāngēya's conquests brought him into conflict with the Chandēllas. An inscription from Mahōbā⁷ states that when Gāngēya thought of the impending fierce fight (with the Chandēlla Vijayapāla), even he who had slighted and conquered the whole world felt that the lotus of his heart had the knot of martial pride closed. This seems to imply that the redoubtable Gāngēya submitted to the Chandēlla king. Judging by subsequent events, however, victory seems ultimately to have rested with the Kalachuri king.

In the east Gāngēya carried his arms as far as Anga and Magadha. The copperplate grants of his son Karna record that he looked radiant with the mass of wealth of the king of Anga⁸ (modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr Districts). The expedition against Magadha seems to have occurred towards the close of Gāngēya's reign. It was led by his son Karna. From the Tibetan accounts we learn that the army of Karṇa advanced as far as Gayā. The Pāla king Nayapāla was then ruling over Magadha. Karṇa's troops sacked some of the

¹ No 50, l. 18, No 51, l. 9

² The Karā inscription (V. 1093) of Yaśahpāla, whose lineage is not known, records the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba *mandala* J. R. A. S. (1927), p. 694. Yaśahpāla had the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. He seems to have dispossessed Gāngēya of Allahabad for some time.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 139 ff.

⁵ *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁶ Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (1914), Vol. I, p. 202.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

⁸ This may have been Mahipāla I (988-1038 A.C.) *H. B.*, Vol. I, p. 141.

sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five men, out of whom four were ordained monks and one an *upāsaka*. Ultimately, through the efforts of the renowned Buddhist monk Atiśa Dīpamkara, who risked his life several times in crossing the rivers that lay between the contending parties, a treaty was signed, by which friendship was established between the two kingdoms.¹ This expedition seems to have taken place some time before 1040 A.C., which is the approximate date of Atiśa's departure for Tibet. As Gāṅgēya was ruling till the beginning of 1041 A.C., the invasion of Magadha cannot be placed in the reign of Karna himself. It seems to have occurred towards the end of Gāṅgēya's reign. In that case Karna may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēya.

Gāṅgēya was fond of residing at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga,² which became his second capital. He died at the same place. His hundred wives are said to have immolated themselves on his pyre. The date of his death can be accurately determined from that of his first annual *śrāddha* which was performed by his son Karna at Prayāga. According to Karna's Banaras grant, which was made on the occasion, the *śrāddha* was performed on the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 793. Gāṅgēya must, therefore, have died on Phālguna *va di 2* of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

Gāṅgēya was one of the most illustrious members of the Kalachuri dynasty. When he ascended the throne, Kalachuri power was weak and effete. By his valour and diplomacy, he revived the imperial glory of his family. He extended his kingdom so far in the north as to include a major part of the modern Uttar Pradesh. As the Pratihāras were too weak to defend the holy places of the north against the attacks of the Muslim iconoclasts, he took them under his own protection, and to guard them effectively, he made Prayāga his second capital.³ From the grants of his grandson Yaśahkarna, we learn that he assumed the coveted title of *Vikramāditya*.⁴ Even in the records of his enemies he was called a world-conqueror (*jita-viśva*).⁵ At his death, he left a fairly large empire, which was further extended by his son Karna.

Gāṅgēya was an ardent Śaiva. According to the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Nara-simha,⁶ he erected a matchless temple of the Mēru type, which was probably dedicated to Śiva. His Piawan rock inscription also seems to have recorded the installation of a Śiva-*linga*.⁷

Gāṅgēya introduced the Lakshmī type of coinage, which became very popular in North India. The obverse of these coins is wholly occupied by the king's name in bold Nāgarī characters in three lines, and the reverse, by the figure of Lakshmī sitting cross-legged. Gāṅgēya's coins exist in all the three metals, gold, silver and copper, and in four denominations which Smith calls dramma, half-damma, quarter-damma and one-eighth dramma.⁸

¹ *J. B. T. S.*, Vol I, pp 9 ff

² See Nos 56 and 57, v 12

³ Kalachuri inscriptions make no mention of Gāṅgēya's encounter with Mahmud of Ghazni, whose contemporary he was. Prof. Hodivala makes the ingenious suggestion that Kābakan, who ruled the country bordering on the territory of Nanda (i.e., the Chandēlla Ganda) and who sent some wonderful presents to Mahmud after the latter's generous treatment of the Chandēlla ruler, was Gāṅgēya. He is said to have been a master of 1000 elephants. *S. I. M. H.*, pp 73 ff

⁴ See Nos 56 and 57, v 11.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol I, p. 222

⁶ No 60, v 9

⁷ Appendix, No 1

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXXVII, p 147

The Lakshmi type introduced by Gāṅgēya was subsequently copied by the Chandēllas, the Gāhadavālas and the Tomars, and was introduced even in distant Kashmir ¹

As stated above, Gāṅgēyadēva was succeeded by his son Karna in 1041 A C. From several inscriptions of his reign as well as from references in literary records, Sanskrit and Prakrit, we can form a general idea of the main political events of his reign.

The Rewa stone inscription² dated in K 800 (1048-49 A C) shows that in the first seven years of his reign, Karna attained remarkable victories in the east, south and west. He seems to have first proceeded to the east. Verse 26 of the aforementioned inscription states that the ship of the king of the eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of Karna's forces, its joints being rent by dashing against the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants. This verse clearly implies that Karna obtained a decisive victory over the king of the eastern country, who lost his life in the encounter. Who was this king of the eastern country? He could scarcely have been the contemporary Pāla king, for, the kingdom of the Pālas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihar and North-West Bengal. From the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha,³ on the other hand, we learn that when Karna gave a full play to heroism, the Vanga trembled with the Kalinga. Karna's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vanga or Eastern Bengal. The tenour of the description suggests that the ruling family was supplanted and the kingdom was either annexed by Karna or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact, we find the Vermans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A C. Gōvīndachandīa, the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal,⁴ is also mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription⁵ of Rājēndra Chōla I as the ruler of Vangāla-dēśa. He was defeated in 1021 A C by Rājēndra I, the illustrious Chōla Emperor (1014—1044 A C). When Karna invaded Eastern Bengal, either this prince or his successor was on the throne. After the overthrow of the Chandra king, Karna placed Vajravarma in charge of the newly acquired territory and gave his daughter Viraśrī in marriage to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter distinguished himself in one of the later campaigns of Karna in the country of Anga.⁶ The Rewa inscription shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected in any case before 1048-49 A C.

Karna next turned his attention to the south. Verse 25 of the aforementioned Rewa inscription describes Karna's southern campaigns in a figurative style. It states that 'overturning the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern direction in which the tune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair is marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (by kissing).' It is difficult to say how far this figurative description correctly represents historical facts. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karna in this verse, had long ceased to be supreme in the south, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in 890 A C.⁷ A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nōlamba-

¹ *J N S I*, Vol III, p 26

² No. 51.

³ No. 60, l 10

⁴ *H B*, Vol I, p. 196. See the Paikpārā inscription of his reign. *Ind Cul*, Vol VII, pp 405 ff

⁵ *S I I*, Vol I, p. 99

⁶ *I B*, Vol III, p 20

⁷ K A Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol I, p 136

vādī 32000 down to the eleventh century A C,¹ but they had no control over the territory round Kāñchī and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karna's arms. Besides, Karna's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long list of his conquests in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas is concerned, the description in the verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchī is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas, for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gangāpurī or Gāṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājendra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchī as the Chōla capital.² Karna's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karanbēl inscription of Jayasimha.³ R D Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karna with Virarājendra Rājakesarivarman, who was reigning between 1062 and 1067 A C. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchī in verse 25 of the Rewa inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in 1048-49 A C. Karna's adversary must, therefore, be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājendra Chōla I, who ruled from 1044 to 1054 A C.

While Karna was in the south, he seems to have encountered the king of Kuntala. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. The battle does not seem to have ended in a decisive victory for either side, for, both the belligerents claimed success for themselves. As stated above, the Rewa inscription speaks of the fortune of the Kuntala king being seized by Karna. Bilhana, on the other hand, records in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* that Āhavamalla (i.e., Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karna, after which glory never embraced the country of Dāhala.⁴

Karna seems to have come into conflict with the king of the Gurjara country also. Verse 27 of the Rewa inscription says that when Karna approached the Gurjara country, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from their foreheads. This description indicates that Karna had raided Gujarat before 1048 A C. This is also corroborated by an Apabhramśa verse in the *Prākṛita-Paṅgala* which states that Karna had exterminated the forces of a Gurjara king. This may have been followed by negotiations for peace as subsequent events show.

Though Karna had thus raided different parts of India in the first seven years of his reign, he was not yet able to annex any territory to his kingdom. His success during the next two or three years was much greater. His contemporary on the throne of Malwa was the illustrious Bhōja, who was as much distinguished for valour as for learning. He had also raided different countries and defeated the rulers of Karnāta, Lāta, Gurjara, Kōṅkana and others. The defeat he had inflicted on Gāṅgēyadēva must have been rankling in Karna's mind. The latter, therefore, formed an alliance with Bhīma of Gujarat.⁵ The allied forces invaded Malwa from the east and the west. Just about this time Bhōja died, and as he did not leave any son, the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the

¹ *H I S I*, pp. 371-2.

² See, e.g., *VDCH*, Canto I, v. 115, Canto III, v. 76, Canto IV, v. 28 etc. Bilhana mentions Gangākundapura also as a Chōla capital., *Ibid*, Canto VI, vv. 21-24.

³ Appendix, No. 3, l. 10.

⁴ *VDCH*, Canto I, vv. 102-3.

⁵ Mērutunga in his *PCH* (p. 51) states that Karna, promising Bhīma a half of the Mālava kingdom, invited him to attack Bhōja in the rear. Though Mērutunga's account contains much fanciful matter, this statement may be true. Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* (II, 18) states that Bhīma spared the life of Bhōja though the latter had fallen into his hands.

risings of the scions of the Paramāra family. It fell an easy prey to the invaders, who soon captured Dhārā, the capital of Malwa,¹ and dethroned Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja.² According to Merutunga's account, Karna violated the previous agreement and annexed the whole of Malwa.³ This enraged Bhīma, who invaded the Chēdi country. Hēma-chandra in his *Dvyāśrayakāvya* states that Bhīma, penetrated to the capital of the Chēdi country, but Karna made peace with him by presenting him horses, elephants and the golden *mandapikā* of Bhōja which he had carried away.⁴

Karṇa next turned his attention to the Chandēlla kingdom. The Chandēlla dynasty had produced several powerful princes, some of whom such as Yaśōvarman, Vidyādhara and Vijayapāla had exacted submission from the Kalachuris. But at this time the throne was occupied by a weak ruler named Dēvavarman, son of Vijayapāla. The only inscription of his reign is a copper-plate record⁵ discovered at Nanyaurā in the Hamīpur District of Uttar Pradesh. It registers the grant of a village which Dēvavarman made in V 1107 (1051 A.C.) on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death. Soon after this, he seems to have succumbed to an attack by Karṇa. Bilhana, in his *Vikramāṅka-dēvacharita* (Canto XVIII, v 93), speaks of Karṇa as 'Death to the lord of Kālāñjara' who was evidently Dēvavarman.⁶ After this victory, Karṇa incorporated the country of Jajjhauti into his own dominion.

About this time Karna also invaded North-Western Bengal. This was his second invasion of the Pāla kingdom. On this occasion he pressed as far as Paikore in the Birbhum District of Bengal. His route must have lain through South Bihar. The Pāla king, who must have been Vīgrahapāla III, seems to have soon capitulated to the invader. Karna's invasion of the Pāla dominion is attested to by the discovery of an inscribed decorative pillar which the Chēdi king dedicated to a goddess during his stay at Paikore.⁷ The Karanbēl stone inscription⁸ intimates that the king of Gauda submitted to Karṇa. Hēma-chandra⁹ records that the king of Gauda entreated Karna to save his life and throne in return for a large treasure which he presented to him. The *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara-nandin (Canto I, v 9), however, claims a victory for the Pāla king Vīgrahapāla. Whatever may have been the actual result of the war, the two families were afterwards united by a matrimonial alliance. Karna gave his daughter Yauvanaśrī in marriage to Vīgrahapāla and thus turned the Pāla adversary into a faithful ally.¹⁰

¹ PCH p 51. The Vadnagar *prastāva* also states that with his cavalry Bhīma captured Dhārā, the capital of the Mālava Chakravartin. *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 297.

² In the *VDCH* (Canto III, v 67) Bilhana states that the king of Mālava, evidently Jayasimha, sought the help of Sōmēśvara when he lost his kingdom.

³ PCH, p 51.

⁴ DK, Canto IX, v 57. Merutunga also quotes a traditional verse which states that Bhīma received from Karna, *inter alia*, a golden *mandapikā*. See PCH, p 52. The words *rājñā Rēvā na langhy-ēti*, which occur in v. 54 of Canto IX in DK, have been taken by Mr A. Ghosh to mean that the king (Karna or Bhīma) promised not to cross the Narmadā. *Ind Cul*, Vol VII, p 17. This is incorrect. The words occur in the speech of Karna addressed to Dāmōdara, the ambassador of Bhīma. Karna says that he would have gone forth to meet and receive Bhīma, but the astrologers had advised him not to cross the Rēvā.

⁵ *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XVI, pp 204 ff.

⁶ V. Smith thought that it was Kirtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, who was driven by Karna from the throne. But the description in the *VDCH* and the *PCHU* clearly indicates that Karna not only drove the lord of Kālāñjara from the throne but also exterminated him. He could, therefore, be none other than Dēvavarman, for, Kirtivarman lived to regain his throne as described below.

⁷ No 49, l. 5. Cf the Apabhramśa verse cited below, p xcvi, n 1.

⁸ Appendix, No 3, l 11.

⁹ DK, Canto IX, v 38.

¹⁰ RCH, Canto I, v 9. This *kāvya* states that Vīgrahapāla vanquished Karna, but saved him by making with him a treaty of peace which an old commentator of the work calls *kapālasandhi*. In this *sandhi* a large sum of money is required to be paid the conqueror. See RCH, Introd, p x.

In 1052 A C Karna was thus at the height of his power. He had under his sway practically the whole of Central India including the erstwhile kingdoms of the Pratihāras, the Paramāras and the Chandēllas. In the east the Pāla and Varman kings were matrimonially allied with him. In the north his authority was recognized as far as the Kāngrā valley,¹ the ruler of which had submitted to him. In the west, the only foe worthy of his steel was Bhīma of Gujarat, but as stated already, Karna had made peace with him. In the south, he had inflicted a defeat on the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, though his campaigns do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of any territory. His authority was in any case unquestioned in North India,² and if Bilhana's account can be believed, the mere sound of his horses' hoofs routed the forces of his enemies.³

To proclaim his attainment of the position of *Chakravartin* or Universal Emperor, Karna seems to have crowned himself again in the Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A C). His regnal year, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription⁴ of his general Vappulla, is counted from this second coronation.

On account of his ambition and successful military campaigns, Karna is called Hindu Napoleon. And like the great French Emperor, he suffered serious reverses in the latter part of his career. He could not retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Jayasimha, the successor of Bhōja, who was dethroned and driven out of Malwa, sought the Chālukya king Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla's aid against the powerful confederacy of Bhīma and Karna. The Chālukyas and Paramāras were inveterate foes, and their hostilities continued for several generations. Āhavamalla had himself previously stormed Dhārā, from which the king Bhōja had to flee.⁵ But on this occasion Āhavamalla thought it politic to reverse his policy towards the Paramāra house, for, he realized that if Karna was allowed to retain possession of the Paramāra territory, he would become a menace to the northern frontier of the Chālukya kingdom. He, therefore, resolved to support the cause of Jayasimha, and directed his valiant son Vikramāditya to lend his aid to Jayasimha to regain his throne.⁶ It would appear that in his northern campaigns, Vikramāditya was not always successful, for, an Apabhramśa verse mentions Karna's victory over the mighty Vikrama, evidently

¹ See Appendix, No 3, l 11

² In his *DK* (Canto IX, vv 33 ff), Hēmachandra makes Bhīma's ambassador Dāmōdara refer to several other victories of Karna, viz., those over the rulers of Daśārṇa and Kalinga and the kings Bhadrabhata, Yanti, Nanti, Ganti, Hanti, Vanti and Manti. Hēmachandra seems to have distorted the names of kings to illustrate grammatical rules. It is also not unlikely that these are altogether fictitious names.

³ *VDCH*, Canto XVIII, v 93. As Mr A Ghosh has already pointed out, *tukehāra* in this verse does not mean any race, but denotes a particular breed of superior horses, probably the Tokharian horses. *Ind. Cult*, Vol. VII, p. 19

⁴ No. 53. The date of this inscription is Samvat 812, Thursday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the ninth regnal year. This date regularly corresponds to Thursday, January 4th, 1061 A C. As this date fell in the ninth regnal year, Karna must have been crowned a second time in 1052 A C. Some scholars have attempted to reconcile this date with the first coronation which occurred in 1041 A C (See below, pp 239 ff). D.R Bhandarkar thought that *navame* in the Rewa inscription of Vappulla was a mistake for *navadase* and that the inscription was put up in the nineteenth regnal year. But the month of Māgha in the nineteenth regnal year should fall in K. 811, not in K. 812, for Māgha of the first regnal year fell in K. 793, as the Kalachuri year began in Kārttika. A Ghosh has suggested that the regnal year is correctly mentioned, but the figures of the *samvat* were wrongly written as 812 instead of 802. This explanation also is not of any help, for, the month of Māgha in the ninth regnal should fall in K. 801, not in K. 802. We must, therefore, suppose that the second coronation of Karna did take place some time in 1052 A C.

⁵ *VDCH*, Canto I, vv 91-94

⁶ *Ibid*, Canto III, v. 67.

Vikramāditya VI, the son of Somēśvara I-Āhavamalla¹ However, Vikramāditya eventually succeeded in placing Jayasimha on the throne of Malwa. He carried his victorious arms even as far as Gauda and Kāmarūpa,² for which he must have overrun the Chēdi country. These encounters must have occurred before 1055 A.C., for, we find Jayasimha secure on the throne in the month Āshādha of that year.³

The Chandēlla kingdom also soon slipped out of Karna's hands. Kirtivarman, the brother of Dēvavarman, soon succeeded in regaining his ancestral territory. Verse 26 of a Chandēlla inscription discovered at Mahōbā⁴ records the victory of Kirtivarman over Lakshmīkarna in the following words—"Just as Purushōttama (Vishnu), having produced the nectar by churning, with the mountain (Mandara), the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakshmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (१२, Kirtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakshmīkarna, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants." Lakshmīkarna is, no doubt, identical with the Kalachuri Karna. In the Ajayagadh rock inscription⁵ of the Chandēlla Viravarman (dated V 1317), Kirtivarman is described as the pitcher-born (Agastya) in swallowing the ocean in the form of Karna, and as the lord of Creatures (Brahmā) in creating anew (his) kingdom. The *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*, which also refers to this event in its prologue, calls this Karna *Chēdipati* (Lord of the Chēdi country). From this work we learn that Kirtivarman's victory was mainly due to the bravery of his Brāhmana general, Gōpāla. The play was performed before Kirtivarman to commemorate this brilliant victory of the Chandēllas. In the prologue of the play, Gōpāla is eulogised as the Great Boar who raised the earth which was submerged in the great ocean of world-destruction in the form of a multitude of powerful kings.⁶ In another passage he is said to have obtained the goddess of victory after exterminating the army of Karna, even as Vishnu obtained Lakshmī by churning the ocean of milk.⁷ In a third passage, Gōpāla's anger is said to have been roused to re-establish on the earth the sovereignty of the kings of the lunar race, which (sovereignty) had been uprooted by the lord of Chēdi who was Rudra and Kālāgni (the Fire of world-destruction) to the families of all kings.⁸ In a subsequent passage of the same prologue, Gōpāla is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious Kirtivarman after vanquishing the powerful Karna, even as discrimination leads to right knowledge after dispelling strong delusion.⁹ The multiplicity of references to this victory suggests the stupendous nature of the task accomplished by Gōpāla. Another chief who also claimed credit for saving Kirtivarman from Karna was mentioned in a fragmentary inscription¹⁰ found at Jhānsi, but, unfortunately, his name is lost.

The date of the restoration of Chandēlla power cannot be definitely fixed, for, the only known date of Kirtivarman's reign is that furnished by a rock inscription at the Deogarh Fort, १२, V 1154 (1098 A.C.)¹¹ This inscription states that Vatsarāja, the chief

¹ Cf. जे गजिज गोलाहवइ राउ उदइ ओहु जसु भज पराउ । गुरुविक्रम विक्रम जिनिज जुझता कण परवकम कोइ न

बुझ ॥ *Prākṛita Paṅgala*, I, 126

² *VDCH*, Canto III, v 74

³ See the date of his Māndhātā grant, *Ep Ind*, Vol III, pp 46 ff

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol I, p 222

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p 327

⁶ *PCHU*, p 11

⁷ *Ibid.*, p 18

⁸ *Ibid*, p 19

⁹ *Ibid*, pp 21-22

¹⁰ *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 216

¹¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, pp 237 ff.

minister of Kīrtivarman, wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and built the fort which he named Kīrtigiri, evidently in honour of his lord Kīrtivarman. The unnamed enemy is probably Karna himself. Karna's defeat must, however, have occurred long before the date of this inscription. Vincent Smith approximately dates the accession of Kīrtivarman in 1060 A C¹. If this date is correct, Kaina must have been in occupation of the Chandēlla kingdom for seven or eight years.

Towards the close of his reign, Karna made another attempt to wipe out the neighbouring state of Malwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile. Āhavamalla was dead and was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II. The latter was afraid of his ambitious younger brother, Vikramāditya VI, and, therefore, must have readily allied himself with the powerful Kalachuri Emperor and helped him in his invasion of Malwa. This time the allied arms attained a greater success. The Nagpur Museum stone inscription very graphically describes in verse 32 the terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country at the time. It says that when Bhōja had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which the sovereign was submerged, his brother Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings such as the lord of Karnāta and Karna, who swept over it like great oceans, this (prince) did indeed act like the holy Boar². The expression *rāṣṭrē cha kuly-ākulē* in this verse is significant. Besides the meaning given above, it signifies another, viz., that the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the rising of the scions of the (Paramāra) family. Even though Jayasimha had ascended the throne with the help of the Chālukya king Āhavamalla, it seems that there were some members of the Paramāra family (*kulyas*) who did not acquiesce in it. It is not known how Jayasimha was related to Bhōja. In his records he, no doubt, describes himself as meditating on the feet of Bhōja, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was his son. Perhaps he was his brother as conjectured by Dr. Altekar³. In that case there may have been other members of the Paramāra family who thought that they had an equal or even a better claim to the throne. So long as Jayasimha had the support of the powerful Chālukya Emperor, Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla, they could not do anything, but on the death of the Emperor, they must have risen in revolt. Perhaps these risings were fomented by the ambitious Kalachuri Emperor Karna, who had so far been foiled in his attempt to annex Malwa permanently. When he found that the Malwa kingdom was torn by a civil war, he made his alliance with Sōmēśvara II, the son of Āhavamalla, and invaded Malwa. The wording of the aforementioned verse of the Nagpur Museum inscription shows that the invaders were more than two. This is corroborated by a stone inscription of the Paramāra prince Jagaddēva, recently discovered at Dōngargaon in the Yeotmal District of Berar, which states that Malwa was invaded by a confederacy of three kings⁴. Two of these were, of course, the Kalachuri

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol XXXVII, p. 149

² *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p. 183. Kielhorn read the second hemistich of this verse (32) as येनोद्धृत्य महार्णवोपमिलत्कर्णटिकर्णप्रभुमुर्वीपालकदर्थिता भुवमिमा श्रीमद्वराहायितम् ॥ C V Vaidya ingeniously conjectured that the correct reading should be कर्णप्रभुमुर्वीपाल— and I find from the original stone deposited in the Nagpur Museum that this is the actual reading. This reading suits the metre and yields a better sense. It shows that Malwa was invaded at that time by a confederacy of more than two kings. This is corroborated by the Dōngargaon inscription of Jagaddēva (*Ep Ind*, Vol XXVI, p. 183), as stated above.

³ *Ibid*, Vol XXIII, pp. 132 ff

⁴ See the verse ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्दैर्भग्नं मालवमेदिनीम् । उद्धरन्नुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्द्धत ॥ *ibid*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

Karna¹ and the Kaināta king (Sōmēśvara II)² as stated in the Nagpur Museum inscription. The third member of the confederacy was probably the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya. From several records in the Kanarese country, we know that this Udayāditya and his feudatory, the valiant Hōysala prince Ereyanga joined Sōmēśvara II in his attack on Malwa. Ereyanga, in particular, is said to have trampled down the Mālava army, plundered the Mālava king's fort, and burnt and devastated Dhārā.³

Jayasimha succumbed to this attack, and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom had been completely wiped out. The terrible disaster which befell the Mālava country at this time is graphically described in the Nagpur Museum inscription, which likens it to the catastrophe of the destruction of the world when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. The Udaipur *prasaṣṭi* compares it to the dense darkness which envelopes the world when the sun sets.⁴ Both the similes indicate the gloom of despondency which had then overpowered the adherents of the Paramāra family. This invasion of Malwa occurred early in the reign of Sōmēśvara II (1069-1075 A.C.), in *circa* 1070 A.C.

It is not known how the invaders divided the spoils. Karna may have annexed Malwa and given the country to the south of the Narmadā to Sōmēśvara II.⁵ The Kalachuri Emperor could not, however, retain his hold on Malwa for a long time. Udayāditya, one of the brothers of Bhōja,⁶ rescued the country from the grip of Karna. The Nagpur Museum inscription compares him with the primeval Boar who uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*. The Udaipur *prasaṣṭi* describes him as another Sun, as it were, who, destroying the dense darkness, namely, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, gladdened the hearts of the people by his splendour. In the latter half of the *prasaṣṭi* recently discovered at Udaipur, Udayāditya is credited with the total destruction (*sambhāra*) of the king of Dāhala (*Dāhalādhiśa*), who is plainly the Kalachuri Karna.⁷ The restoration of the Paramāra rule in Malwa may be dated in *circa* 1073 A.C.⁸ The Jabalpur

¹ Latterly the view has been advanced that he was the Chaulukya king Karna of Gujarat, the successor of Bhīma. Some late Sanskrit works, no doubt, state that the Chaulukya Karna defeated a king of Malwa, but they do not state that the latter was Jayasimha. On the other hand, the Kalachuri Karna's extermination of the royal family of Malwa is mentioned in an Apabhramśa verse cited in the *Prākṛita-Paṅgala*. This view is again corroborated by the latter part of the recently discovered Udaipur *prasaṣṭi* which states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of Dāhala. D. C. Ganguli's statement that Udayāditya, by defeating Gurjara Karna, obtained Mālava (*H P D*, p. 132 and *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 266) is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in the *Pṛithivīrājavarṇana*.

² The Sudī stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (1075 A.C.) mentions Sōmēśvara II as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Mālavyas. The reference is clearly to his extermination of the Paramāra Jayasimha.

³ *H P D*, pp. 128-29.

⁴ *Ep Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 236.

⁵ Siyaka seems to have extended his kingdom to the south of the Narmadā. In the time of Muñja the Gōdāvarī was the southern boundary of the Paramāra dominion, and though Tailapa may have annexed some territory to the north of this river, it was soon recovered by Sidhurāja as stated in the *NSCH*, Canto I, v. 74. A copper-plate inscription of Bhōja's feudatory Yaśōvarman has been found at Kalvan in the Nasik District (*Ep Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 69 ff), indicating that the country continued to be held by the Paramāras. After this time no records of the Paramāras except those of Jagaddēva have been found in Mahārāshtra. Jagaddēva is now known to have been a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 177 ff).

⁶ It was believed for a long time that Udayāditya was a distant relative of Bhōja, but the Dōṅgar-ṣaon inscription, which calls him the *bhrātā* of Bhōja, has put the matter beyond doubt.

⁷ *A R A D G S* (1925-26), p. 13.

⁸ The earliest known date of Udayāditya is V. 1137 (1080-81 A.C.) furnished by the Udaipur inscription (*Ind Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 83). An earlier date (V. 1116) of the king also occurs at the same place, but it is given by a very late record of the 16th century A.C., which Dr. F. E. Hall calls 'a horribly incorrect scrawl'.

and Khairhā plates of Yaśahkarna state that Karṇa himself crowned his son Yaśahkarna.¹ We do not know why he abdicated the throne in favour of his son. It may be because of discomfiture at the failure of his schemes to bring the whole of India under one royal umbrella; or, he may have been forced to do so by the powerful rulers of Malwa, Jajjhauti and Gujarat, all of whom were now up in arms against him. His reign seems to have come to an end in 1073 A.C., for, the earlier of the two known grants of his son Yaśahkarna was made in 1076 A.C.² As it mentions Yaśahkarna's expedition against an Andhra king, the Kalachuri emperor must have come to the throne at least two or three years earlier. We may, therefore, place his accession and the abdication of his father in circa 1073 A.C.

Karna was the greatest king of the Kalachuri dynasty. In the early part of his career, he seems to have carried everything before him and to have become the undisputed *Chakravartin* of North India.³ In the Goharwa plates, which he issued in the seventh regnal year (1047 A.C.), he is seen to have assumed, besides the usual imperial titles, *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, two high-sounding ones, viz., *Trikalingādhipati* (Lord of the Three Kalingas) and *Nijabhuj-ōpārjit-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati(tya)*, (he who by his arms has acquired overlordship over the three *rājās*, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men). Of these two titles, *Trikalingādhipati* seems to have been first assumed by his ancestor Yuvarājadēva I.⁴ It may have been revived by Gāṅgēyadēva after his conquest of Utkala,⁵ for, some contemporary kings of the Sōmavamśī dynasty ruling over Kōsala and Utkala proudly mention this title in their records.⁶ The other title 'Overlord of the three *Rājās* etc.' was for the first time assumed by Karṇa.⁷ It continued to be used not only by his descendants⁸ but by several kings of other dynasties also, such as the Gāhadavālas,⁹ the Sēnas¹⁰ and the Chandēllas.¹¹ Originally, it seems to

¹ Nos. 56 and 57, verse 16. This seems to conflict with the statement in the latter part of the Udaipur *prasaṅgi* which speaks of the total destruction of Karna by Udayāditya. Karna may have been killed on the battlefield.

² The plates give the date (K) 823, but the details do not work out satisfactorily, and it seems that their correct date is (K) 827. Besides, if Yaśahkarna really made the grant in K 823 (1172 A.C.), we shall have to suppose that Sōmēśvara II's accession, his alliance with Karna and invasion of Malwa, the devastation of Dhārā and killing of Jayasimha, the defeat of the allies by Udayāditya, Karna's abdication of the throne, Yaśahkarna's coronation and subsequent invasion of the Andhra country—all these events happened in the brief period of four years from 1068 A.C. (the accession of Sōmēśvara II) to 1072 A.C. (the supposed date of the Khairhā plates). This seems to be extremely unlikely.

³ He is called the seventh *Chakravartin* of the world in the Gōpālpur stone inscription. Appendix, No. 5, l. 9.

⁴ See above, p. lxxviii.

⁵ See above, p. xc.

⁶ See, e.g., the Sonpur grant of Mahāśivagupta (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff). This grant describes the king as the self-chosen lord of Kalinga, Kōṅgōda, Utkala and Kōsala, and further as the lord of Trikalīṅga which he conquered with his own arms. This makes it clear that Trikalīṅga was different from the other countries named in it. According to R. C. Majumdar, Trikalīṅga denoted 'the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 69-70. He has drawn attention to some passages in which Trikalīṅga (or Trikalīṅgātavī) has been coupled with Vēṅgī. A similar expression (viz., *sa-Kalīṅga-trayām Vēṅgīm*) occurs in the Parbhani plates (Ś 888) of Arikēśarin (*G. H. Khare's S. M. H. D.*, Vol. II, p. 49).

⁷ Prof. Rapson, who has examined this question in detail (*W. C. V.*, pp. 196 ff), has come to the conclusion that 'during the period of its use from c. 1040 to 1240, it (i.e., the title) denoted the overlord of the Allahabad District, the region of the once famous kingdom of Kauśāmbī, and that it passed by conquest from one possessor of this region to the next'. It may, however, be noted that Karna's own Banaras plates, dated K 1042, do not mention this title though he undoubtedly held Allahabad at the time.

⁸ See, e.g., No. 56, ll. 23 ff, No. 61, ll. 3 ff, No. 63, l. 21.

⁹ See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 100. The Gāhadavāla kings from Gōvīndachandra to Harīśchandra used this title.

¹⁰ The Sēna kings Lakshmanasēna and his two sons Viśvarūpasēna and Kēśavasēna adopted this title.

¹¹ The Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman bore this title. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 232.

have signified Karna's suzerainty over the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, the Gangas of Kalinga and the Pālas of Bengal. The Gurjara-Pratihāras maintained a fine cavalry and are sometimes referred to in inscriptions as *Aśvapati* or *Hayapati*.¹ Kalinga was known for its breed of elephants.² Its rulers are occasionally referred to as *Gajādhīśas* or Lords of Elephants.³ The king of the east received, according to Yuan Chwang, the title of the lord of men.⁴ As we have already seen, Karna had vanquished all these kings and in his case the title was significant, but in the case of his descendants and of some kings of the other dynasties who imitated him, it was clearly an empty boast.

According to the *Rāsamālā*, one hundred and thirty-six kings were in attendance upon Karna.⁵ The Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Nāgasimha states that the Pāndya and Hūna kings and the rulers of Mūrala, Kunga, Vanga, Kalinga and Kīra were panic-stricken when Karna gave a full play to his valour.⁶ The Karanbēl stone inscription says that Chōda, Kunga, Hūna, Gauda, Gurjara and Kīra used to wait upon him.⁷ It may be that the names of some of these kings have been inserted in the verses by the writers of the *prāsaśtis* for the sake of alliteration, but the foregoing account of Karna's conquests based on incontrovertible inscriptional and literary evidence testifies to the general correctness of the description. In the records of his enemies, Karna's whirl-wind campaigns are likened to the flooding waters of the oceans at the time of world-destruction. On account of the aggressive and ruthless policy which he pursued towards contemporary rulers, he is called Rudra and Kālāgni (Fire of world-destruction) in the Sanskrit play *Prabōdhachandrodāya*. These similes and metaphors vividly portray the terror he struck in the hearts of his adversaries.

Great as Karna was in war, he was greater in peace. He gave a liberal patronage to religion and literature. At Banaras he built a high twelve-storied temple called *Karna-mēru*, which was probably dedicated to Śiva,⁸ for, he was himself a Śaiva and called himself *paramamāhēśvara* in his grants. He built a *ghāt* called *Karna-rīrtha* at Prayāga where his Goharwa grant was made. He established a settlement of learned Brāhmanas, which he named Karnāvati after himself. This place is generally identified with Karanbēl, now a small village adjoining Tewar, but from the description in the grants of Yaśahkarna that it was, as it were, the crown of the heavenly river (Gangā), it would appear that it was situated somewhere on the bank of the Gangā. Though Karna thus extended his patronage to the Vedic and Puranic Hinduism, he was no sectarian. There was religious toleration in his kingdom. The Sāmāth stone inscription⁹ dated K. 810 shows that Buddhist monasteries continued to flourish during his reign.

Karna made the holy city of Banaras his capital. It was at Banaras that the Sanskrit poet Bilhana met him.¹⁰ Learned Brāhmanas received liberal gifts at his hands. A verse which is repeated in both of his known grants states that the world was deafened by the engraving of copper-plates which he granted to Brāhmanas.¹¹ Even now stories about

¹ See above, p lxxiv, n 2

² KAS, Prakarana 20

³ See, e.g., No 100, v 8

⁴ B. R. W. W., Vol I, p 13.

⁵ RM, Vol I, p 89. See also PCH, p 50.

⁶ No 60, v 12

⁷ Appendix, No 3, v 21

⁸ Nos 56 and 57, v 13

⁹ No 52

¹⁰ VDCH, Canto XVIII, v 93

¹¹ No 50 v 30 and No 51, v 32. The same verse with a slight change in one expression and the substitution of *Chandra* for *Karna* occurs in the Chandravatī plates (V. 1150) of the Gāhadavāla Chandradēva. *Ep Ind* Vol XIV, p 195

the munificence of Karna Dahārīā are current in Banaras¹ Bilhana, the well-known Sanskrit poet of Kashmīr, received a great honour in his court. He says that he defeated one Gaṅgādhara and composed a beautiful *kāvya* in praise of Rāma while at Karna's court.² Other poets of Karna's court, known from Sanskrit anthologies, are Vallana, Nāchirāja, Karpūra and Vidyāpati. Several verses of these poets are included in the *Kavīndravachana-samucchaya* and other anthologies.³ Karna patronised Prakrit poets also. Some anonymous Mahārāshtrī and Apabhramśa verses in praise of him are cited in the *Prākṛita-Paṅgala*.⁴ Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhramśa *kāvya* *Karakandacharita*, says in his concluding verses that he used to delight, by his verses, the mind of the king Karna.⁵

Karna married a Hūna princess named Āvalladēvī.⁶ Hūna kings are known from references in the records of several kings. They appear to have been ruling somewhere in Central India, for, there are occasional references to defeats inflicted on them by Pratihāra, Paramāra, Pāla and Kalachuri kings or their feudatories. But the exact location of their kingdom has not been fixed. Karna had, from Āvalladēvī, a son named Yaśahkarna, who succeeded him. Two of his daughters Virāśrī and Yauvanaśrī are also known. The former, who is named in the Bēlāvā plates of Bhōjavarman,⁷ married Jātavarman of Eastern Bengal. Yauvanaśrī is mentioned as the wife of Vīgrahapāla of North-East Bengal in the *Rāmcharita* of Sandhyākaranandin.⁸

Yaśahkarna succeeded his father in *circa* 1073 A.C. Only two records of his reign are known, viz., the Khairhā⁹ and the Jabalpur plates.¹⁰ Both contain an identical eulogistic portion which was first drafted in Banaras. The only historical event which they mention is Yaśahkarna's invasion of the Andhra country. Verse 23 of these grants says that 'extirpating with ease the lord of Andhra, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he (i.e., Yaśahkarna) worshipped, with the offerings of many ornaments, the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the Gōdāvarī with her dancing eye-brows of waves sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams, sweet with the cries of intoxicated swans'. There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Gōdāvarī District, but the foregoing description suits especially the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapiyam *tālukā*, which contains a particularly big Śiva-*linga*, fourteen or fifteen feet high. The temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as suggested in the above verse, but the reference may be to the tank at Drākshārām which is called *Sapta-Gōdāvarī* and which is popularly supposed to contain the waters of the seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī. The Andhra king defeated by Yaśahkarna was probably Vijayāditya VII, who ruled from 1061 to 1076 A.C. In this campaign, Yaśahkarna seems to have been aided by Jājalladēva I of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty ruling over Dakshina Kōsala, for, the latter in his Ratanpur

¹ For an interesting story about Karna which Sir G. Grierson heard in Banaras, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

² *VDCH*, Canto XVIII, vv. 93-94.

³ *KVS* (ed. by F. W. Thomas), *Introd.*, pp. 100 ff. A *subhāshita* mentions Vidyāpati as the court-poet of Karna. See *Subhāshitāvali* (ed. by Peterson), v. 186. Merutunga also mentions Vidyāpati, Karpūra and Nāchirāja as poets at Karna's court.

⁴ See *C. W. B.*, Vol. II, pp. 334 ff.

⁵ *Karakandacharita* (ed. by Prof. H. Jain), p. 107.

⁶ See Nos. 56 and 57, v. 15.

⁷ *I. B.*, Vol. III, p. 20.

⁸ *RCH*, Canto I, v. 9.

⁹ No. 56.

¹⁰ No. 57 and Appendix, No. 2.

inscription dated K. 866 boasts that the lord of Chēdi had sought his friendship by means of presents ¹

Soon after Karna's death, Yaśahkarna seems to have lost Kanauj and the surrounding territory. The Basāhi plate says that when king Bhōja became a guest of the eyes of the celestial damsels and Karna existed only in renown, and when the earth was sorely troubled, the husband whom she chose from love and took with confidence as the protector was Chandradēva ². The aforementioned Ratanpur inscription of Jālladēva dated K. 866 (1114 A.C.) mentions the king of Kānyakubja as different from the lord of Chēdi. This clearly indicates that the latter had lost his control over Kanauj, as it had passed into the possession of the Gāhadavālas.

As stated before, the eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plates is an almost exact copy of that of the Khairā plates. The date of the former is now lost as the second plate is not forthcoming, but there are grounds to suppose that it was K. 836 (1084 A.C.) ³. If the description in the plate could be relied on, Yaśahkarna was master of Banaras till that date. Soon thereafter, he seems to have lost that city also to the Gāhadavālas, for, the Chandrāvati plates, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhadavālas found in the Banaras District, are dated V. 1148 (1090 A.C.) ⁴.

In the latter part of his career, Yaśahkarna seems to have made a supreme effort to regain his lost possessions in the north. He carried his arms as far as Champāranya (modern Champāran in Bihar) and devastated the country, ⁵ but he did not probably succeed in annexing any territory, for, after 1090 A.C. we have several grants of the Gāhadavālas from the Banaras District, which shows that they were securely established there ⁶. This conclusion receives an additional support from a copper-plate inscription dated V. 1177 (1122 A.C.) which records the sanction of the Gāhadavāla king Govindachandradēva to the transfer of two villages in the Antarālapattalā (i.e., Antavēdi or Gangā-Yamunā Doab) which had been previously granted by Yaśahkarna to the Saiva ascetic Rudraśiva. ⁷ This clearly shows that the Kalachuris did not succeed in regaining possession of the Doab during the reign of Yaśahkarna.

With the loss of the northern provinces, the kingdom of Yaśahkarna seems to have shrunk to the home province of Dāhala, and Tripurī again became his sole capital. From the Nagpur *prasaṁsī* we learn that the city was stormed by the Paramāra king Lakshmadēva (circa 1086-1094 A.C.), who annihilated his warlike and spirited adversaries, and encamped on the bank of the Rēvā, his elephants allaying the fatigue of the battle by bathing in the stream of the river ⁸.

Yaśahkarna seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of the Chandēlla Sallakshanavarman (circa 1100-1110 A.C.), for, in an inscription of the latter's descendant Viravarman, Sallakshanavarman's sword is said to have looted the Chēdis of their

¹ No. 77, v. 20.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103.

³ See below, pp. 301 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

⁵ For a possible motive of this raid, see below, p. cxiv.

⁶ Jayaswal, who thought that the Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarna were dated in K. 874 (1122 A.C.), advocated the view that Yaśahkarna regained Banaras some time after the 21st July, 1122 (the date of Gōvinda-chandra's Kanauli plate H, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110) and before the 14th August 1124 A.C. (the date of Gōvindachandra's Banaras grant), but this does not seem to be correct.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 123.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 186.

fortune¹ Yaśahkarna was also unsuccessful in his encounter with the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI²

It is difficult to state definitely the limits of Yaśahkarna's reign. The earlier of his two grants seems to have been issued in K 827³ He must have been reigning then for about 3 years and, therefore, may have come to the throne in *circa* K 824 The only date of his son and successor Gayākarna is K 902 Gayākarna's reign seems to have closed soon thereafter, for, in K. 907 he was dead and his son Narasimha was on the throne. So the period of about 80 years (K. 824 to K 904) is covered by only two reigns It seems probable that Yaśahkarna had a longer reign than his son, of whose achievements very little is known He may, therefore, be referred to the period K 824 to K 874 (1073-1123 A C)

Yaśahkarna assumed the same imperial titles as Karna, but he had neither the ambition nor the military genius of his father During his reign the Kalachuri kingdom lost the northern provinces of Kanauj, Prayāga and Banaras, and became very much circumscribed He tried to regain his possessions by forming alliances⁴ and even invaded northern and southern countries, but his raids produced no permanent effect and did not extend the limits of his dominion The Paramāra invasion of his capital must have dealt a shattering blow to his power and prestige

Yaśahkarna was succeeded by his son Gayākarna Only two inscriptions of his reign are known The earlier⁵ of these, dated K. 902, which was discovered at Tewar, records the erection of a temple dedicated to Śiva by the Pāsupata ascetic Bhāvabrahman The second inscription⁶ is from Bahuribandh in the north of the Jabalpur District It has partially lost its date⁷ It mentions Gōlhanadēva of the Rāshtrakūta family as the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (Chief Feudatory) of Gayākarna He was evidently a descendant of a scion of the Rāshtrakūta family which had settled in the Chēdi country in the 8th or 9th century A.C., when the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūtas were matrimonially connected The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of the Jina Śāntinātha by a private individual named Mahābhōja

These inscriptions, both of which come from the Jabalpur District, do not help us in determining the extent of Gayākarna's kingdom The discovery⁸ of a hoard of the Chandēlla Madanavarman's silver coins at Panwar in the Teonthal *tahsil* of the former Rewa state in 1910 seems to indicate that Gayākarna had lost the territory north of the Kaimur range That he had come into a conflict with the Chandēllas is clear from an inscription found at Mau which says that 'the Chēdi king, being vanquished in a fierce fight, runs away in haste at the mention of Madanavarman's name'⁹ As Madanavarman was ruling from *circa* 1124 A.C. to 1164 A.C., the Chēdi king defeated by him was probably Gayākarna

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 327

² *A R A S M* (1929), pp 133 and 137 The *Mahāmandalēśvara* Āchugi II, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have conquered the Māle or Highlands of the Ghāts and to have defeated a king of Dāhala. *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 230 As Āchugi II was ruling in 1122-23 A.C. (*Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, part II, p 452), the king of Dāhala defeated by him must have been Yaśahkarna

³ See above, p c n. 2.

⁴ Notice the expression *ama-sangraha-kṛtā* applied to him in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I, No 77, v 20

⁵ No 58

⁶ No 59

⁷ For a discussion of its date, see below, p 310

⁸ *J A S B (N S)* (1914), pp 199 ff

⁹ *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p. 198.

Gayākarna seems to have suffered another defeat at the hands of Ratnadēva II of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. The latter belonged to an offshoot of the Kalachuri house of Dāhala. The early princes of this branch owed allegiance to the Kalachuri Emperors ruling at Tripuri and fought their battles. We have already seen that in his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa), Gāṅgēyadēva received valuable help from Kamalarāja of Tummāṇa.¹ Prithvīdēva I, the earliest prince of this branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh, does not claim in his Amōdā plates a higher title than *Mahāmandalēśvara*.² He was plainly a feudatory of the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. But his descendants began gradually to assert their independence. Jājalladēva I, the son of Prithvīdēva I, boasts in his inscription that the contemporary lord of Chēdi, who was Yaśahkarna, sought his friendship, and that the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti honoured him with presents of wealth.³ The crushing defeat that Ratnadēva II, the son and successor of Jājalladēva I, inflicted on the mighty Ganga king Anantavarman Chōdaganga⁴ increased his power and prestige. He seems to have openly renounced subordination to Gayākarna. The latter sent a large force against him, but it suffered an ignominious defeat. In a Ratanpur inscription dated V. 1207 (1149-50 A.C.), Ratnadēva II is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king.⁵ The latter must have been no other than Gayākarna.

Gayākarna married Alhanadēvī, the daughter of Vijayasimha, the Guhila prince of Prāgvāta or Mevad and Śyāmaladēvī, who was herself the daughter of Udayāditya, the lord of the Mālava *mandala*.⁶ This alliance, which in a way united the royal families of the Kalachuris and the Paramāras, healed the sores of many generations. Alhanadēvī had two sons, Narasimha who succeeded his father, and Jayasimha who 'like Lakshmana did marvellous service to his elder brother'. Gayākarna's spiritual preceptor was Śaktiśiva.⁷

As stated before, Gayākarna's reign seems to have come to a close soon after K. 902 (1151 A.C.), for, when the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription was incised in K. 907, he was already dead and his son Narasimha was on the throne.

Only three inscriptions of the reign of Narasimha have been discovered so far. The aforementioned Bherā-Ghāt inscription, dated K. 907 (1155 A.C.), records the construction, by Alhanadēvī, of a temple of Śiva under the name Vaidyanātha together with a monastery, a hall of study and a row of gardens attached to it. She endowed the temple with the gift of two villages and placed it in charge of the Pāśupata ascetic Rudrarāśi. The other two inscriptions were discovered north of the Kaimur range—one⁸, dated K. 909 (1158 A.C.), at Lāl Pahād near Bharhut, and the other⁹, dated V. 1216 (1159 A.C.), near the foot of Alha-Ghāt, 'which is one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table land of Rewa to the plain of the Gangā.' The former of these records the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by one Ballāladēva, who was the son of an officer of Narasimha, while the second registers the erection of a temple of Ambikā and the construction of a *ghāt* by the *Rānaka* Chhīhula. The discovery of these lithic records north of the Kaimur range indicates that Narasimha succeeded in recovering from the Chandēllas a portion of his ancestral

¹ Above, p. xc.

² No. 76, l. 25.

³ No. 77, ll. 19-20.

⁴ No. 93, l. 6, No. 97, l. 4, No. 98, l. 6.

⁵ No. 93, l. 5.

⁶ No. 60, ll. 5 ff.

⁷ No. 64, l. 10.

⁸ No. 61.

⁹ No. 62.

dominion which had been lost by his father. He continued to use the same high-sounding titles as his ancestors Karna and Yaśahkarna had done, though his kingdom had become very much circumscribed.

Like his ancestors, Narasimha was a devotee of Śiva. His spiritual preceptor was Kīrtiśiva, the disciple of Śaktiśiva, who is said to have contributed to his prosperity.¹ A stone inscription from Jabalpur states that his fame had spread in all directions. He is identical with Kīrtiśambhu, the disciple of Śaktiśambhu mentioned as the head of Gōlakī Matha in an inscription discovered at Malkāpuram in the Guntur District.²

Narasimha was probably an old man when he came to the throne, for, his father Gayākarna and grandfather Yaśahkarna had unusually long reigns. He seems to have died without a son, as he was succeeded by his brother Jayasimha. As the earliest known date of the latter is K. 918, Narasimha seems to have ruled from K. 905 to K. 915 (1153-1163 A.C.)

Jayasimha seems to have been a brave and ambitious prince. The Jabalpur plates of his reign have the following verse about him which is also found repeated in the Kumbhī grant of his son Vijayasimha:—"On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasimha-dēva, the Gujara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of (his) arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports, and other kings also leaving the earth through apprehension crossed the ocean."³ We have no means to ascertain whether Jayasimha actually raided the countries of these kings. But that he led at least one expedition is known from an inscription at Shēorinārāyan.

This invasion was directed against Jājalladēva II, the contemporary ruler of Ratanpur. The Shēorinārāyan inscription tells us that Ulhanadēva, who was descended from a collateral branch of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, routed with his arrows the army of the Chēdī king. Seeing that his forces were being exterminated, the Chēdī king Jayasimha, whose name is partially preserved in the inscription, advanced in person, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot.⁴ From the subsequent description it appears that Ulhanadēva lost his life in the fight. It is not stated how the battle ended. Probably Jayasimha was defeated and had to sue for peace, for, there is no mention of this battle in the subsequent records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The battle must have been fought soon after Jayasimha's accession which we have conjecturally placed in K. 915, for, the aforementioned Shēorinārāyan inscription, which describes it, is dated K. 919.

Five inscriptions of the reign of Jayasimha have been found. The earliest of them is his Jabalpur grant.⁵ It is dated K. 918 and records the gift of the village Agarā which Jayasimha made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full-moon day of Āśvina (the 30th September 1167 A.C.). Another Jabalpur inscription⁶ of his reign is dated K. 926 (1174-75 A.C.). The proper object of it is to record that Vimalaśiva, the spiritual preceptor of Jayasimha, erected a temple of Śiva under the name of Kīrtiśvara, and that Jayasimha endowed it with certain villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Like his elder brother, Jayasimha continued to hold to the last the valley of the Tamasā or Tons, for, the Rewa plate of the *Mahārānaka* Kīrtivarman, the ruler of Karkarēdī, which is dated K. 926, mentions him as suzerain with full titles of paramountcy.⁷

¹ No. 64, ll. 11-12.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152 ff.

³ No. 63, ll. 18-19, Appendix, No. 4, v. 23.

⁴ No. 98, ll. 16 ff. The name of the king is partially preserved in line 16.

⁵ No. 63.

⁶ No. 64.

⁷ No. 65, ll. 2-4.

The latest date of Jayasimha's reign is K. 928, which is furnished by a stone inscription at Tewar recording the erection of a temple of Śiva by a private individual named Kēśava¹. The next known date is K. 944, which belongs to the reign of his son and successor Vijayasimha.² Jayasimha, therefore, seems to have reigned from K. 915 to K. 940 (1163-1188 A.C.). Towards the close of his reign Jayasimha seems to have been forced to pay homage to the Chandēlla king Paramardīn. In a fragmentary Mahōbā inscription dated V. 1240 (1184 A.C.), it is stated that the lord of Tripurī fainted whenever he heard the songs of the valour of Paramardīn's arms.³ Paramardīn flourished from *circa* 1165 A.C. to 1203 A.C. The Kalachuri king who submitted to him was probably Jayasimha.

Like his predecessors, Jayasimha assumed the imperial titles *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* as well as 'Lord of Trīkalinga' and 'Overlord of the three Rājās, the lord of horses *etc.*' These titles had then become quite conventional and meaningless. He was a devotee of Śiva, and as stated before, made some gifts of villages to that deity. His spiritual piececeptor was Vimalaśiva.⁴

Jayasimha had two queens—Kēlhanadēvī mentioned in his Jabalpur plates,⁵ and Gōsaladēvī known from the Kumbhī plates⁶ and the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription.⁷ The village Gōsalapur, about 19 miles north by east of Jabalpur, was evidently founded in the name of the latter queen.

As stated before, Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Vijayasimha. It seems that in the beginning of his reign the ruler of Karkarēdī attempted to throw off his yoke. As we have already seen, Kirtivarman, who was ruling over Karkarēdī in K. 926, was a vassal of Jayasimha. His brother Salakshana, who succeeded him, revolted against his overlord, but he was promptly subdued by Malayasimha, another feudatory of Vijayasimha, in the battle of Karkarēdī. This event is mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription⁸ of Vijayasimha, dated K. 944 (1193 A.C.). In the Rewa plate, issued two years later in V. 1253 (1195 A.C.), Salakshanavarman acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha and names him with the usual Kalachuri titles of paramountcy.

The aforementioned Rewa stone inscription states that Malayasimha routed another chief named Vikrama, but the latter cannot be identified as no further details are given.

The last record of Vijayasimha's reign is the Rewa stone inscription, the date of which is partially effaced.⁹ From the first two figures which are not altogether illegible, it seems that the record was incised in K. 96 (x). As the Dhurētī plates¹⁰ show that the Chandēlla Trailōkyamalla or Trailōkyavarman was in occupation of the territory round Rewa in K. 963 (1212 A.C.), Vijayasimha seems to have lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand in K. 961 or K. 962.

Vijayasimha seems also to have submitted to the Yādava king Simhana. In the

¹ No. 66

² No. 67.

³ मधुरति धत्ते लये च त्रिपुरीपति । मूर्च्छनामेव सधत्ते गीते यद्भुजविक्रमे ॥ in l. 7 of the Mahōbā stone inscription (BK p. 438). There is a play on the word *mūrccchhanā* used in the verse. It means (1) a swoon and (2) a melody. So the other meaning is that the king of Tripurī sings a melody in praise of Paramardīn.

⁴ No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

⁵ No. 63, l. 22.

⁶ Appendix, No. 4.

⁷ No. 69, l. 1.

⁸ No. 67, l. 12.

⁹ No. 70.

¹⁰ No. 72.

Puluñja stone inscription¹, which seems to be dated in 1200 A.C., Simhana is called *Dāhala-brit-kutūhala* 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Dāhala country'. The expression is perhaps intended to signify that when Simhana invaded Dāhala, the people of the country flocked together out of curiosity to see him.

It is not known when Vijayasimha's reign came to an end. The Kumbhī plates² and the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription³ mention Ajayasimha as *Mahārājakumāra*, or crown prince. He was plainly Vijayasimha's son, but whether he actually ascended the throne is not known. Vimalasīva seems to have continued as *Rājaguru* during the reign of Vijayasimha.⁴

We have already seen that towards the close of his reign, Vijayasimha lost the northern portion of Baghelkhand. The western portion, consisting of the Saugor and Damoh districts, was also soon occupied by the Chandēllas.⁵ A stone inscription⁶ dated V 1344 (1287 A.C.), found at Hindoria, 11 miles from Damoh, states that the local chief Vāghadēva owed allegiance to Bhōjavarmadēva of Kālāñjara. Another stone inscription, found at Bamhani⁷ in the same district and dated V 1364 (1308 A.C.), mentions the same chief as a feudatory of Hammīravarman of Kālāñjara, who had in the meantime succeeded Bhōjavarman. No inscriptions of the Chandēllas have, however, been discovered in the Jabalpur District in which Tripurī, the Kalachuri capital, was situated.⁸ If the Kalachuris retained their hold on this district, they must have owned the suzerainty of the Chandēllas.

The recently discovered Purushōttampurī plates⁹ of the reign of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, dated Śaka 1232 (1310 A.C.), state that Rāmachandra had defeated in a moment the king of the great and extensive Dāhala country. The inscription does not name the king, nor does it state to which royal family he belonged. Perhaps the Chandēlla king Hammīravarman who had a large part of Dāhala under his sway was the king defeated by Rāmachandra.

In the meanwhile, Muslim power was slowly penetrating Baghelkhand. Nāsīrud-dīn Mahmud (1246-66 A.C.) appointed Malīk Julachī Governor of the Chēdī country. The latter's son Hisām-ud-dīn, placed Jallāla Khōjā in charge of the country now comprised in the Damoh District. An inscription of the latter, dated V. 1385 (1328 A.C.), has been discovered at Batihāgaīh, 21 miles north-west of Damoh.¹⁰ The discovery of this inscription in the vicinity of Damoh indicates how precarious was the hold of the Chandēlla rulers on Dāhala. After 1310 A.C. we have no records of the Chandēllas or the Kalachuris from the Chēdī or Dāhala country.

¹ *S. M. H. D.*, Vol. II, p. 62.

² Appendix, No. 4.

³ No. 69, l. 3.

⁴ No. 70, l. 12. The Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No. 4), however, mention Vidyādēva as the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasimha.

⁵ A stone inscription found at Rāhatgarh (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh), dated V 1312 (1256 A.C.) mentions *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayavarman II of Dhārā. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84. This shows that the Paramāras had penetrated earlier into the Saugor District.

⁶ *I. C. P. B.* (second ed.), p. 56.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 10, n. 4.

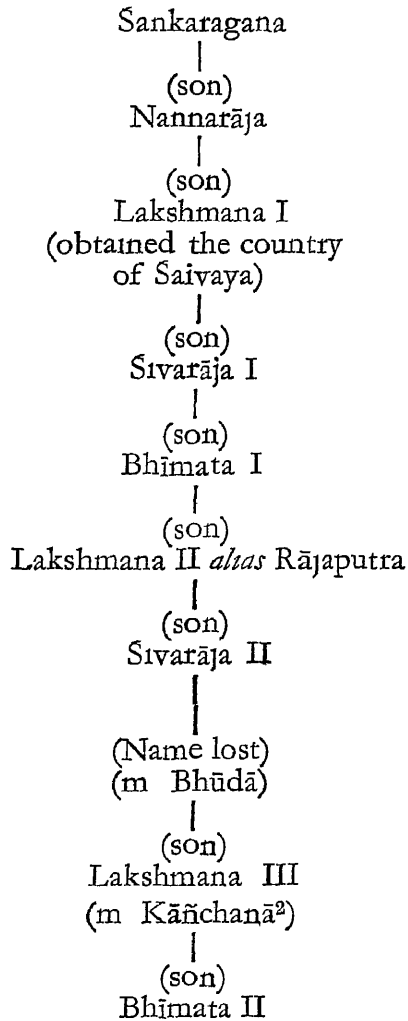
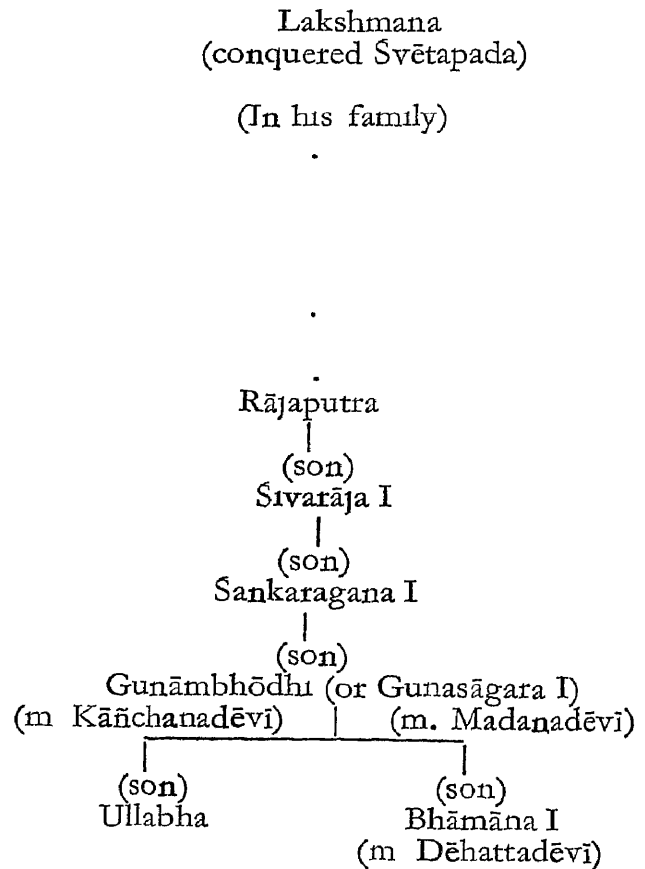
⁸ The Malkāpuram stone pillar inscription dated Ś 1183 (1261 A.C.) states that the Śaiva *Āchārya* Visvēsvarasambhu was the *dīkṣhā-guru* of the Kalachuri kings. He was second in spiritual descent from Vimalasīva, the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasimha. If the statement of the Malkāpuram inscription is correct, the Kalachuris may have been holding Tripurī and the surrounding territory till 1240 A.C. at least. A fragmentary inscription incised in characters of about the 12th century A.C. found at Tewar mentions Bhīmapāla. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85. But this name is not noticed in any genealogies of the period.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 211.

¹⁰ *I. C. P. B.*, p. 58.

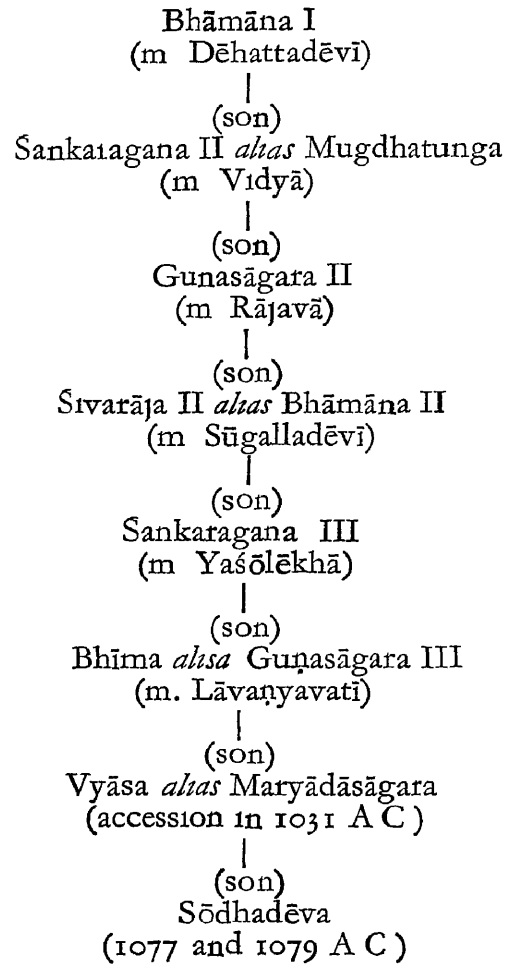
THE KALACHURIS OF SARAYUPARA

A branch of the Kalachuri family which established itself in the Sarayūpāra country is known from two records. One of them is a stone inscription found in the Buddhist ruins at Kasiā (ancient Kuśīnagara) where Gautama Buddha entered the Mahāparinirvāṇa, while the other is a copper-plate grant discovered at Kahla, a few miles to the north of the Ghōgrā (ancient Sarayū) in the Dhuriāpār *parganā* of the Gorakhpur District. The copper-plate grant contains three dates, *viz.*, 1031, 1077 and 1079 A C, the details of which work out quite regularly. The stone inscription is, unfortunately, very sadly mutilated in the lower portion. If it contained any date, it is now lost for ever, but on the evidence of palæography, it can be referred to the 10th century A C. The two places Kasiā and Kahla where these records were discovered are only about 40 miles distant from each other. *Prima facie*, therefore, the two Kalachuri ruling families mentioned in them should be related to each other, if not identical; but no points of contact have yet been noticed.¹ To facilitate comparison, the genealogies mentioned in the two records are given below—

Kasiā Stone Inscription*Kahla Plates*

¹ D. R. Sahu remarked in his edition of the Kasiā inscription in the *Ep, Ind.*, "This is the only record so far known of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs." Following him, H. C. Ray calls this branch 'Kasiā Kalachuris' to distinguish it from the other branch which he names 'Kahla Kalachuris'. See *D H N I*, Vol II, 742.

² Verse 26 of the Kasiā inscription which mentions this lady is almost completely obliterated. So



A careful examination of the two genealogical lists reveals some connecting links. The Kahla plates state that the ornament of the Kalachuris who had conquered Kālañjara and Ayōmukha¹ gave the kingdom to his younger brother Lakshmanarāja, who, in his turn, conquered the country of Svētapada. The Kasiā stone inscription makes similar statements about the third king, Lakshmanarāja I, of its list. Verse 17 of the inscription which is sadly mutilated refers to two uterine brothers, of whom one, probably Lakshmanarāja I mentioned in the preceding verse, out of love made over a fortress (Kālañjara?), evidently to his brother, and afterwards conquered the mountainous country of Śaivaya, the home land of the famous legendary king Śibi. The similarity in the two descriptions is certainly striking. It suggests that the two Lakshmanarājas were identical. This Lakshmanarāja's brother, who is unfortunately not named in either record, was probably Vāmarāja as suggested before.

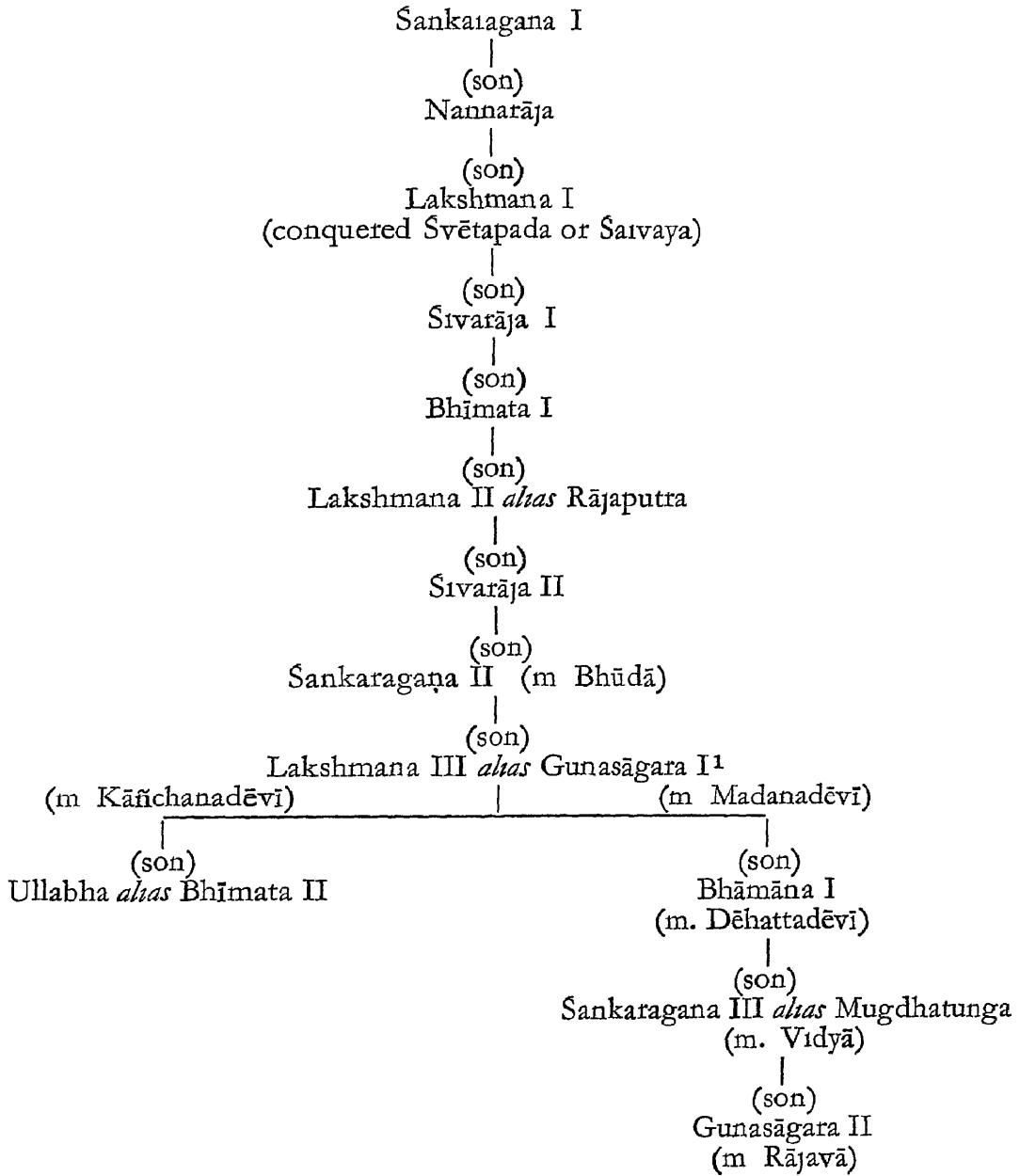
The genealogical lists show agreement in some other places also. Thus Rājaputra and his son Śivarāja I, mentioned in the Kahlā plates, are plainly identical with Lakshmanarāja II and his son Śivarāja II, described in the Kasiā inscription, for, the latter inscription says that Lakshmanarāja II was, on account of his merits, known by the other name of *Rājaputra*². This Śivarāja's son is called Sankaragana in the Kahlā plates, but his name

her relationship to Lakshmana III mentioned in the preceding verse is uncertain. But a comparison with the corresponding portion of the Kahla grant leaves no room for doubt that she was his wife.

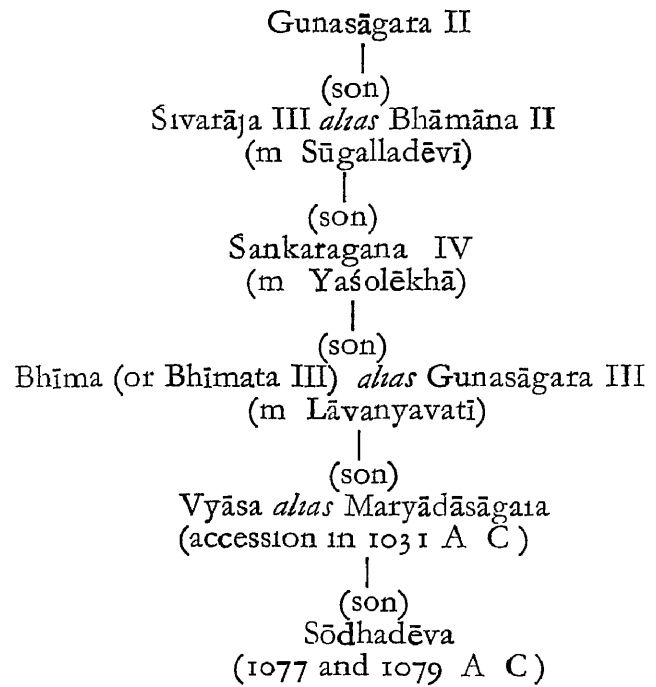
¹ Prof. Kielhorn's statement that the Kalachuri king subdued the Krathas is based on a mislection, for which see below, p. 383, n. 2.

² H. C. Ray's conjecture that 'Rājaputra' Lakshmana probably did not reign' does not appear to be correct, for, according to the Kahla plates, the title was given to Lakshmana on account of his merits.

is lost in Kasiā inscription. The latter does not, therefore, give any clue to identification. Śivarāja's grandson is named Lakshmana in the Kasiā inscription and Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Guṇāsāgara I) in the Kahla plates. The latter is apparently a *biruda*. This conjecture receives support from the fact that the wives of both were named Kāñchanā Bhīmata II, the son of Lakshmana III, mentioned in the Kasiā inscription, may not, therefore, be different from Ullabha, the son of Guṇāmbhōdhi, named in the Kahla plates. The names of Bhīmata's successors are lost owing to the mutilation of the Kasiā inscription, but the agreements noticed above leave no room for doubt that the two royal families were identical. From the information derived from the two records, we can, therefore, form the following combined genealogy—



¹ The Kahla plates give the *biruda* as Guṇāmbhōdhi which is a synonym of Gunasāgara (an ocean of excellences). As Gunasāgara is repeated in the later stages of the genealogy, I have called this king Gunasāgara I.



Lakshmana I, the founder of this Sarayūpāra branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, was the thirteenth ancestor of Vyāsa. As the latter came to the throne in 1031 A C, we may place the accession of Lakshmanarāja I in *circa* 700 A C, taking 25 years as the average duration of each generation. Similarly, Lakshmanarāja III *alias* Gunasāgara I, the seventh ancestor of Vyāsa, may have begun to reign in *circa* 850 A C. This date is supported by the description in the Kāhla plates that he defeated a Gauda king and obtained some territory from Bhōjadēva. This Bhōja is no other than the Pratihāra king Bhōja I, whose known dates range from 836 to 882 A C. We know that he was engaged in a prolonged war with the contemporary Pāla king Dēvapāla (*circa* 810-850 A C). The dates conjecturally assigned to the members of this branch may, therefore, be taken to be substantially correct ¹.

We have reviewed before the political conditions in North India which led to the establishment of this branch so far to the north ². After consolidating his position in the hill-fort of Kālāñjara, Vāmarāja overran Ayōmukha, (modern Partāpgarh and Rai Bareilly Districts of U P) which he afterwards made over to his younger brother Lakshmanarāja I. Using Ayōmukha as his base, Lakshmanarāja invaded the country to the north of the Sarayū, the home land of the legendary king Śibi, famous for his liberality ³. There he ultimately established himself. The dynasty he founded reigned over the Sarayūpāra country for at least fifteen generations.

¹ According to the dates proposed above, Lakshmana II *alias* Rājaputra was reigning in the period *circa* 775-800 A C. Kielhorn also was of the opinion that Rājaputra cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century A C. *Ep Ind*, Vol VII, p. 88.

² See above, pp lxiii ff

³ The name of the country conquered by Lakshmanarāja is given as Śvētapada by the Kāhla plates and as Śaivaya by the Kasiā inscription. The latter record again states that it was the home land of Śibi, the son of Uśinara. From the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, adhyāya 130, v 20) Śibi appears to have been ruling in the Panjab. The Buddhist Jātakas mention Arutthapura and Jetuttara as the capitals of the Śibi country. Elsewhere, the capital of Śibi is said to be Śivipura. As Dr Vogel has shown, modern Shōrkōṭ in the Panjab marks the site of ancient Śivipura. *Ep Ind*, Vol XVI, p 16. *Śaivaya* may be derived from *Śvētapada* through the intermediate stages of *Seavaā* and *Sevaya*. The context shows that the province of Śvētapada was included in Sarayūpāra, and there may have been a tradition, wrong of course, associating it with the ancient king Śibi, 'the paragon of charity and self-sacrifice'.

The Kahla plates begin the royal genealogy with this Lakshmanarāja I, but the Kasiā inscription carries it two generations backward and names Sankaragana and Nannarāja as the grandfather and father respectively of Lakshmanarāja I. We have already stated the reasons for our view that these two kings were ruling not in Sarayūpāra, but in their home province of Anūpa.

We have no knowledge of the political events in the reign of Śivarāja I and Bhīmata I, who succeeded Lakshmanarāja I, one after the other. The description of them, given by the Kasiā inscription, is quite conventional.¹ Bhīmata I was succeeded by Lakshmana II, who, on account of his merits, was known by the second name of *Rājaputra*. About this prince the Kahla plates say that he took captive Vāhali, the Lord of horses, gave no respite to the king of the East and by his achievements lowered the fame of ancient princes like Arjuna.² Vāhali is not otherwise known. He was probably a feudatory of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, who were noted for their fine cavalry. The king of the East against whom Lakshmana fought must have been a king of the Pāla dynasty, perhaps Dharmapāla, who was his contemporary.

About Śivarāja II, who succeeded Lakshmana II, we have nothing but conventional praise in both the records. His son Sankaragana II is mentioned in the Kahla plates. His name is lost in the Kasiā inscription, which, however, supplies the information that his wife was Bhūdā. This Sankaragana is probably identical with the homonymous prince who received protection from Kōkalla I of Tripurī.³ Perhaps his country was threatened at the time by his eastern neighbour, the Pāla king Dēvapāla. Sankaragana wisely allied himself with the powerful kings of the time, Bhōja I of Kanauj and Kōkalla I of Tripurī, to stem the tide of the Pāla invasion. He sent his son Lakshmana III *alias* Guṇāmbhōdhi (or Gunasāgara I) to fight in the Pratihāra Emperor's campaigns against Dēvapāla. If the description in the Kahla plates can be relied upon, Lakshmana took away the fortune of the Gauda king and received as reward some territory from Bhōjadēva who can be none other than Bhōja I of Kanauj.

From his wives Kāñchanā and Madanadēvī, Lakshmana III had the sons, Ullabha and Bhāmāna I respectively. The former, who was apparently elder, abdicated the throne in favour of Bhāmāna I. Bhāmāna came into conflict with the contemporary king of Dhārā and inflicted a crushing defeat on his forces. The Paramāra adversary is not named, but he may have been Muñja (*circa* 974-995 A. C.). Perhaps the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva II had asked for his help when his territory was invaded by the Paramāra king,⁴ and it was now the turn of the Sarayūpāra family to go to the rescue of the main house.

From his queen Dēhaṭṭadēvī, Bhāmāna had a son named Sankaragana III, who succeeded him. He had the *viruda* Mugdhatunga. From his wife Vidyā, Sankaragana had a son named Gunasāgara II. The latter's son from his queen Rājavā was Śivarāja III, also called Bhāmāna II. His son from Sūgalladēvī was Sankaragana IV. The latter's son from Yaśōlēkhā was Bhīma (or Bhīmata III). We have nothing but conventional praise in the case of all these kings.

¹ *Kīrti* which occurs in v. 16 was taken by Sahu as a proper name. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 137, n. 4. Ray has suggested that he might be the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman (*D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 750), but the identification is impossible as Kīrtivarman flourished long after. *Kīrti* in that verse is *not* a proper name. It has the ordinary sense of 'fame' or 'glory'.

² *Kīrti* in v. 7 of the Kahla plates is taken by some to be the name of a historical personage, but the intended sense seems to be that by his valour Rājaputra eclipsed the fame of the illustrious kings of yore like Arjuna.

³ See above, p. lxxv ff.

⁴ Above, p. lxxxvii.

It seems that there was some trouble during the reign of Bhīma which caused him the loss of his throne. The nature of the trouble is, however, not known¹. Perhaps, there was an invasion of the country by some enemy. When the enemy retired or was ousted from the country, Vyāsa, the son of Gunasāgara, got himself crowned at the capital of Gōkulaghata on the 31st May 1031 A.C.

Kielhorn identified Gunasāgara, the father of Vyāsa, with Gunasāgara II, who was the great-grandfather of Vyāsa's predecessor Bhīma². Vyāsa would thus have come to the throne after his grand-nephew. This seems improbable. Besides, Vyāsa apparently began to reign when young, for, his successor Sōdhadēva was ruling at least till 1079 A.C., which date is 48 years later than that of Vyāsa's accession. It seems better, therefore, to suppose that Gunasāgara was a *viruda* of Bhīma, the predecessor of Vyāsa³. This conjecture receives support from the description in the plates that Vyāsa was established on his *father's* throne.

Vyāsa *alias* Maryādāsāgara was succeeded by Sōdhadēva who issued the Kahla plates on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-Sankrānti in 1077 A.C. In these plates both he and his father are mentioned with full imperial titles, viz., *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. The period of their rule falls in the heyday of Kalachuri imperialism when the mighty emperors Gāṅgēyadēva and Karṇa had extended their dominion to the Banaras District, south of the Sarayū. The assumption of imperial titles by these rulers of Sarayūpāra plainly indicates that they did not owe allegiance even to Gāṅgēya and Karṇa. The use of the Vikrama instead of the Kalachuri Samvat in dating the Kahla grant points to the same direction. The relations of the two Kalachuri families may, however, have continued to be friendly and they may have gone to each other's rescue in times of difficulties.

Sōdhadēva is the last known prince of this Sarayūpāra branch. Soon after the issue of his Kahla plates, he seems to have lost the support of the Tripuri Kalachuris, for, Yaśahkarna was then ousted from the Banaras District by the Gāhadavāla king Chandradēva. The Chandrāvati plates dated V 1148 (1090 A.C.), which are the earliest record of the Gāhadavālas discovered in the Banaras District, plainly indicate that Yaśahkarna had lost Banaras to Chandradēva before that date⁴. The Gāhadavālas may have next pressed further to the north and supplanted the Kalachuris in the Sarayūpāra country. Perhaps the Rāshtrakūtas ruling on the other side of the Gandakī played⁵ their part in the extermination of their neighbours. Yaśahkarṇa's raid against Champāraṇya, which was plainly directed against these Rāshtrakūtas and in the course of which he devastated their country, may have been prompted by a feeling of vengeance. Yaśahkarṇa did not, however, succeed in restoring the Sarayūpāra country to his kinsmen. This Kalachuri family thus disappeared from history in the last decade of the eleventh century A.C.

¹ The Kahla plates ascribe the loss of the throne to the misfortune of Bhīma. If there was an invasion of the country, it may have been by *Mahārājādhirāja* Gāṅgēyadēva, a Rāshtrakūta king ruling over the neighbouring country of Tīrabhukti on the other side of the Gandakī. A MS. of the *Kishkindhā-kānda* of the *Rāmāyana* deposited in the Nepal Durbar Library mentions the date, V. 1076 (1019 A.C.), of this king's reign. For the identification of this Gāṅgēyadēva, see *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), pp. 291 ff. and above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 86.

³ Another similar case is that of *Maryādāsāgara* which from l. 33 of the Kahla plates appears to be a *viruda* of Vyāsa, though this is not stated explicitly in the plates.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 302 ff.

⁵ I have shown elsewhere that a Rāshtrakūta family was ruling over Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut) in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.C. *A. B. O. R. I.* (Silver Jubilee Number), p. 301.

THE KALACHURIS OF SOUTH KOSALA

In ancient times Dakshina Kōsala (South Kōsala) comprised modern Chattisgarh and the adjoining territory in the State of Orissa up to the boundary of the Katak District ¹ In the Purāṇas this country is mentioned with Traipura (the tract round Tripurī near Jabalpur), Kalinga (part of the State of Orissa) and Mēkala (the region near the source of the Narmadā) ² These countries are further said to be situated on the back, *i.e.*, the table-land of the Vindhya mountain To distinguish this Kōsala from another territory of the same name, the capital of which was Ayōdhyā in the State of Uttar Pradesh, it was called Dakshina Kōsala or South Kōsala The feminine form of the name, *viz.*, Kōsalā, is occasionally met with in literature and inscriptions ³ The ancient capital of this country was Kuśāvati, founded by Kuśa, the elder son of Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyana* This city, the Purāṇas tell us, was situated on a peak of the Vindhya mountain, but its exact location has not yet been determined.

Our knowledge of the history of Chattisgarh before the advent of the Kalachuris is very meagre In the beginning of the sixth century A C, the country was ruled by Bhīmasēna II whose copper-plate grant dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-2 A C) has been discovered at Ātāng ⁴ He or his successor was ousted by a king of the Śarabhapura dynasty Mahā-Pravararāja, the last known king of this family, was overthrown by Indrabala of the Sōmavamśa The Sōmavamśis ruled in Chhattisgarh for some generations. Mahāśivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna, the last known king of this dynasty, flourished in the beginning of the seventh century A C. He had a long reign of more than 57 years and was on the throne when the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang visited Dakshina Kōsala ⁵

About this time, Pulakēśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty invaded Kōsala after conquering the three Mahārāshtras The Aihōlē inscription of his reign, dated 634 A C, states that the people of Kōsala, like those of Kalinga, were overawed by the invading forces ⁶ The ruling king evidently submitted to the mighty emperor, who allowed him to govern his kingdom as his vassal

Some time after Pulakesin II's invasion, the Sōmavamśis were ousted from the Raipur District by their southern neighbours, the Nala kings, who held the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining parts of the Vishakhapatam District of the Madras State. A stone inscription of this dynasty, still existing at Rājim in the Raipur District, mentions three kings, *viz.*, Prithvirāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatunga The last of these erected the temple of Rājivalōchana at Rājim for the religious merit of his son who had died The inscription can be referred to about 700 A C on the evidence of palaeography ⁷

We do not know how long the rule of the Sōmavamśis and the Nalas lasted in Chhattisgarh An inscription on the architrave of the door of the sanctum in an exquisitely carved temple of Śiva at Pāli, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District, records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva This inscription, which was deciphered by Dr D R Bhandarkar fifty years ago, has not received from

¹ The Sōmavamśi kings whose copper-plates record grants of land in the former Patna State and Sambalpur District call themselves 'lords of Kōsala'

² *Vāyupurāṇa*, adhyāya 45, v. 133.

³ MBH, (Cr Ed), Āranyakaparvan, adhyāya 83, v. 10, *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p. 271

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp. 342 and plate I have shown that the correct reading of the date is G 182, corresponding to 501-2 A C. *Ibid*, Vol XXVI, p. 228

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol XXIII, pp. 118 ff, Vol XXVII, p. 325.

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

scholars the attention it deserves¹ As the names Malladēva and Vikramāditya occur in the dynastic list of Bāna kings, Dr Bhandarkar made at the time the ingenious suggestion that this Vikramāditya might be one of the Bāna kings² He could not, however, definitely identify him, for, no such Vikramāditya, son of Malladēva, was then known From the Gudimallam plates³ discovered later, Dr Hultsch has shown that there were three Vikramādityas in the Bāna dynasty, of whom the first, also called Jayamēru, was the son of Malladēva He is identical with the Bāna Vidyādharma mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates. As the known dates of his son Vijayāditya Prabhumēru range from Śaka 820 (898-99 A C)⁴ to Śaka 831 (909-10 A C),⁵ Vikramāditya I may be referred to the period 870-895 A C⁶

The Bāna kings are known from records found in the North Arcot District The province over which they ruled is called Pērumbānappādi in later Tamil inscriptions⁷ As R. B. Venkayya has shown, this province extended from Punganūi in the west to Kālahastī in the east.⁸ It is, however, surmised that the Bānas were originally settled further north in the Telugu country From there they seem to have penetrated further to the north and carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh, from where they ousted the Sōmavamśīs, who were obliged to move to the east and settle at Vinītapura (modern Binkā in the Sonpur State). This invasion of the country to the north of the Gōdāvarī appears to have occurred in connection with the northern campaign of Udayachandra, a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman II—Pallavamalla (*circa* 710-775 A C)⁹ The Udayēndiram plates¹⁰ state that Udayachandra pursued a Nishāda chief called Purushavyāghra, who, desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horse of the *Aśvamēdha*, defeated him and ordered him out of the district of Vishnurāja, which he subjected to the Pallava king. This Purushavyāghra may have been ruling over the country now comprised in the Bastar District¹¹ Vishnurāja, whose country he had invaded, has been identified with Vishnuvardhana III (709-746 A C) The Bāna chiefs, who were feudatories of the Pallavas, seem to have pressed still further to the north and established themselves in the Bilaspur District with Pāli as their capital We have no record of the early Bāna kings who founded this kingdom Nandivarman is the earliest king known from the Udayēndiram plates¹² As shown above, his great-grandson Vikramāditya I was ruling from *circa* 870 A C to 895 A C Nandivarman may, therefore, have flourished about 800 A C Either he or his father may have been the founder of the Bāna kingdom in

¹ I drew attention to its importance in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Mahākōśala' published in *P I H C* (1939), pp 319 ff

² *P. R. A S, W. C* (1903-4), p 52

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, pp 1 ff

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p 227

⁵ See No 99 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1899

⁶ Sewell says that Vikramāditya I's accession date (872 A C) is derived from an inscription which mentions the year Vijaya (873-74 A C) as being in the second year of Bāna Vidyādharma *H I S I*, p 328 He has, however, not given the exact reference of this record T V Mahalingam places Vikramāditya I in the period 850-89, A C

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XI, p 230

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol XI, p 238

⁹ See *H P K*, p 119 Jouveau-Dubreuil gives the reign-period as 717—779 A C.

¹⁰ *Ind Ant.*, Vol VIII, pp 274 ff.

¹¹ Compare the name Vyāghrarāja of the ruler of Mahākāntāra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *C I. I*, Vol III, p. 7. This Mahākāntāra probably corresponds to the Bastar District.

¹² *Ep Ind*, Vol. III, pp 74 ff.

Chhattisgarh His descendants seem to have held the country down to the time of Vikramāditya I, who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva at Pālī in the Bilaspur District.

In many records¹ of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, it is stated that Kōkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī and made his brothers the lords of *mandalas* in the neighbourhood In the family of one of these younger brothers was born Kalingarāja, the first known king of the Ratanpur branch. Kalingarāja's son was Kamalarāja, who was a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva, whom he helped in his campaign against the king of Utkala The wording² of the passage describing the relationship of Kalingarāja to Kōkalla shows that the former was separated from the latter by some generations This Kōkalla, therefore, is the first king of that name who ruled from *circa* 850 A.C. to 890 A.C. This conclusion receives confirmation from a statement in some inscriptions of the Tripurī branch As we have already seen, the Bilhāri stone inscription states that Mugdhatunga, the son and successor of Kōkalla I, conquered the lines of countries along the eastern sea-shore and took (the country of) Pālī from the lord of Kōsala³ The Banaras plates of Karna say that Prasiddhadhavalā (who is none other than Mugdhatunga) took possession of Pālī, thinking that in his family there would be born men, eminent on account of greatness in this world⁴ This plainly means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pālī to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family The country of Pālī which was conquered from the king of Kōsala was probably the territory round Ratanpur, for, the village of Pālī which contains the aforementioned exquisitely carved temple of Śiva with an inscription of the Bāna king Vikramāditya I lies only 12 miles to the north of Ratanpur⁵ The king of Kōsala from whom the country of Pālī was wrested is not named in the aforementioned Kalachuri inscription, but the foregoing discussion must have made it plain that he was probably a Bāna king. As Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā flourished from *circa* 890 A.C. to 910 A.C., his Bāna adversary may have been Vikramāditya I (*circa* 870-895 A.C.)

After conquering the country round Ratanpur, Mugdhatunga placed it in charge of one of his younger brothers There is a gap of nearly a century in the history of this Kalachuri branch, for which no records have come to light We do not, therefore, know even the name of this founder of the Kalachuri branch of Dakshina Kōsala But from a statement in the Ratanpur stone inscription⁶ it seems that the Kalachuri capital in that age was Tummāna, which has been identified with Tumān, a small village in the former

¹ No. 76, l 10, No 77, l 6, No 83, l 8, *etc*

² Almost all the early inscriptions say that Kalingarāja was born *in the family* of a younger son of Kōkalla, thus indicating that a long period of time separated him from Kōkalla (See, *e.g.*, No 76, l 10, No 77, l 6, No 83, l 8 *etc*) Only two records, the Shēorinārāyan plates of Ratnadēva II (No 82), and Kharōd stone inscription of Ratnadēva III (No. 100), make Kalingarāja a son of Kōkalla himself Mr A Ghosh ingeniously suggests that *Vankō-Tummāna-bhūbhujah* in l 9 of No 82 is a mistake for *vamsē Tummāna-bhūbhujah* D R Bhandarkar Volume, p 261, n. 2

³ No. 45, l 10

⁴ No 48, l 13

⁵ It is supposed by some that this temple was erected by Jājalladēva I, for, there are five inscriptions of the king in the *mandapa* of the temple Two of these inscriptions are incised on the walls of the *mandapa*, one on a stone built into the rebuilt doorway of the temple and another on a pilaster to support a broken beam The inscriptions are identical in wording and purport to register some *kīrti* (meritorious work) of Jājalladēva. Their positions clearly indicate that they were meant to record the repairs, not the construction, of the temple by Jājalladēva I As a period of more than two centuries had passed since the time of the Bāna king Vikramāditya I, it is not surprising that the temple had fallen into disrepair in the time of Jājalladēva I

⁶ Verse 7 of No 77 says that Kalingarāja chose Tummāna as his capital because it had been made the seat of their government by his forefathers.

Lāphā Zamindārī of the Bilaspur District The Kalachuris seem to have reigned there for two or three generations (from *circa* 895 A C. to 950 A C.), but were ultimately ousted by some enemy, perhaps a Somavamśī king ruling over the eastern parts of Dakshina Kōsala The Kalachuri prince, when ousted from Chhattisgarh, apparently returned to his ancestral country of Dāhala From the Bilhārī stone inscription we learn that Lakshmanarāja II (*circa* 945-970 A C.) defeated the rulers of Kōsala and Odra Lakshmanarāja's campaign may have been undertaken to punish the king of Kōsala and his ally, the king of Odra, for having ousted the scions of his family from Kōsala His victory was not, however, a decisive one and does not seem to have led to the re-establishment of Kalachuri power in Chhattisgarh

It was probably in the reign of Kōkalla II that the Kalachuris renewed their attempt to conquer Dakshina Kōsala The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I states that in order to augment his unimpeded prowess and treasure, Kalingarāja, descended from a younger son of Kōkalla I, left his ancestral country (evidently Dāhala)¹ and conquered the country of Dakshina Kōsala by the prowess of his arms² As Kalingarāja's son Kamalarāja was a junior contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva (*circa* 1015-1040 A C.), Kalingarāja's conquest of Dakshina Kōsala may be dated in *circa* 1000 A C

Kalingarāja selected the old Kalachuri capital Tummāna as the seat of his government As the Ratanpur inscription says, while staying there, he destroyed his enemies and increased his splendour During his reign there was an invasion of the country by Sindhurāja, a well-known Paramāra king of Dhārā (*circa* 995-1015 A C.) Some years later, he led a second expedition in connection with a love affair which forms the theme of the beautiful Sanskrit *kāvya Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of his court-poet Padmagupta *alias* Parimala³ The story of the *kāvya* briefly told is as follows:—

“Sindhurāja, while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, sees and falls in love with Śaśiprabhā, the daughter of the snake king Śankhapāla After her meeting with the king, Śaśiprabhā is carried away by invisible snakes to Bhōgavatī in the nether world The king flings himself into the stream of the Narmadā to follow her and on the other side reaches a golden palace The river goddess Narmadā receives him hospitably and tells him how he should win Śaśiprabhā When she was born, it was predicted that she would become the wife of a ruler of the middle world and bring about the death of Vajrāṅkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes Her father had laid down the following condition for her marriage, *viz.*, that her suitor should bring the golden lotus flowers, which grow in the pleasure garden of Vajrāṅkuśa Narmadā tells Sindhurāja that at a distance of fifty *gavyūtis* lies the town of Ratnavatī built by Maya, the architect of Asuras, where reigns Vajrāṅkuśa, the prince of demons Finally, Narmadā prophesies that the king will meet the sage Vanku on his way to Ratnavatī Then the king, accompanied by his minister Yaśōbhata, also called Ramāṅgada, starts for Ratnavatī On the way they reach the grove of the sage Vanku There they converse with the sage and meet Śaśikhanda, the son of Śikhandakētu, king of the Vidyādhara, who had been transformed

¹ Owing to a wrong *pada-chōbbāda* in vv 4 and 6 of No 77, it was supposed by Kielhorn and other scholars who followed him that Kalingarāja hailed from the country of Tritasaurya But no such country is known See *Kane Festschrift*, pp 290 ff

² The country under the rule of the Kalachuris is called Dakshina Kōsala in some records and Tummāna-dēśa in others See No 77, v 6, No 93, v 8, No 100, v 5, *etc* Tummāna was, of course, included in Dakshina Kōsala, but sometimes the latter denoted the eastern part of it under the rule of the Sōmavamśīs. See, *e.g.*, No. 77, v. 23

³ For a detailed discussion of the historical data of this *kāvya*, see my article in the *Ind Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp 101 ff.

into a monkey, but regained his original form by the favour of Sindhurāja. In gratefulness Śaśikhanda brings his troops to help the king in his expedition. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatī. A battle is fought. Ramāngada, the minister of Sindhurāja, kills Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of Vajrāṅkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrāṅkuśa. The town Ratnavatī is stormed and taken. A snake youth named Ratnachūda is made the Governor of the kingdom of the Asura king. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flowers and proceeds towards Bhōgavatī. He presents the golden flowers to Śaśiprabhā and marries her. Sankhapāla makes the king the present of a crystal Śivalinga made by Tvashṭī. The king returns to Ujjayinī and then to Dhārā where he establishes the crystal Śivalinga.”

The foregoing brief analysis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* will show that the poem was intended to celebrate Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrāṅkuśa in which he was aided by a Vidyādhara prince and a Nāga chieftain, and his matrimonial alliance with the latter. This campaign of Sindhurāja must be placed late in his reign, probably towards the end of the first decade of the eleventh century A.C., for, he is described in this work as having already vanquished the kings of Kuntala, Kachchha, Lāta, Aparānta and Kōsala as well as a Hūṇa prince¹. The poet's description that he had to cross the Narmadā on the way shows that the country of Vajrāṅkuśa lay to the south of the river. Vajrāṅkuśa was not a prince of the demons, but a chief of the aborigines, perhaps Gonds, whose capital Ratnavatī must be looked for in the hilly regions not far from the Narmadā; for, we have a valuable hint for its location in the speech of the river goddess that it lay at a distance of 50 *gavyūtis* or 100 *krōśas*, i.e., about 200 miles from the place where Sindhurāja crossed the river. Like Rājaśekhara, Padmagupta seems to have slightly altered the names of the historical characters and places that figure in his poem. Vajrāṅkuśa, the demon king, is, therefore, probably identical with Vajjūka² (also called Vajuvārman in one record³), the lord of the Kōmō *mandala*. He was a powerful chief, as his matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuris is mentioned in several Kalachuri records. He flourished in the same period as Sindhurāja, for, his daughter Nonallā was married to Ratnairāja, the son of Kamalarāja who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadēva⁴.

The identification of Vajjūka with Vajrāṅkuśa is rendered probable by the mention of the hermitage of the sage Vanku, which lay on the way to Ratnavatī, the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa. The name of the sage appears to be connected with that of the god Vankēśvara whose temple was erected in Tummāna⁵. Knowing as we do that the names of deities are often derived from those of the individuals who instal them or erect temples in their honour, we can easily conjecture that Vankēśvara may have been installed by some one named Vanku and that he may well have been a sage as stated in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*.

Vajrāṅkuśa's capital was Ratnavatī, which it is tempting to identify with the Kalachuri capital Ratnapura, but the identification is open to the objection that Ratnapura was founded by Ratnadēva I⁶ and hence it could not have been in existence in this period. According

¹ NSCH, canto X, vv. 14-20

² No 77, l 13

³ No 76, l 17

⁴ The identification may be open to the objection that if Vajjūka was killed in battle as stated in the NSCH, canto XVII, v 69, he could not have given his daughter to Ratnadēva I who flourished two generations later. Perhaps Vajrāṅkuśa is meant to represent the grandfather of Vajjūka, who may have borne the same name. In India grandsons are often named after their grandfathers.

⁵ Vankēśvara was the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala. They believed that they owed their kingdom to the grace of the god. See l 23 of No. 76. Chakravarti has shown that *Vanka* is a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Vakra*, a name of Śiva. *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, Additions etc., p viii.

⁶ See v 11 of No 77.

to a tradition recorded by Mr. Beglar,¹ the ancient name of Ratnapura was Maṇipura, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of a Nāga king.² As our poet has slightly changed the names of places, Ratnavatī in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* may represent ancient Maṇipura, which came to be known as Ratnapura when Ratnadēva made it his capital. If Sindhurāja crossed the Narmadā near Māndhātā,³ Ratanpur would be about 200 miles from the place as described in Padmagupta's poem.

In his battle with Vajrāṅkuśa, Sindhurāja's ally was the Vidyādhara prince Śikhanda-kētu. He probably represents the Śilāhāra king Arikēśarin *alias* Kēśidēva, the ruler of North Konkan; for, the Śilāhāras traced their descent from Jīmūtavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādharas.⁴ The similarity of the names Kēśidēva and Śikhanda-kētu confirms the identification.

Finally, the Nāga king Sankhapāla whose daughter was loved and ultimately married by Sindhurāja, was probably a ruler of Chakrakōṭya in the Bastar District. The princes of Chakrakōṭya call themselves Nāgavamśīs and lords of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns. This dynasty produced some powerful rulers towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century A.C. Their capital Chakrakūta or Chakrakōṭya often figures in inscriptions and literature.⁵ This shows the strategic importance of that territory.⁶ These Nāga princes were often at war with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. The existence of a Nāga chieftain, ruling in the Bastar District in the beginning of the tenth century A.C., who was hostile to Vajrāṅkuśa or Vajjūka of the Kōmō *mandala*, is not, therefore, unlikely.

The historical basis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* thus seems to be that the Nāga ruler of Chakrakōṭya sought the powerful Paramāra king Sindhurāja's aid against Vajjūka of the Kōmō *mandala*, with whom the Kalachuri prince Kalingarāja was probably allied. Sindhurāja seems to have welcomed this opportunity to strengthen the south-eastern frontier of his kingdom against a possible Chōla invasion, for, owing to the debacle of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī after the death of Satyāśīaya, the power of the Chōlas, their rivals for supremacy in the south, was increasing. As we shall see later, Rājendrachōla I's general did indeed attack Kōsala a few years later during his victorious march to the north. It was probably to check the Chōla power that Sindhurāja, with a commendable foresight, entered into a matrimonial alliance with the king of Chakrakōṭya. He marched against Vajjūka, whom he slew in battle. Afterwards he placed a Nāga prince in charge of Vajjūka's territory and married the daughter of the Nāga king of Chakrakōṭya.

The Kalachuri king Kalingarāja, who was probably allied with Vajjūka, must have also suffered a defeat at the hands of Sindhurāja. But he seems to have soon rehabilitated himself by driving out Sindhurāja's protégé from the Kōmō *mandala*. We have, however, no further knowledge of any political events of his reign. The description of him in the records of his successors is purely conventional.

Kalingarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja about 1020 A.C. He also ruled from the old capital Tummāna, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor of Tripurī. During his reign, Gāṅgēyadēva of Tripurī undertook an expedition against the king of Utkala (Orissa). He seems to have marched through the territory of Kamalarāja,

¹ C. A. S. I. R., Vol. X, p. 216.

² (Chitraśālā Press ed.), Ādiparvan, adhyāya 215, v. 13, Āśvamēdhikaparvan, adhyāya 79, v. 3.

³ It may be noted that some records of the Paramāras were issued after bathing in the Narmadā at this holy place. To the east of Māndhātā lay the country of Chēḍī, which Sindhurāja does not seem to have entered on this occasion.

⁴ See, e.g., the Bhāndup plates of Chhittarājadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 ff.

⁵ See, e.g., *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, canto IV, v. 30.

⁶ It is worthy of note that the attack on Kōsala followed the victory at Sakkarakōttam (Chakrakōṭya).

whom he called on to join in the campaign. The latter fought for his overlord wholeheartedly. The Amōdā plates of Prithvīdēva I state that like the Mandara mountain of yore, the brave Kamalarāja churned the milk-ocean which was the king of Utkala, and gave Lakshmī (royal fortune) as well as excellent elephants and horses to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva.¹ The description suggests that the vanquished king of Utkala had to pay a heavy tribute to Gāṅgēya. Some records of Gāṅgēya's son Karna also refer to this campaign. They say that Gāṅgēya defeated the king of Utkala and made his own arm the pillar of victory on the (eastern) sea-shore.

During this campaign, Gāṅgēyadēva and Kamalarāja must have come into conflict with the contemporary ruler of Eastern Kōsala, who was probably Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. The latter claims in one of his grants² that he defeated the Chaidyas and devastated their country of Dāhala.³ This may have been a reprisal raid on Dāhala during the absence of Gāṅgēya in the campaign against the king of Orissa.

The king of Utkala, in securing whose defeat Kamalarāja played a prominent part, was probably a king of the Kara dynasty, perhaps Subhākara II, ruling over Tōsala on the eastern seaboard of Orissa.⁴ When Kamalarāja returned home after this victorious campaign, he was followed by Sāhilla,⁵ a military adventurer who sought his fortune in Chhattisgarh. Sāhilla conquered Vivarabhūmī, evidently for his lord Kamalarāja. As we shall see later, Sāhilla's descendants settled down in Chhattisgarh and helped the Kalachuris of Tummāna to extend the limits of their kingdom.

It was probably during the reign of Kamalarāja that the mighty Chōla Emperor Rājendra I (1012-1044 A.C.) sent an expedition to the north under his *Dandanātha* (General) in 1022 A.C. The Tirumalai *prasasti*,⁶ which was composed in the twelfth year of Rājendra's reign, states that Rājendra's general first seized Sakkarakōttam which is plainly identical with Chakrakōtya in the Bastar State. Thereafter, he captured or destroyed some other countries and places like Madurai-mandalam and Namanai-kōnam and defeated and took Indraratha, the ruler of Ādinagara, prisoner. This victory led to the capture of 'the Odda-vishaya (Orissa) which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence, and the good Kōśalai-nādu, where Brāhmanas assembled'. The *prasasti* does not name the ruler of Kōsala. He may have been either Kamalarāja ruling over the western part, or Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti who held the eastern part of Kōsala. As Rājendra's general next proceeded against Dandabhukti (parts of Midnapore and Balasore Districts), it would appear that the king he defeated was the ruler of Eastern Kōsala. In any case, this Chōla invasion did not produce any lasting effect, for, we have no evidence of the Chōla occupation of any part of Kōsala in this period. Perhaps, the vanquished king of Kōsala, whoever

¹ See No. 76, ll. 12-13.

² J. A. S. B., N. S., Vol. I, pp. 4 f.

³ The age of the Sōmavamśis of Kōsala is still undetermined as their records are singularly lacking in historical details and bear only regnal dates. The contemporaneity of Gāṅgēya and Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti suggested here would, if accepted, serve as a landmark in the history of the Sōmavamśis.

⁴ Soon after this, the Karas seem to have been overthrown by the Sōmavamśi Uddyōtakēśarin, who transferred his capital to the eastern coast and gave the kingdom of Kōsala to Abhimanu.

⁵ The Rājūm inscription of Jagapāla dated K. 896 (1145 A.C.) states that this Sāhilla was a spotless ornament of the family of the illustrious Rājamāla. I have suggested that this Rājamāla is identical with Rājamalladēva who had given valuable support in re-establishing the power of the Karas after the death of the ruling prince who was probably Subhākara's father Lalitabhara. If this identification is accepted, Sāhilla would be his son or possibly his grandson. This squares with the description of him given in the Rājūm inscription as well as the period here assigned to him.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff. See also J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 207 ff.

he was, was obliged to pay tribute to the Chōla Emperor for some years, as claimed in the Manimangalam inscription¹ of Rājādhirāja, dated 1046 A C

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja I in *circa* 1045 A C He married Nōnallā, the daughter of Vajjūka or Vajjuvarman, the lord of the Kōmō *mandala* This *mandala* seems to have comprised the territory round Kōmo-Chauki, about 24 miles west of Tummāna, the then Kalachuri capital. This marriage is mentioned in most of the subsequent Kalachuri records much in the same way as the marriage of Samudragupta with the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradēvī is mentioned in Gupta inscriptions It seems to have considerably strengthened Ratnadēva's position in Chhattisgarh² Judging by the conquests made by subsequent kings, the Kalachuri kingdom in Chhattisgarh was very much circumscribed during the reigns of Kalingarāja and Kamalarāja Ratnadēva made some conquests and annexed some territory to his dominion The three sons of the aforementioned Sāhilla—Bhāyila, Dēsala and Svāmin—fought his battles and conquered the countries of Bhattavila and Viharā for him These countries have not, however, been identified

Ratnadēva beautified the capital Tummāna with gardens, mansions and temples He erected a temple in honour of Vankēśa, the tutelary deity, and another dedicated to the god Ratnēśvara whom he seems to have installed and named after himself Ratnadēva founded a new city called Ratnapura, to which he shifted his seat of government The Śrēshthin Yaśa is said to have been its Mayor³ This city was enlarged and beautified by his successors from time to time, and continued to be the capital of the royal family until its overthrow by the Marathas in the eighteenth century A C

Ratnadēva I may have closed his reign in *circa* 1065 A C⁴ The earliest of the two grants of his son and successor Prithvīdēva I is dated K 821 (1069 A C)

Prithvīdēva I is the earliest ruler of the Ratanpur branch whose inscriptions have been found in Chhattisgarh In his Raipur and Amōdā plates he calls himself *Mahāmandalēśvara* and claims to have obtained the right to *pañchamahāśabda*⁵ Both these indicate his feudatory rank Like his predecessors, he seems, therefore, to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī In his grants he uses the Kalachuri era, which he calls the era of the Lord of Chēdī⁶ This also indicates his subordinate position He seems to have considerably extended his small principality, for, he claimed to be the lord of the

¹ *S I I*, Vol III, p 57 This inscription states that the king of Kausalar (i.e. Kōsala) among many others unremittingly paid tribute to the Chōla king Rājādhirāja

² It may be noted that the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I states that Ratnadēva I married Nōnallā 'together with royal fortune' No 77, v 13

³ He continued to hold the same position during the succeeding reign of Prithvīdēva I also See No. 76, v. 16.

⁴ Mr Amalanand Ghosh has suggested the identification of Ratnadēva I with Singan, (the king) of the warlike Kōsalar, who was cut to pieces by the Chōla king Virarājendra in the battle of Kudālasangama in *circa* 1066 A C He finds corroboration of this event in the passage *Ratnarājē yudhā ripu-jayini svar-gatē* in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (No 77, v 15), which he takes to mean 'When Ratnarāja went to heaven in a victorious battle' *B V*, p 265 The proposed identification is very doubtful *Singan* is evidently a corruption of *Simba* (Cf Singanan mentioned in the same inscription, who is identical with Jayasimha) Singan may have belonged to the Sōmavamśī family Some members of this family bore names ending in *kēśarin* which is a synonym of *simha* Besides, the construction of the above passage proposed by Mr Ghosh is impossible, because in Sanskrit *yudh* (a fight) is feminine in gender

⁵ No 75, l 6, No 76, ll 23 and 25

⁶ No 76, l 41 The era seems to have been then newly introduced into Chhattisgarh and, therefore, had to be specified in this manner.

entire Kōsala country¹ It is, however, highly doubtful if his sway extended to the Sambalpur District and the former Sonpur and Patnā States which were previously under the rule of the Sōmavamsīs, for, no inscriptions of him or even of his successors have been discovered in that part of the country As we have already seen, this territory was included in Kōsala The aforementioned title is, therefore, an empty boast This does not, however, mean that he made no conquests According to the Rājīm inscription, Jayadēva, the son of Svāmīn and grandson of the aforementioned military adventurer Sāhilla, conquered Dāndōra His younger brother Dēvasīmha acquired the Kōmō *mandala* Jayadēva was a contemporary of Prithvidēva I, for whom, we may suppose, these countries were conquered Of them, the former has been identified with the District of Sarguja, north-east of the Bilaspur District, which was once called Bāis Dāndōr (Dāndōr 22), as it contained twenty-two Zamindārīs The Kōmō *mandala*, though situated close to the Kalachuri capital, seems to have maintained its independence since the time of Vajjūka The latter's successors were either too weak or too overbearing to be allowed to remain independent They were, therefore, subdued, and their *mandala* was annexed to the Kalachuri kingdom

Prithvidēva I married Rājallā She bore him a son named Jājalladēva I, who afterwards succeeded him He had a younger brother named Sarvadēva, who obtained the territory round Sōnthiva (Sōnthi in the Bilaspur District) as his patrimony (*dāyād-āmsā*)² Vīgraharāja, one of his ministers, and Yaśa, who continued to hold the post of the Mayor of Ratnapura, are named in his Amōdā plates³ Another minister Sōdhadēva is mentioned in a later stone inscription⁴ Prithvidēva was a devotee of Śiva At Tummāna he dedicated a temple to the god under the name *Prithvidēvēśvara* and also provided the old temple of Vankēśvara with a *chatushkēkā* or a hall resting on four pillars On the occasion of its dedication, he made a land-grant dated K 831 (1079 A C) At Ratnapura he constructed a large 'ocean-like' lake He reigned from *circa* 1065 A C to 1090 A C

Jājalladēva I, who succeeded Prithvidēva I, was one of the great kings of this family Soon after his accession, he embarked on an ambitious scheme of conquest He subdued the neighbouring chiefs of Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhānāra and Talahārī Vairāgara is modern Vairāgarh in the Chāndā District Lañjikā and Bhānāra correspond to Lanji and Bhandara in the Balaghat and Bhandara Districts respectively Talahārī comprised probably the southern part of the Bilaspur District and the northern part of the Raipur District The subjugation of these places shows that the kingdom of the Kalachuris in the previous reigns was very much circumscribed Jājalladēva carried his arms even as far as Dandakapura (Midnapur District) in South Bengal, Andhra and Kīmīdī in the Ganjam District Dakshina Kōsala, which also he is said to have conquered, seems to refer to the eastern portion of it comprising the Sambalpur District and the former States of Patna and Sonpur The rulers of all these countries and also of Nandāvalī and Kukkuta, which still remain unidentified, were made to pay him an annual tribute His general Jagapāla, descended from the above-named Sāhilla, vanquished Māyūrikas⁵ (perhaps rulers of the Bhañja dynasty) and Sāmantas (ancestors of the Sāontas in Bilaspur District) These conquests brought him

¹ In his Amōdā grant he is also called 'the sole lord of twenty-one thousand villages' The number of villages in Kōsala is variously given The Kuruspāl inscription (*Ep Ind*, Vol X, p 30) mentions that the Nāga king Sōmēśvara of Bastar conquered six lacs of villages in Kōsala

² No 98, v 13

³ No 76, l 34 Vīgraharāja is named also in the Raipur plates of the same king No 75, l 13

⁴ No 90, ll 11-12.

⁵ A Māyūrika family is mentioned in the Bayānā (former Bharatpur State) inscription of Chitralēkhā (*Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, pp 120 ff) It was ruling in the north and does not seem to have been connected with the Māyūrikas defeated by Jagapāla.

into conflict with Sōmēśvara, the Nāgavamśī king of Chakrakōṭya. The latter was a foe worthy of his steel. He had defeated the rulers of Udra (Orissa) and Vēngī, and had carried fire and sword into Lāñjī and Ratnapura¹. He is said to have captured six lacs of villages together with the tract called Shannavatī (96 villages) of Kōsala and assumed the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*². The Kuruspāl inscription describes him as a huge elephant which destroyed the lotuses namely the towns, Lāñjī and Ratnapura.

Jājalladēva was not slow to take revenge. He marched against the Nāga king, slew his immense army and took him captive together with his wives and ministers. Ultimately, at the bidding of his mother, Jājalladēva set them free. His Ratanpur inscription proudly asks, "Have you seen or heard of another such prince on this earth?"³. This event must have occurred some time before 1110 A.C., which is the approximate year of Sōmēśvara's death⁴.

Jājalladēva's fame spread to distant lands. The contemporary king of Chēdi, who was Yaśahkarna, the erstwhile suzerain of the Tummāṇa branch, had to court his friendship. He probably sought his aid in his campaign against an Andhra king, which, as we have seen, occurred early in his reign⁵. In the Ratanpur inscription Jājalla boasts that he was honoured as an ally by the rulers of Kānyakubja and Jajābhuktika with presents of wealth 'because he was valiant'. The ruler of Kānyakubja was probably the ambitious Gāhadavāla king Gōvīndachandra, who, even while a *yuvārāja*, had wielded considerable authority. He came to the throne about 1110 A.C. and was thus a contemporary of Jājalla. The other ruler who sought Jājalla's alliance was plainly a king of the Chandēlla dynasty. Three Chandēlla princes Kīrtivarman, Sallakshanavarman and Jayavarman ruled contemporaneously with Jājalla⁶. Of these, Sallakshanavarman was probably Jājalla's ally. This contact with the Chandēllas is reflected in the Kalachuri coinage as shown below.

These rulers of distant Northern countries sought Jājalla's friendship because his kingdom occupied a strategic position on the route of communication between the north and the south. Earlier conquerors from the north like Samudragupta and Išānavarman had to pass through Dakshina Kōsala in the course of their southern *digvijaya*. Similarly, Rājendra Chōla I's general had to conquer Kōsala before he penetrated into Bengal. The object of this alliance with Jājalla was probably to check the advance of the Chōla Emperor Kulōttunga I (1070-1122 A.C.). By his occupation of the Chōla throne, Kulōttunga had already united the kingdoms of the Eastern Chālukyas and the Chōlas. He entertained aggressive designs of North-Indian conquests, in pursuance of which he had subjugated Vairāgarh and Chakrakōṭṭa⁷. In some records he is said to have measured swords even with the Paramāra king of Malwa. The aforementioned northern powers must have regarded Jājalla as a bulwark against a possible Chōla invasion of North India.

We have seen above that Jājalla defeated the king of Dakshina Kōsala. The latter is probably identical with Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarnapura, modern Sonpur, the chief

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 29.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 30. *Shannavatī* as the name of a territorial division occurs in a grant of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. See also *J. A. S. B.* Vol. I, pp. 19 ff.

³ No. 77, v. 22.

⁴ Sōmēśvara was living at the time of the Barsur inscription dated 1108 A.C. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 314, Vol. IX, p. 162) and had died when the Nārāyanpāl inscription was put up in 1111 A.C. (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 161 ff.). So he seems to have died in *circa* 1110 A.C.

⁵ See above, p. cu.

⁶ V. A. Smith has given the following approximate dates for these three kings—Kīrtivarman, 1060-1100 A.C., Sallakshanavarman 1100-1110 A.C. and Jayavarman 1110-1117 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, part II, pp. 132-34.

town of the former Sonpur State.¹ This king is not known from other records, but he probably belonged to the Sōmavamśī dynasty, and might be the son and successor of Abhi-manyu who founded a feudatory state in that part of Dakshina Kōsala, when Uddyōtakēśarin conquered Utkala and removed his capital to the eastern seaboard.² Jājalladēva seems to have followed up this victory and also deposed the king of Utkala. But his cause was espoused by his neighbour, the mighty Anantavarman Chōdaganga, who reinstated him. The earliest record which mentions the reinstatement of the Utkala king is the Korni plates of Anantavarman, dated Śaka 1034 (1113 A.C.)³ This record does not mention the name of the enemy who had deposed the king of Utkala, but the foregoing discussion must have made it clear that he was probably Jājalladēva I.

Jājalla seems to have repudiated the political subjection of his house to the Kalachuris of Tripurī and declared his independence. To announce his independent rank, he struck gold and copper coins in his own name. His gold coins are partially modelled on the issues of Gāngēya. They have the king's name in bold Nāgarī letters in three lines on the obverse as on Gāngēya's coins. The reverse, however, shows the figure of a lion attacking an elephant,⁴ instead of Lakshmī sitting cross-legged. His copper coins are imitated from those of the Chandēlla Sallakshanavarman, with whom he was allied. They have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing left on the reverse. Both these types were continued by his successors.

Jājalla founded a city in his own name, called Jājallapura, which is probably identical with modern Jānjgū (Jājallanagara). He constructed there a temple and a monastery, which he endowed with the gift of some villages. He also excavated there a large tank and raised a mango grove. He repaired the ancient temple of Śiva at Pālī by erecting cross-walls and giving supports to a broken beam.⁵ These repairs are memorised by short inscriptions.

Jājalla married Lāchchhalladēvī,⁶ from whom he had a son named Ratnadēva II, who succeeded him. His religious preceptor was Rudraśiva. It is interesting to note that the latter was conversant with the work of Dinnāga, a famous Buddhist logician who flourished in the fifth century A.C. Vighararāja, who held the position of a *mantrin* in the previous reign, became his *Sāndhviṅgrahika*. Another minister of the Gauda race, who was descended from the Kāyastha minister of the illustrious Kārṇa of Tripurī, was mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of his reign, but his name is now lost. A third minister, who distinguished himself in all his wars, was Purushōttama, the son of Sōdhadēva who had served Prithvīdēva I in the same capacity.⁷ The writer of his Ratanpur inscription was Kirtidhara, the owner of the village Jandēra.⁸ He and his descendants were the official scribes of the Ratanpur royal family.⁹ They have written their records on copper-plates and stone-slabs in beautiful letters.

Ratnadēva II seems to have succeeded his father in *circa* 1120 A.C., for, the earliest inscription of his reign is dated K. 878 (1127 A.C.). He followed his father's policy and

¹ No. 100, l. 6. The gold coins of Jājalladēva I and his successors have been found in the Sonpur State. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 240.

³ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 106 ff.

⁴ It symbolises his victory over the contemporary Ganga king, 'the lord of elephants'.

⁵ Jājalladēva himself did not erect the temple of Pālī, as was previously supposed. See below, p. 418.

⁶ See No. 84, v. 8.

⁷ No. 90, v. 23.

⁸ No. 77, v. 34 and No. 83, v. 35.

⁹ See below, p. 458, n. 3.

struck gold and copper coins in his own name, indicating his independence. The Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī could brook this impertinence no longer. He sent a large and powerful army against him, but Ratnadēva routed it completely. In the Ratanpur inscription dated V 1207 (1149-50 A C), he is described as the fierce submarine fire to the matchless ocean of the arrayed and hard-to-be-subdued hosts of the Chēdi king. The Chēdi king, though not named in the record, was plainly Gayākarna, who ruled from *circa* 1123 A C to 1153 A C, and was thus a contemporary of Ratnadēva II.

Another memorable event of Ratnadēva's reign which, though not referred to in his own inscriptions, is often mentioned in the records of his successors and their feudatories is the invasion of his country by Chōdaganga¹. The latter was evidently the mighty Ganga king Anantavarman-Chōdaganga, who had a long reign of 70 years (1078-1147 A C). This aggressive Ganga king reinstated the deposed king of Utkala and raided the northern country up to the bank of the Gangā. He is said to have laid under tribute all countries between the Gangā and the Gōdāvarī². In the course of his whirlwind campaign he seems to have attacked the Kalachuri kingdom in Kōsala. The Pendrābandh plates mention Gōkarna as his ally in this campaign³. The latter was a feudatory of Chōdaganga as stated in his inscription at Gudīwādā in the Bimblipatam *tāluka* of the Vishakhapatam District⁴. Ratnadēva inflicted a crushing defeat on the invaders and obtained a large booty of gold, horses and elephants⁵. A Ratanpur stone inscription describes Ratnadēva II as 'Rāhu in seizing and swallowing the large lunar orb of the mighty warriors of Chōdaganga'⁶. The Mallār inscription dated K 919 speaks of Ratnadēva as 'a fierce cloud which extinguished the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the valour of the king Chōdaganga'⁷. The battle was a very fierce one and was fought in the Talahārī-maṇḍala, not very far from Shēornārāyan.⁸ Jagapāla, a descendant of the aforementioned Sāhilla, distinguished himself in it by his bravery and became known as Jagatsimha (the Lion of the World)⁹. Vallabharāja, another feudatory of Ratnadēva, also seems to have fought in it.¹⁰ Anantavarman-Chōdaganga, 'the lord of elephants', suffered an ignominious defeat and had to return home discomfited. Somehow this glorious achievement of Ratnadēva is not mentioned in any of his copper-plate grants, but it may have occurred in *circa* 1130 A C.

This victory enhanced the power and prestige of Ratnadēva II and encouraged him to undertake distant campaigns. One of them, directed against the king of Gauda, is mentioned in several inscriptions of Vallabharāja. As stated before, this Vallabharāja was a feudatory of the Kalachuris. He belonged to the Vaiśya caste. His forefathers had loyally served the royal family as feudatories or ministers. Vallabharāja was treated by Lāchchhalladēvī, the mother of Ratnadēva II, as her adopted son. He was a contemporary of both Ratnadēva II and his son and successor Prithvidēva II. The earliest record in which the campaign in Gauda is mentioned belongs to the reign of Ratnadēva II, which

¹ No. 93, v. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp 150 ff.

³ No. 101, v. 9.

⁴ My attention to this record was drawn by Mr. N. L. Rao.

⁵ Note यश्चोडगङ्गनृपति कलिङ्गदेशाधिप गजाधीशम् ।

समिति जटेश्वरजन[क] कत(न)काश्वगजोज्जितञ्चक्रे ॥ No 100, v. 8.

⁶ No 93, v. 5.

⁷ No 97, v 4.

⁸ Note यश्चोडगङ्गमिभनाथमिहैव जिग्ये । No. 98, v. 7.

⁹ No. 88, v. 14.

¹⁰ No. 84, v. 18.

shows that it was fought towards the end of it, in *circa* 1132. Vallabharāja fought very valiantly in the presence of his lord and captured a large number of elephants in the enemy's city. The king of Gauda defeated by Ratnadēva is not named. He was probably one of the weak successors of Rāmapāla, perhaps Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty, who has been referred to the period *circa* 1130-1150 A C.¹ Another minister who won laurels in this war against the Gauda king was Purushōttama, whom Ratnadēva II made his *Sarvādhikārin*. He is said to have threatened the ruler of Dandabhukti and punished Dandapura, which may have been its capital. He also conquered Khijjīga and killed Haravōhu, who was probably its ruler.² Khijjīga is probably identical with the homonymous capital of the Bhañja kings, but Haravōhu is not known from any other source.

Ratnadēva was a patron of religion and learning. He made some gifts to pious and learned Brāhmanas. His court attracted learned men from far off lands.³ One of his gifts, recorded in the Sarkho plates, is worthy of note, for, it was made to an astronomer for accurate prediction of an eclipse.⁴ There was a considerable building activity during this reign. Vallabharāja, the aforementioned feudatory of the Vaiśya lineage, excavated a large tank with a palace of pleasure in the centre of it, and erected a temple of Rēvanta at Vikarnapura. He built another temple of Śiva at the same place and gave half the religious merit accruing from it to his liege lord Ratnadēva II.⁵ The latter seems to have endowed the temple with some land-grant.

The aforementioned Purushōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva II, made several benefactions, which are recorded in his stone inscription dated K. 900. He raised several groves, elected *mathas* (monasteries) and *mandapas* (temples), and excavated a deep tank at Ratnapura. He also built a five-shrined temple of Śiva at Kōni, about 10 miles south by east of Bilaspur.⁶

Ratnadēva had two sons. The elder of them, Prithvidēva II, succeeded him, while the younger Jayasinha is known only from the fragmentary Raipur Museum inscription of Vallabharāja. Ratnadēva was ruling at least till K. 885 (1134 A C). The earliest date of Prithvidēva's reign is K. 890 (1138 A C).⁷ Ratnadēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in *circa* 1135 A C.

During the early part of his reign, Prithvidēva II subjugated the petty princes ruling on the borders of his kingdom and annexed their territories. In the Rājim inscription, his general Jagapāla is said to have won several victories. He took the strong forts of Saraharāgadha (modern Sarangah) and Machakā-Sihavā, south of Dhamtari in the Raipur District. Further, he conquered the countries of Bhramaravadra, Kāntāra, Kusumabhōga, Kāndā-dōngara and Kākayara.⁸ Bhramaravadra may be identical with Bhramarakōtya

¹ D H N I, Vol. I, p. 385. This invasion is probably referred to in the *Rāmcharita*, Canto IV, v. 133. This verse mentions that Madanapāla had driven back to the Kālindī (which flowed near the capital of Madanapāla) 'the vanguard of the forces that had destroyed a large number of soldiers on his side'. *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, p. 170. The invader who is not named in the *kavya* was probably Ratnadēva II.

² No. 90, v. 26.

³ For instance, Gangādhara, a learned Brāhmana, migrated to Tummāna from Madhyadēśa and received the village of Kōsambī from Ratnadēva II. No. 97, v. 13.

⁴ No. 83, v. 19.

⁵ No. 85, v. 23.

⁶ No. 90, vv. 32-33.

⁷ No. 86, l. 26. Ratnadēva II did not continue to reign till 1144 A C. as A. Ghosh supposes from the mention of Jatēśvara's name in v. 8 of the Kharod inscription B V, p. 270. Jatēśvara is mentioned there in connection with the description of Chōdaganga.

⁸ No. 88, vv. 15-17.

mandala in the Bastar District, Kākayara is modern Kānkēr in the same district. The extension of Kalachuri rule in this part is indicated by the use of the Kalachuri era in later records from Kānkēi.¹ The other places were probably situated in the Raipur District. These conquests seem to have brought a large part of modern Chhattisgarh under the direct rule of Prithvīdēva II.

After reducing his recalcitrant feudatories and making his home front secure, Prithvīdēva planned to take revenge on his Ganga adversary for having invaded the Kalachuri kingdom during the reign of his father. He first marched against Chakrakūta (which comprised the central part of the Bastar District) and devastated it. This is said to have so terrified the Ganga ruler of the adjoining country, probably Anantavarman-Chōḍa-ganga, that he realised that the only way to save his life was to cross the ocean.² Soon thereafter, Anantavarman died and was succeeded by his son Jatēśvara *alias* Madhukāmār-nava. Prithvīdēva then raided the Ganga territory, defeated Jatēśvara and took him captive. If the account in the Kharōḍ inscription³ could be believed, the Ganga king had to pass some days in the Kalachuri prison before he was released. Ganga records are naturally silent about this defeat of Jatēśvara, but the account is corroborated by another contemporary Kalachuri record. The Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 915 (1163-64 A C), now in a sadly mutilated condition, describes the fierce battle in which Brahmadēva, the ruler of the Talahāri *mandala* and a feudatory of Prithvīdēva II, fought valiantly with Jatēśvara. Verse 17 of the inscription says that Brahmadēva became famous by imprisoning a mighty foe.⁴ The reference is plainly to the capture of the Ganga king. The engagement seems to have occurred in *circa* 1150 A C, soon after the accession of Jatēśvara. After this no Ganga king dared invade the Kalachuri territory.

Like his father and grandfather, Prithvīdēva II also struck gold and copper coins in his name. Some of his tiny silver coins are also known. He gave a liberal patronage to men of learning. As many as seven inscriptions of his reign record his grants of land to Brāhmanas.⁵ A Ratanpur stone inscription of his time states that his rule followed the path of good policy and caused the people joy unattended by contact with troubles.⁶ Several religious and charitable works were constructed in his reign. The aforementioned Vaiśya feudatory, Vallabharāja, excavated a lake to the east of Ratanpur, which still exists under the name of Khārung. He dug two other tanks, one of which he named after his earlier lord Ratnadēva II, and constructed a temple of Śiva.⁷ Another feudatory Brahmadēva, who has been mentioned above in another connection, erected several temples and excavated tanks at different places in the kingdom. He also raised a mango-grove and maintained a charitable feeding house at Kumarākōṭa.⁸ Prithvīdēva's military commander Jagapāla repaired the temple of Rāmachandra at Rājūm and endowed it with the gift of a village.⁹ He also founded the city of Jagapālapura. Even private individuals constructed temples. The Kāyastha Dēvagana, for instance, erected a temple of Śiva at Sāmbā as recorded in his Ratanpur inscription.

Brahmadēva was Prithvīdēva's trusted minister. He was previously ruling over the

¹ See the dates of No. 116 and 117.

² No. 89, v. 11.

³ No. 100, v. 9. This statement in the inscription has not been noticed before.

⁴ No. 96, v. 17.

⁵ Nos. 86, 89-92, 94 and 123.

⁶ No. 93, v. 7.

⁷ No. 95, ll. 24. ff.

⁸ No. 96, vv. 23 ff.

⁹ No. 88, ll. 14 ff.

Talahāri *mandala*. Prithvīdēva II specially invited him to his capital, and entrusting the affairs of the state to him, obtained great peace of mind. The last known date of Prithvīdēva's reign is K. 915 (1163-64 A.C.). The next known date K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.) belongs to the reign of his son and successor Jājalladēva II. Prithvīdēva II may, therefore, have closed his reign in 1165 A.C.

Soon after his accession, Jājalladēva II came into conflict with Jayasimha, the Kalachuri Emperor of Tripurī. The cause of this conflict is not known. Perhaps Jayasimha thought that it would be easy to subdue the new king before he consolidated his power and that he would thus be able to re-establish the supremacy of his house in Chhattisgarh. He personally led the expedition. Jājalladēva was determined to vindicate his right to independence. He was ably assisted by his feudatories and especially by the members of the collateral branch established at Sōnthiva. A fierce battle was fought. Ulhanadēva, a scion of the royal family, fought bravely and decimated Chēdi forces. Seeing this, Jayasimha, the Chēdi king, himself advanced to the forefront, being highly enraged like a serpent trodden under foot¹. In the fight that ensued, Ulhanadēva lost his life, but the inscription does not state whether Jayasimha won a victory. Records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī are wholly silent about this campaign. Neither Jājalladēva nor his successors give any indication of their subordinate rank in their subsequent records. So the battle may not have ended unfavourably for Jājalladēva II. He treated Āmanadēva, the orphan son of Ulhanadēva, with special affection, as his father had died on the battlefield, fighting bravely for his lord, and as his mother had immolated herself as *Sati*.

Some time after this, Jājalladēva was caught by an alligator of the variety locally known as Thirū². He was fortunately able to extricate himself, and by way of thanksgiving gave the village Bundērā to two Brāhmaṇas, the astrologer Rāghava and the family-priest Nāmadēva, in the year K. 919 (1167 A.C.).

As in previous reigns, there was a considerable building activity during the time of Jājalladēva II. Sōmarāja, the son of Gangādhara who had immigrated from Madhyadēśa, built a temple of Śiva at Mallāla. Several members of the collateral branch of the Kalachuri family, established at Sōnthiva, constructed religious and charitable works in their territory. At Pathariā, Rājadēva, the grandson of Sarvadēva, built a temple of Śiva, raised a mango-grove and excavated a tank. His son Ulhanadēva, who, as stated above, died later fighting with the Emperor Jayasimha of Tripurī, built the temple of Chandrachūda. This temple still exists at Shēorinārāyan. Ulhanadēva's son Āmanadēva II donated the village Chīñchēli to provide materials for the worship of the god Chandrachūda installed by his father.

All the three inscriptions of Jājalla's reign are dated K. 919 (1167-68 A.C.)³. It appears that there was some trouble towards the close of his reign. The Kharod inscription states that when Jājalladēva attained, through accursed fate, union with Brahman (*i.e.*, died), the world became enveloped in darkness on all sides, the people being distressed through the loss of their discernment on account of the Kali Age. The cause of the trouble is not known. Perhaps the country was invaded by some enemy, in consequence of which there were confusion and disorder throughout the land. In this time of trouble Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalla II, came hastily from the Eastern country and established peace, order and good government in the kingdom. As the Kharod inscription says, under Jagaddēva's rule thieves disappeared, obstacles vanished, dangers departed and enemies took shelter in the corners of mountain caves.⁴

¹ No. 98, vv. 27 ff.

² For other interpretations due to misreading of v. 19 of No. 99, see below, p. 529 and n. 2.

³ Nos. 97-99.

⁴ No. 100, v. 14.

It has been suggested that Jagaddēva had been superseded by his younger brother Jājalla II and was ruling over some eastern districts during the latter's life time. But in that case the Kharōd inscription of his son Ratnadēva III's reign would not have bestowed high praise on the usurper.¹ The wording of the verses 13 and 14 of that inscription rather suggests that Jagaddēva had voluntarily relinquished his claim to the throne in order to fight with the Eastern Gangas and that he had to return home hastily when the country was rent by disorder as a result of some foreign invasion.

Jagaddēva seems to have had a short reign of about 10 years (K. 920-930 or 1168-1178 A.C.). He had a queen named Sōmalladēvī, who bore him a son named Ratnadēva III.

Ratnadēva III came to the throne about 1178 A.C. The Kharōd stone inscription dated K. 933 (1181-82 A.C.), which is the only record of his reign, states that he was distinguished for a handsome form, learning and charity. During his reign too there was some trouble. As the Kharōd inscription states, the treasure was exhausted, the elephant force became weak, the people were scattered and the country was infested by a famine and reduced to a pitiable state. In this emergency Ratnadēva made the learned Brāhmana Gangādhara his Prime Minister. The latter, by his policy, vanquished the enemies of his lord everywhere, and freed the kingdom from all troublesome persons.² It would appear, therefore, that the trouble had been caused by some unnamed enemy.

Gangādhara, the aforementioned minister of Ratnadēva III, erected religious and charitable works at several places in the kingdom. He repaired the *mandapa* of the temple of Lakshmanēśvara at Kharōd. This temple had been erected by the Sōmavamśī king Īśānadēva more than six centuries before.³ Its *mandapa* may have fallen into disrepair owing to the passage of time. Gangādhara constructed temples at several other places in honour of Vishnu, Śiva, Ēkavīrā, Duigā and Ganapati. Some of them, such as the temple of Ēkavīrā at Ratnapura, are still standing. He excavated tanks, raised a garden, and established a charitable feeding house at Nārāyanapura.⁴

Ratnadēva III was succeeded by his son Pratāpamalla in *circa* K. 950 (1198-99 A.C.). He is known from his two land-grants dated K. 965 and K. 969, and some copper coins which have the king's name on the obverse and the figure of a lion and a dagger on the reverse. From the description in the Pendrābandh plates that though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength, it seems that he came to the throne while quite young. In other respects, the description of him given by the plates is quite conventional.

We have no records of the successors of Pratāpamalla until we come to the time of Vāharēndra towards the close of the fifteenth century A.C. In the records of other dynasties, there are occasional references to the defeats inflicted on the kings of Kōsala, but they rarely mention the names of the reigning kings. Hēmādri's *Vratākhaṇḍa* states in its *Rājaprasasti* that the Yādava king Simhana took away troops of rutting elephants belonging to the king Jājalla.⁵ The latter was probably a king of Ratanpur. As he was a contemporary of Simhana (*circa* 1210-1247 A.C.), he seems to have succeeded Pratāpamalla. He suffered another defeat at the hands of Vishṇu, the minister of the Gaṅga king Ananga-

¹ See No. 100, v. 11. It must, however, be noted that the Pendrābandh plates of Ratnadēva III's son Pratāpamalla omit Jājalladēva II's name in the genealogical portion; but that may be because he was a collateral.

² No. 100, v. 27.

³ Īśānadēva was the uncle of Tīvaradēva and flourished probably towards the close of the sixth cen. A.C. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 17 ff and Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

⁴ No. 101, vv. 30 ff.

⁵ See the extract from the *Rājaprasasti* I in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *E. H. D.*, p. 195. Recently some coins of Simhana have been found in the Raigarh District. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 148 ff.

bhīma III.¹ The Purshōttampurī plates of the Yādava Rāmchandra intimate a victory of Simhana's grandson Krishna over the contemporary king of Kōsala. The latter is not named, but he may have been a successor of the aforementioned Jajalla.

The next notice of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur that we get is from the stone inscriptions of the king Vāhara. The Kosgain inscription² of this king mentions the following pedigree.

Singhana
|
Danghīra
|
Madanabrahman
|
Rāmachandra
|
Ratnasēna (m. Guṇḍāyī)
|
Vāhara

The inscription mentions no political events of the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. For Vāhara, we have two dates, *viz.*, V. 1552 (1494-95 A.C.), furnished by the Ratanpur inscription,³ and V. 1570 (1513 A.C.), occurring in the Kosgain inscription.⁴ He may, therefore, have reigned from *circa* 1480 A.C. to 1515 A.C. Taking twenty-five years as the average duration of a reign, the accession of Singhana, who flourished five generations before, may be dated in *circa* 1355 A.C. This Singhana is probably identical with Singha or Simhana mentioned in the Raipur⁵ and Khalārī⁶ stone inscriptions, who also seems to have reigned in the same period; for, his grandson Brahmadēva was ruling at Raipur and Khalārī in V. 1458 (1402 A.C.) and V. 1471⁷ (1415 A.C.). These inscriptions give the following pedigree—

Lakshmīdēva
|
Simhana
|
Rāmchandra
|
Brahmadēva (V. 1458 and 1471).

It seems plain, therefore, that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century A.C., the Ratanpur family of the Kalachuris split into two branches. The elder branch continued to rule at Ratanpur, while the younger one founded a separate principality with Raipur⁸ as its capital. Combining the two pedigrees, we get the following genealogy⁹—

¹ See the Chātēśvara inscription. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII (1898), pp. 317-27.

² No. 105, ll. 6-7.

³ No. 103, l. 11.

⁴ No. 106, l. 14.

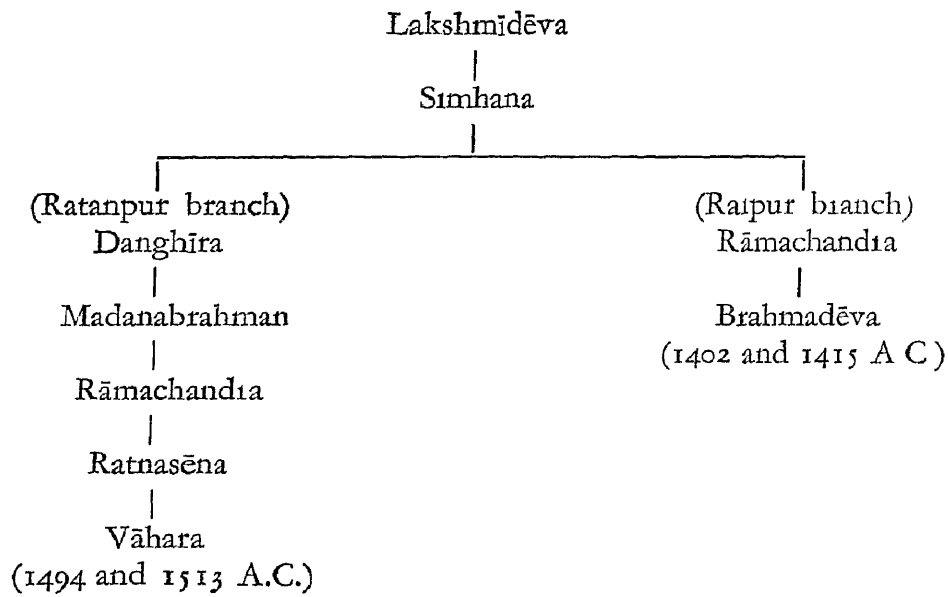
⁵ No. 107, l. 13.

⁶ No. 108, l. 5.

⁷ The inscription contains in l. 15 the date V. 1470, but it is a mistake for V. 1471. See below, p. 576.

⁸ Rāyapura (the royal city) may have been founded by Rāmachandra. In the time of his son Brahmadēva, Khalvātukā (modern Khalārī) seems to have become a second capital of the royal family. See No. 108, l. 8.

⁹ According to local tradition, Kēśava was the founder of the Raipur line and flourished in 1420 A.C. *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 51.



As stated before, the inscriptions give no historical information about the reign of Vāhara's predecessors. Vāhara's reign, however, was marked by skirmishes with the Pathans. The Kosgain inscriptions show that he had shifted his capital from Ratanpur to the stronghold of Kōsanga (modern Kosgain) probably owing to the forays of the Pathan adventurers.¹ From there he used to raid Pathan outposts. The Kosgain inscription states that when he attacked the Pathans, they, leaving their stations, used to flee to the Sōṇa Mādhava, Vāhara's brave minister, is credited with a victory over the Pathans, whom he despoiled of gold and other metals, elephants, horses, cows and buffaloes. The Muslim chroniclers do not mention any incursions of the Afghans, who are evidently meant by the Pathans, into Chhattisgarh, which, being land-locked, must have been comparatively secure from their depredations. From the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* of Abdulla, we learn that Sikandar Lodi invaded the territory of the Rājā of Bhata,² devastated the country and stormed the fort of Bāndhu (Bāndhōgarh in the Rewah State), 'the strongest castle of the district', which he, however, failed to reduce. Bāndhōgarh is about 125 miles north by west of Kosgain. Sikandar's invasion seems to have occurred about 1496 A.C., two years after the date of the Ratanpur inscription of Vāhara's reign. During this expedition or some time later, some Afghan adventurers from Jaunpur may have attempted to raid the Kalachuri territory, but they were turned back by Vāhara.

We have no inscriptions of the successors of Vāhara. Local tradition mentions twelve successors³ of Bāhar Sahāi (evidently identical with Vāharēndra of the inscriptions) who ruled at Ratanpur until the country was conquered by Bhāskar Pant, the Brāhmana General of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1740 A.C. The reigns of these princes were uneventful and inglorious. One of them Kalyān Sahāi, the successor of Bāhar Sahāi, is said to

¹ Verse 13 of No. 105 states that Vāhara had stored various kinds of food-grains, wealth, fuel and fodder in the fortress evidently to make it sufficiently strong to stand a siege by the enemy.

² *E. D. H. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 462. According to General Briggs, he was Śālīvāhan, the Rājā of Pannā. *Loc. cit.*, n. 2. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 239, states that he was the Rājā of Phaphamau.

³ In his *A. S. I. R.* Vol. XVII, pp. 77 ff., Cunningham gives a list of these kings with approximate dates. He places Bāhar Sahāi in 1519 A.C., which is not wide of the mark. But the dynastic lists are, on the whole, unreliable, for, according to them, the five immediate ancestors of Bāhar Sahāi were Kamala Dēva, Śankara Sahāi, Mahana Sahāi, Dādu Sahāi and Purushōttama Sahāi, but these names do not agree with those given by Vāhara's Kosgain inscription (No. 105).

have proceeded to Delhi to pay homage to the great Akbar.¹ He was absent for about eight years and returned to Ratanpur, being invested by the Emperor with the full rights of Rājā and confirmed in the possession of his territory. The Muslim chronicles, however, do not mention this event.

The Raipur branch has left two inscriptions² dated 1402 and 1415 A.C., both of which belong to the reign of Brahmadēva. The only historical event recorded in them is the defeat which Rāmadēva (or Rāmachandīa), the father of Brahmadēva, inflicted on Bhōningadēva, who belonged to the Phanivamśa or Nāga dynasty.³ Two Nāga families were ruling in Chhattisgarh during this period, one in the former Kawardhā State and the other in the former Bastar State. The last dated record of the Bastar family is of Haischandra, who was ruling in 1324 A.C.⁴ The Kawardhā family also continued to rule till the fourteenth century, as its last dated inscription is of 1349 A.C.⁵ In the absence of subsequent records, it is difficult to say to which family Bhōningadēva, defeated by Rāmachandra, belonged. Perhaps he was ruling over the former Bastar State; for, the Nāgavamśī chiefs of the Kawardhā state are known to have been feudatories of the Kalachuris, whose era they used in earlier times. Some of them were also matrimonially connected with the latter.⁶

The conditions in Chhattisgarh at the time of its annexation by the Marathas are very well described in the following extract⁷—"The Haihayas merely stood at the head of a number of petty Rajās and official chiefs, each of whom was, to a large extent, independent, and among whom the whole country was divided. It was an essentially weak system, adapted only to an earlier stage of social development, and it would have fallen long ago, had any well organised foreign invasion ever been attempted. When the Marathas came, they marched through the whole country without any opposition, and demanded and obtained the allegiance of all the surrounding states." Thus ended the rule of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh after lasting for more than seven centuries from *circa* 1000 A.C. to 1740 A.C.

ADMINISTRATION

The records edited here belong to two main periods—the earlier one extending from about 250 A.C. to about 750 A.C., and the later from about 850 A.C. to about 1500 A.C. The earlier inscriptions mainly come from Western India comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Northern Maharashtra, and the later ones from Northern India and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The administrative system, religion, and social and economic life in these two periods naturally show wide differences.

In the earlier period, the largest administrative unit was the *dēśa*, corresponding to the province of modern times. The kingdom of the Traikūtaka Vyāghrasēna, for instance, comprised several *dēśas* or provinces, only one of which, *viz.*, Aparānta (North Konkan),

¹ According to Cunningham, he went to Delhi in consequence of a dispute with the Rājā of Mandlā and returned in Samvat 1628 or 1571 A.C.

² Nos. 107 and 108. A copper-plate inscription of Amarasimhadēva, who is said to have belonged to the Kalachuri family, was discovered at Ārang. But it gives no pedigree, contains no date and has no historical importance.

³ No. 108, l. 6.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 39 ff.

⁵ *I. C. P. B.*, (second ed.), p. 176.

⁶ The Māndava Mahāl inscription from the former Kawardhā State states that Rāmachandra of the Phanivamśa married Ambikādēvī of the Haihaya lineage. *Ibid.* p. 174.

⁷ *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 48.

finds a specific mention in his grant¹ The names of the other *dēśas* comprised in the Trākṣṭāṭa kingdom, viz, Mahārāshtra, Rishika (Khandesh) and Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) do not occur in the records of the Trākṣṭakas The next lower administrative unit was the *viśhaya* corresponding to the modern district. This term was current over a very wide area, viz, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. Gujarat was, for instance, divided into a number of *viśhayas* such as the Saṅgamakhēṭaka,² Antarnarmadā,³ Nāndīpura,⁴ Antarmandalī,⁵ Akrūrēśvara,⁶ Bāhīrikā,⁷ Kārmanēya,⁸ Trēyaṇṇa⁹ and Kāśākula¹⁰ Some of the *viśhayas* seem to have changed their names in course of time Thus, when Broach attained a greater importance as the capital of the Gurjaras, the name of the Antarnarmadā *viśhaya* was changed to the Bharukachchha *viśhaya*¹¹ From Konkan we have the *viśhayas* Trūkūta, Pallūdhamba, Āmrarājī, Marīkā, Mahāgīrīhāra¹² etc North Maharashtra had such *viśhayas* as Nāsīkya¹³ and Bhōgavardhana¹⁴ Sometimes *viśhaya* was used as a synonym for *dēśa*. The Kanhēri plate, for instance, mentions the Sindhu *viśhaya* in the sense of the province of Sindh.¹⁵ Similarly, the Purī-Konkana *viśhaya*, mentioned in the Anjanēri plates,¹⁶ signified the province of Konkan. Our records do not state the extent of these *viśhayas* except in the case of Purī-Konkana, which is said to have comprised 14000 villages Purī-Konkana, however, was a *dēśa* rather than a *viśhaya*. Other *viśhayas* must have been much smaller in size This is also indicated by the number of *viśhayas* into which Gujarat and North Konkan were divided

A *viśhaya* was subdivided into smaller units which were generally called *ābhāras* in Central India¹⁷ and Gujarat, and *bhōgas* in Maharashtra Thus we find that the Nagēndra *ābhāra* comprised the territory round modern Ēran,¹⁸ Several more *ābhāras* are mentioned in the records from Gujarat, e g, Iksharakī¹⁹, Lōhīkaksha²⁰, Trēyaṇṇa²¹, Kanhavala²² and Kārmanēya²³ In the south the Nāsīkya *viśhaya* of Maharashtra probably comprised the Vatanagara

¹ No 9, l 2

² No 19, l 9; No 20, l 9

³ No 11, l 4

⁴ No 22, l 17.

⁵ No. 8, ll 2-3

⁶ No 16, l 33, No 17, l 33

⁷ No 27, l 16

⁸ No 29, l 21, No 30, l 38

⁹ No 26, l 20

¹⁰ No 34, l 9

¹¹ No 23, l 11

¹² Nr 31, l 27

¹³ No 28, l 14

¹⁴ No 12, l 18.

¹⁵ No 10, l 2

¹⁶ No 31, l 23

¹⁷ That an *ābhāra* was a sub-division of a *viśhaya* is evident from the explicit statement in the Navsāri plates of Sryāśraya-Śilāditya (No 27, l 16) that the Kanhavala *ābhāra* was included in the Bāhīrikā *viśhaya* Contrast, however, the statement *Trēyaṇṇ-ābhār-āntarggata-viśhayē* in line 20 of No. 26, which seems to convey just the opposite Perhaps the intended statement there was *Trēyaṇṇ-ābhāra-viśhay-āntarggata-*. Cf. No 29, l 21 and No 30, l 38

¹⁸ No. 119, l. 4

¹⁹ No 9, l 8

²⁰ No 24, l 35

²¹ No 26, l 20

²² No 27, l 16

²³ No 29, l 21 and No 30, l 38

*bhōga*¹; for, Vatanagara, modern Vadner, is not far from Nasik. The terms *āhāra* and *bhōga* are sometimes noticed outside the aforementioned limits also. We find, for instance, that Gōrajā *bhōga* was a subdivision of the Bharukachchha *vishaya* in Gujarat,² while Mahāgiri-hāra in Konkan was probably so called because Mahāgiri was the headquarters of that *āhāra*.³ Some *āhāras* had the same name as the *vishayas* in which they were included, and so the two technical terms are often found combined; see, e.g., Kārmanēy-āhāra-vishaya⁴ and Tiēyann-āhāra-vishaya.⁵ Some sub-divisions of *vishayas* may have been known as *rāshtras*. Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *mabattaras* of *rāshtras* among persons to whom the royal order about a grant was to be communicated.⁶ Some *rāshtras* may have been large enough to be known as *vishayas*. Gōpa-rāshtra, for instance, is mentioned as one of the *vishayas* of Purī-Kōnkana.⁷ An *āhāra* contained smaller territorial units called *pathakas*. Very few *pathakas* have, however, found a mention in our records. Kōrillā *pathaka*⁸ and Lohikaksha *pathaka*⁹ lay in Gujarat, while Nagarikā *pathaka*¹⁰ was in Khandesh. Bāhrikā,¹¹ which is mentioned in the Ēran inscription as a subdivision of Nagēndra *āhāra*, was probably a *pathaka*. *Bhōgas* and *pathakas* contained several towns¹² (*nagaras* or *puras*) and villages (*grāmas*). Capital cities were called *rājadhānī* and were distinguished by prefixing *śrī* or *viśaya* to their names.¹³ Other towns were called *nagaras*, *puras* or *adhyakṣthānas*.¹⁴ The village was, of course, the smallest territorial unit. The names of villages generally ended in *khetā*, *padra*, *padraka* or *pallī*, as, for example, Pippalakhēta,¹⁵ Śirīshapadraka¹⁶ and Suvarnārapallī.¹⁷ Villages granted to Brāhmanas were known as *agrahāras*, see Śraddhik-āgrahāra¹⁸ mentioned in the Navasāri plates. Some of the larger villages had hamlets attached to them, see, e.g., Śrīpamākā¹⁹ included in Taṇḍulapadraka, and the three *pallikās*²⁰ attached to Samagripattana.

In the later period some of these technical terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others. *Dēśa* continued to signify the largest territorial unit, viz., a country or a province.²¹ *Vishaya*, which in the earlier period was the common term denoting a district, is rarely noticed in this period.²² Its place was taken by *mandala* in the south and *patialā*

¹ No. 14, l. 19. Vatanagara was also the name of a *vishaya* which was included in the Nāsika *dēśa*. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

² No. 15, l. 19.

³ No. 31, l. 27.

⁴ No. 29, l. 21, No. 30, l. 38.

⁵ No. 26, l. 20.

⁶ No. 12, l. 17.

⁷ No. 31, l. 26.

⁸ No. 21, l. 22. This is probably identical with Kōrēlla-chaturāṣṭi mentioned in No. 121, l. 16.

⁹ No. 24, l. 35.

¹⁰ No. 2, l. 3.

¹¹ No. 119, l. 4.

¹² Towns which had predominantly a merchant population were called *vanin nagaras*.

¹³ Cf. *Vijay-Anuruddhapurā* in No. 9, l. 1.

¹⁴ No. 119, l. 4.

¹⁵ No. 25, l. 20.

¹⁶ No. 16, l. 33 and No. 17, l. 33.

¹⁷ No. 19, l. 10.

¹⁸ No. 21, l. 19.

¹⁹ No. 13, l. 8.

²⁰ No. 32, l. 30.

²¹ See Vadahara *dēśa* mentioned in No. 88, l. 1.

²² Some instances of *vishaya* are Gunakala *vishaya* mentioned in the Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 36) and Anarghavallī *vishaya* in the Shēorinārāyan plates (No. 82, l. 19). In some stray records other terms like *bhūmi* and *uddēśa* are noticed, see No. 48, l. 37 and No. 56, ll. 27-28. These did not, however, become common.

in the north. The records from Chhattisgarh mention several *mandalas* such as Kōmō-maṇḍala¹, Aparā-maṇḍala,² Madhya-maṇḍala,³ Sāmanta-maṇḍala,⁴ Anarghavallī-maṇḍala⁵ (called also Anargha-maṇḍala), Talahārī-maṇḍala⁶ etc. Sometimes *maṇḍala* was used in the sense of *dēśa*. Notice Mālava-maṇḍala⁷ in the sense of Mālava-dēśa in the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Narasimha, and Chēdi-maṇḍala in the Ratanpur stone inscription of Piṭhivī-dēva II.⁸ A more common term denoting a district was *pattalā*, which was current over a wide country. We have, for instance, Kauśāmba-pattalā⁹ from Uttar Pradesh, Devagrāma-pattalā,¹⁰ Khandagahā-pattalā,¹¹ Kūyisambapālisa-pattalā,¹² Dhanavāhi-pattalā¹³ and Rēvā-pattalā¹⁴ from Vindhya Pradesh, and Sambalā-pattalā¹⁵, Nava-pattalā¹⁶ and Jāulī-pattalā¹⁷ from the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. Subdivisions of a *pattalā* are rarely mentioned. In the records edited here, we have only two instances of Māladvādaśaka¹⁸ and Kōrēlla-chaturāṣṭi,¹⁹ which were evidently groups of villages of which Mālā and Kōrēlla were the principal ones. A *pattalā* may, therefore, have been divided into smaller territorial units of 10, 12, 40 or 100 villages, but they rarely find a mention in the inscriptions of this period. Names of towns ended in *nagara* or *pura* and those of villages in *grāma* or *pātaka*. See, e.g., Lavananagara, Duilabhapura,²⁰ Hastigrāma, Nikhatigrāma, Thiulapātaka and Vanīā-pātaka.²¹ Some towns were named after the kings or queens who settled them. See, e.g., Ratnapura founded by Ratnadēva I, Jājallapura by Jājalladēva I and Gōsalapura by Gōsala-dēvī. All these are still known by their ancient names which, in some cases, are slightly changed.

The form of government was monarchical throughout the long period represented by the records edited here. At the head of the administrative machinery was the king whose authority was supreme. He appointed viceroys, governors, ministers, and important civil and military officers, and transferred them from one province to another according as he considered it desirable. The Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya I, for instance, appointed his younger brother Jayasimha to govern Gujarat and the Nasik District²² and placed the Harīśchandrīya prince Svāmichandra in charge of the whole Purī-Konkana.²³ The king usually

¹ No 77, l 13

² No 76, l 29

³ No 91, l 25

⁴ No 92, l 22

⁵ No 83, l 25

⁶ No 96, l 6

⁷ No 60, l 18

⁸ No 93, l 8

⁹ No 50, l 37

¹⁰ No 56, l 18

¹¹ No 65, l 11

¹² No 68, l 7

¹³ No 72, l 10.

¹⁴ No 70, l 13

¹⁵ Below, p 649

¹⁶ No 64, l 26

¹⁷ No 60, l 24

¹⁸ No 42, l 31

¹⁹ No 121, l 16

²⁰ No 45, l 32

²¹ No 74, l 37

²² No 27, l 9.

²³ No. 31, l 6.

conferred titles and other distinctions such as *pañcamahāśabda* for meritorious service.¹ He was also the Commander-in-chief of the army and himself led important campaigns. Some early grants were issued from the victorious camps of kings evidently in the course of military campaigns. The king was also the Supreme Judge, and, according to the Smritis, it was one of his principal duties to dispense justice either personally or through judges appointed for the purpose. His consent was necessary for the transfer of any immovable property in the State. The three early inscriptions from Khandesh,² for instance, record the royal assent to certain gifts of land made by private individuals.

The king's authority was thus, in theory, unfettered, but in practice there were several checks. The education of the princes was so designed as to make them self-controlled as well as learned and brave. The high ideals of self-restraint, charity, impartiality, liberal patronage to religion and learning, and respect to elders and learned people were constantly kept before their eyes and inculcated upon their minds. The princes who were brought up in such traditions did not generally belie the expectations of their educators. The earlier records of the Trailkūtakas, the Kalachuris and the Gujjaras give a glowing description of the *ābhigāṃika-guṇas* (attractive qualities) and other merits of the reigning kings and their ancestors. The Suiat plates state, for instance, that the Trailkūta king Vyāghrasēna shared his wealth with learned people, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons, and that his enviable fortune was allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth.³ The Kalachuri records state that the illustrious king Kīṣṇaiāja wielded his weapon for the protection of the distressed, fought to humble the arrogance of his enemies, acquired learning to attain humility, and wealth to spend it in charity, made gifts to acquire religious merit and accumulated religious merit to attain salvation.⁴ The Gurjara grants say that Dadda III was an adept in performing his duty, as he had acquired discrimination by studying the sacred treatise of the great sage Manu.⁵ Even foreigners were impressed by the high ideals preached by the Hindu *Dharmaśāstras* and *Arthaśāstras*. The Śaka king Śrīdharaśman is described in both the records of his reign as *dharmaviṣayin*, i.e., a righteous conqueror.⁶ This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandizement. There may be some exaggeration in the description of the princes given by their panegyrists, but it undoubtedly indicates the ideal set before the rulers, which many of them must have striven to reach. In later inscriptions, however, we do not find the same emphasis laid on the virtues of self-restraint, learning and humility. The later *prāśastis* abound in glowing descriptions of a king's bravery and liberality as well as his construction of religious and charitable works, but they rarely refer to his discipline, duties and responsibilities.

The king could not also oppress the people by means of harsh and unjust laws, for his legislative powers were extremely limited. He was enjoined to govern the people and to administer justice strictly in accordance with the civil and criminal laws laid down in the Smritis. He had no power to enact fresh laws and to issue orders except in matters not covered by these works. In ancient times when religion had a firm hold on the minds of the people, few kings dared to defy the dictates of the age-old sacred *Dharmaśāstras*. On the other hand, many took pride in stating in their records that they studied these works and implicitly followed their teaching in respect of the institutions of the *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life).⁷

¹ See above, p. lxv.

² Nos. 2-4

³ No. 9, l. 7

⁴ No. 12, ll. 8-9

⁵ No. 21, l. 8

⁶ No. 5, l. 2 and No. 119, l. 2.

⁷ No. 21, ll. 8-9

Besides, the counsellors (*mantrins*) whom the king was enjoined to consult, the Purōhita who, by his prayers and religious rites, propitiated gods and secured their help in warding off all calamities and attaining success,¹ and the *Rājaguru* who was greatly venerated must have wielded considerable influence in controlling the arbitrary actions of the king. There were, again, rich and powerful *Śrēms* (guilds) and *Ganas* (corporations) which maintained their own militia.² The kings were not loth to use this military force in times of difficulty. The existence of these powerful self-governing institutions must also have exercised a wholesome influence in curbing the oppressive tendencies of a despot.

Royal power must also have been considerably checked by the existence of powerful feudatories. The latter enjoyed considerable privileges. They could make grants of land in their own name without referring to the paramount power or even mentioning its name in their records.³ The Gurjaras of Central Gujarat called themselves *Sāmantas* and undoubtedly owed allegiance to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, to whom they must have paid an annual tribute; but in other respects they exercised independent authority and could wage war or make peace on their own initiative. The Sēndrakas, the Gujarat Chālukyas and the Harischandriyas originally obtained their principalities by the favour of the imperial Chālukya family of Bādāmi, but in their land-grants they generally make no mention of the contemporary Chālukya Emperor. In later times, however, as the power of the central authority increased, the feudatories became weak. Most of them were required to be in attendance in the Imperial court. The *Prabandhachintāmani* states that as many as 136 kings were in attendance in the court of Kaina.⁴ It is significant that we have hardly any grants made by these numerous feudatories of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. The only instances known so far are those made by the princes of Karkarēdi,⁵ but they belong to the age when the power of the imperial family was declining.

Kingship was hereditary. The eldest son was generally made the heir-apparent. He is called *Yuvaraja* in earlier records, and *Mahārājaputra* or *Mahākumāra* in later ones. He helped the king in the administration of the kingdom and succeeded him after his death. Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya, for instance, was governing South Gujarat on behalf of his father. He could make grants of land in his own name and was also authorised to use his own seal for the charters he issued.⁶ Sometimes a king himself in his old age crowned his son and himself retired from government. Karna, the illustrious Kalachuri king, is said to have himself performed the coronation of his son Yaśahkarṇa.⁷ Junior princes were often appointed to govern outlying provinces. The Gurjara king Dadḍa II appointed his brother Raṇagraha to govern a province. The latter could, however, make a grant of land only with the consent of the reigning king.⁸ Kōkalla I had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest succeeded him, while the younger ones were appointed rulers of the neighbouring *mandalas*.⁹

Later records generally mention the *Mahārājñī* or crowned queen among the persons to whom the royal order about a grant of land was to be communicated. It is not known whether she took any part in the deliberation of state affairs. She had, in any case, no independent authority. The Kāritālāi inscription, while recording a gift of Rāhadā, the

¹ Cf. *Rigveda*, IV, 50, 7-9, *NVA*, p. 160.

² Nos. 1 and 120.

³ They had their own Department of Peace and War. See No. 16, ll. 50-51.

⁴ *P. C. H.*, p. 50.

⁵ Nos. 65 and 68.

⁶ See the seal of No. 27.

⁷ No. 56, l. 15.

⁸ No. 18, l. 10.

⁹ No. 76, ll. 8-9. This is also laid down in *SNS*, adhyāya 1, vv. 346-48.

Mahādēvi (queen) of Lakshmaṇarāja II, expressly states that it had been made by her with the consent of the king.¹ Similarly, the Kumbhī plates state clearly that the village Chōra-lāyī was granted by the queen-mother Gōsaladēvī with the consent of her son, the reigning king Vijayasimha.² Still, some queens must have exercised a considerable political and religious influence. Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, greatly influenced the religious policy of her husband and invited to the Chēdi country several ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan from her home country. She herself built a lofty temple of Śiva under the name of Nōhalēśvara, which she endowed with the gift of several villages.³ The dowager queen Alhanadēvī also caused a temple of Śiva, a monastery and a lecture-hall to be constructed at Bhēr-Ghāt and herself granted two villages for their maintenance.⁴ Both these gifts must have been made with the tacit approval of the ruling king. Gōsaladēvī also must have exercised a considerable influence during the reign of her son Vijayasimha. She is mentioned prominently with her son and grandson in the Bhērā-Ghāt temple inscription.⁵

The king was assisted by counsellors (*mantrins*), ministers (*amātyas*) and heads of departments (*adhyakṣas*). The *Sukranītisāra* emphasises the importance of the Crown Prince and the Council of Ministers by saying that they are the arms, eyes and ears of the king.⁶ The *Nītvākyaṃrita* of Sōmadēva, who flourished in the 10th century A.C., recommends the appointment of three, five or seven counsellors.⁷ We have, however, no definite information about the existence of a *mantri-parishad* either in the earlier or in the later age. The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates⁸ mention chief counsellors (*mantri-mukhyas*), but whether they formed a *mantri-parishad*, it is difficult to say. Earlier records mention very few ministers and high State functionaries. Later records, no doubt, enumerate a number of them, but they do not state whether any of them were regularly consulted by the reigning king in the important affairs of the State. Again, divergent views were held by the authors of the Smritis and the Aithāśāstias about the number of ministers. According to Manu, the king should have seven or eight ministers.⁹ Śukra mentions a council of eight or ten ministers.¹⁰ Sōmadēva tells us that the departments entrusted to the ministers (*amātyas*) were those of revenue, expenditure, protection of the king's person and the army.¹¹ If there was a council of eight ministers in the age of the Later Kalachuris, it may have consisted of the following who are generally mentioned in their records.—*Mahāmantrin*, *Mahāmātya*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahādbarmādbikaranika* (or *Mahāpurōhita* as stated in some records), *Mahākṣhapatalika*, *Mahāpratihāra*, *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahāpramatri*. The ministers wielded a considerable power. In cases of emergency they carried on the administration of the State and placed their nominee from among the princes on the royal throne.¹² The Jabalpur and Khairhā plates state, for instance, that the Chief Counsellors placed Kōkalla II on the throne of his father Yuvarājadēva II evidently in an emergency caused probably by the latter's sudden death.¹³

¹ No 42, l 29

² See p 650

³ No 45, l 18

⁴ No 60, ll 23-4

⁵ No 69, l 1

⁶ SNS, adhyāya II, v 12

⁷ NVA., X, 71.

⁸ No. 56, v 8, No 57, v 8

⁹ MSM., adhyāya VII, v. 54

¹⁰ SNS, adhyāya II, vv. 69 ff

¹¹ NVA., XVIII, 6

¹² See e.g. No. 48, ll 34-36, No 56, ll 25-26.

¹³ No. 56, v. 8, No. 57, v. 8.

The chief among these ministers was called *Mahāmantrin* (Chief Counsellor). He was the right-hand man of the king and wielded a great power. We have no information about the *Mahāmantrins* of the early kings such as the Kalachuris, the Gurjaras, the Sēndrakas and the Chālukyas, for, no grants made by them have yet come to light. For the later period, however, we have some inscriptions recording their construction of religious and charitable works, from which we can glean some information about their abilities and achievements. The Kalachuri king Yuvarājādēva I had an able Counsellor named Bhākamiśra, who was a Brāhmana of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*.¹ He was very learned and pious. His son Sōmēśvara, who served Lakshmanarāja II, is highly eulogised in the Kāñitalāi inscription. We are told that once when the palanquin of the *Mahāmantrin* was about to fall owing to the exhaustion of the bearer, the king Lakshmanarāja himself put his shoulder to it.² This plainly indicates in what high esteem the king held him. The *Mahāmātya* who was next in rank was also a very influential minister.³ He was probably in charge of the administration of the State. From the Rewa inscription we know of a highly cultured and valiant Kāyastha family which served the Kalachuris of Tripurī for several generations. Its founder was Gōllāka, also known as Gauda, who was the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I.⁴ The *Mahādhyaksha*, who is mentioned in some records, was the General Superintendent of Administration.⁵ Sometimes a *Sarvādhikārin* was appointed and invested with supreme powers of direction and administration.⁶ The *Mahāpratibhāra* was also an important officer.⁷ He was in constant attendance on the king. He ushered people into the royal presence and communicated royal orders to the officers concerned.⁸

The *Rājaguru*, though not included among the ministers, exercised a great influence in the court of the Kalachuri kings. He was consulted in important matters and was often entrusted with various kinds of work befitting his position.⁹

The earliest records included here, viz., the grants of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh, do not mention any royal officers specifically. They refer to them in general terms as *Ayuktakas*.¹⁰ The Kalachhala plate, however, mentions *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Dāndika* and *Dandapāśika*, besides those in charge of elephants, horses and men, as well as *chāṭas* and *bhatas*.¹¹ The mention of the first two officers is noteworthy, for, till now they were known to occur first in the records of the Gupta age. The Kāñākhērā inscription mentions *Mahādandanāyaka*,¹² and the Ēran inscription *Arakshika* and *Sēnāpati*.¹³ These three records, which are of the pre-Gupta or early Gupta age, show that the Sanskrit technical terms signifying a hierarchy of officers in the different departments of the State had already been evolved before the rise of the Guptas. Later inscriptions such as the Bāgh cave plate of Subandhu, the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna and the Sunao Kala plates of Sangamasimha mention several more functionaries. From these and other records we can form a general idea of the administration of the different departments of the State.

¹ No 42, l. 3

² *Ibid.*, l. 16

³ No 51, ll. 22 ff

⁴ Nos 38-41

⁵ No 48, l. 36

⁶ No 90, l. 18

⁷ No 48, l. 35

⁸ Cf. No 11, l. 24.

⁹ No 64, v. 40

¹⁰ See, e.g., No. 2, l. 2.

¹¹ No. 118, l. 3

¹² No 5, l. 2

¹³ No 119, l. 6.

General Administration—Early records mention several officers of different grades. The *Rājasthānīya*, who heads the list in the Sunao Kala plates, was probably the highest officer.¹ As the term signifies a Viceroy, he may have been in charge of a province. Under him were the *Uparīkas*, who administered smaller territorial units like the modern Commissioners' Divisions. The *Vishayapatis* corresponded to the modern Collectors or Deputy Commissioners and were in charge of *vishayas* (districts). *Kumārāmātya* was a general term denoting officers of different grades. Some of these terms fell into disuse and were supplanted by others in course of time. *Uparīka* and *Kumārāmātya* do not occur in the later records of the Gurjaras, the Kalachuris and the Chālukyas. *Rājasthānīya* continued for a longer time, as it occurs in the Bagumrā plates of Allasakti.² The new terms which generally replaced *Rājasthānīya* and *Uparīka* were *Rājan* and *Sāmanta*.³ They administered larger territorial units like the modern province or the Commissioner's Division. The *Vishayapatis* continued to be in charge of the districts. Under them were the *Bhōgikapālakas*, who probably supervised the work of the *Bhōgikas*.⁴ The latter were in charge of smaller territorial divisions like the *bhōgas*, *pathakas* and *grāmas*. The Navsārī plates mention a *grāmathōgika*.⁵ Other records mention the *Rāshtrakūta* and the *Grāmakūta*, who were evidently the heads of a *rāshtra* and a village respectively.⁶ The *Sthānalaka*, who finds a mention in one record,⁷ was probably a local officer. Similarly, the *Drāngika* was the Mayor of a town.⁸ Subordinate officers were referred to as *āyuktakas* and *vin-yuktakas*.⁹ Later they came to be known as *ādhyakṛīkas*.¹⁰

Revenue Department—The head of this department was probably the *Mahāpramātri*, who is mentioned in the later Kalachuri records.¹¹ He surveyed all land and fixed its assessment. The *Mahākshapatalika* was the head of the Records Department.¹² The officer who collected the land revenue was called *Dityōdgrāhaka*.¹³ Villages and lands granted to the Brāhmanas for the maintenance of temples were exempt from *ditya* or land-tax.¹⁴ The officer who collected other taxes was known as *Vishayādānika*.¹⁵

There were different sources of state revenue. *Udranga* and *uparīkara* are generally mentioned in early inscriptions. They probably correspond to *klṛipta* and *upklṛipta* mentioned in the Vākāṭaka grants, and to *bhāga* and *bhōga* of later records.¹⁶ *Udranga* may have been a land-tax. As for *uparīkara* which seems to signify an additional tax, it may have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which traders and artisans had to pay. Besides these, salt and iron mines, forests, pasture-lands, mango and *mabua* trees, threshing floors, fines imposed for offences, *etc.* were the other sources of revenue.¹⁷ Rates were levied

¹ No. 11, l. 2.

² No. 26, l. 16.

³ No. 12, l. 16. The Bagumrā plates, however, have both *Rājan* and *Rājasthānīya*.

⁴ No. 13, l. 4, No. 18, l. 9.

⁵ No. 30, l. 36.

⁶ No. 26, ll. 17-18, No. 28, l. 13.

⁷ No. 7, l. 2.

⁸ No. 11, l. 2. *Dranga* occurs as the name of a territorial division in the Mastraka grants. According to some, the *Drāngika* was an octroi officer. *N H I P*, Vol. VI, p. 279.

⁹ No. 7, l. 2.

¹⁰ No. 12, l. 17.

¹¹ No. 48, l. 36.

¹² *Ibid*, l. 35.

¹³ No. 7, l. 2.

¹⁴ No. 8, l. 6.

¹⁵ No. 74, l. 35. Here the term occurs as *Vishayādānika*.

¹⁶ No. 48, l. 43.

¹⁷ No. 48, l. 37, No. 42, l. 34.

for the salary of the *Pattakēla* and the apprehension of criminals (*dussādhyas*).¹ Octroi and excise duties were another good source of income.² They were collected by the officers called *Saulkikas*.³ The *Ghattapati* and *Tarapati*, mentioned in the Kahla plates, looked after the ghāts and ferries, and collected a small cess levied for their use.⁴

There were various other taxes. The Anjanēri plates of Bhōgaśakti mention the tax levied on shops in market-places.⁵ Another tax called *kōvēra*, imposed on written documents (*karanas*), may have been a fee for registration. Each cart of a caravan had to pay a certain octroi duty while entering and leaving a village or a town.⁶ There was also a sales tax levied in money or kind on the articles sold in the market-places. The Bilhāri inscription mentions that for every elephant sold in the market in a particular town, a tax of four *pauras*, and for every horse, that of two *pauras* were required to be paid. A small tax was also levied on the sale of other commodities, such as salt, oil, betel-nuts, black pepper, ginger, bundles of grass, vegetables and egg-plants.⁷ Some of these taxes were paid in kind. In some cases these taxes were assigned to temples for their maintenance. Otherwise, they were collected for the State.

Judicial Department—There are very few references to Judicial Officers in inscriptions. Perhaps *Dāṇḍika* who is mentioned in the Kalachhala plate⁸ separately from *Dandapāsika* was a Magistrate. *Dandanāyaka*, however, was probably a military officer.⁹

Religious Department—This department is not mentioned in any early record edited here. Later, it seems to have attained a greater importance. Its head, the *Mahadbarmā-dbhikaranika* or *Mahāpurōhita*, is invariably mentioned among the officers to whom the royal order about a land-grant was to be communicated.¹⁰ In one record he is called *Dharmakarmādbhikārin*, i.e., the Officer in charge of religious works.¹¹ The *Mahādānika* mentioned in the Kahla plates¹² probably belonged to this very department and arranged for the *mahādānas* (great gifts) when the king desired to make them. The scribe who recorded the royal order about a grant was called *Dharmalēkhin*.¹³ He was also known as *Daśamūlin*.¹⁴

Military and Police Departments—The army was traditionally divided into four members—chariots, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers.¹⁵ Each of these must have been under a head, but it is significant that the Kalachhala plate, which is the earliest record referring to them, mentions only the heads of the elephant-force, cavalry and infantry (*hasty-asva-jana-vyāpṛita*).¹⁶ Chariots had perhaps lost their importance. The elephant force was an important constituent of the army. The strength of the latter was generally

¹ No. 63, l. 29.

² No. 21, l. 27. See also p. 89, n. 2.

³ No. 74, l. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 35.

⁵ No. 31, l. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 36.

⁷ No. 45, l. 31.

⁸ No. 118, l. 3.

⁹ The Gunji rock inscription mentions the titles *Dandanāyaka* and *Balādhikṛta* borne by the same person. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 51. *Mahādandanāyaka* in No. 5, l. 2 was clearly a military title.

¹⁰ No. 48, l. 35, No. 56, l. 25.

¹¹ No. 100, l. 28.

¹² No. 74, l. 34.

¹³ No. 56, l. 44. He is called *Ādēśanabandhika* in No. 74, l. 57.

¹⁴ No. 63, l. 40.

¹⁵ Notice the reference to the four-membered army in No. 56, l. 8.

¹⁶ No. 118, l. 3.

measured by the number of elephants in it. The elephant-drivers also had a considerable importance and had their own *gana* or corporation.¹ The head of the elephant force was called *Mahāpīlupati* in early times. Later, he came to be known as *Mahāpramattavāra*. He occupied an influential position in early times and was sometimes appointed even the head of a territorial division. Nirihullaka, for instance, who was *Mahāpīlupati*, is described as *Bhōgikapālaka* and had a military officer under him.² Later Kalachuri inscriptions mention the *Mahāsvasādhamka*,³ who was the head of the cavalry, which as a mobile force may have attained a great importance in the later age. It is noteworthy that the Rewa stone inscription mentions a *Ghōtaka-vigraha* or Battle of Horses, fought and won by Vappulla, a general of the Kalachuri Emperor Karna.⁴

*Balādhikṛita*⁵ and *Sēnāpati*⁶ were the general terms denoting a military officer. Later, *Sādhamka* was used in the same sense. *Gaulmikas* were officers in charge of a troop of soldiers or a battalion of the army. The Commander-in-chief is called *Mahābalādhikṛita*⁷ in earlier records and *Mahāsēnāpati*⁸ in later ones. It is curious that the Commander-in-chief of the whole army is generally not mentioned among the officers named in later Kalachuri grants.⁹ On the other hand, we find that the *Mahāpramattavāra* and the *Mahāsvasādhamka*, who were the chief commanders of the elephant force and cavalry, are mentioned specifically. The reason may be that the kings themselves were the Commanders-in-chief of their armies. Military officers are generally mentioned as *Dūtakas* in early land-grants.

The *Dandapāśika*¹⁰ was a Police Officer. The Superintendent of the Police was called *Ārakshika*.¹¹ He was generally a military officer. Thus, Satyanāga who erected the *yashti* at Ērikina was both *Sēnāpati* and *Ārakshika*. The Police Officers who were specially charged with the investigation of thefts and apprehension of thieves and other criminals were called *Chōrōddharanikas*.¹² The *Dushtasādhaka* mentioned in the Kahla plates¹³ was probably a Police Officer of the same type. The *chātas* and *bhatas*, who are frequently mentioned in early land-grants, were policemen and soldiers whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the country and to apprehend criminals. They were often harsh and exacting in their ways and were, therefore, forbidden to enter *agrahāra* villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.¹⁴

Foreign Department—In ancient times this was called *Sandhi-vigraha-ādhyakaraṇa* (the Department of Peace and War). Its head *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* figures in several early grants as the writer of copper-plate charters.¹⁵ In fact, it was laid down that such charters should be written only by this officer and none else, in accordance with the instructions received from the king.¹⁶ The reason was that of all the departments of the State, the Department

¹ No. 120, l. 4.

² No. 13, l. 4.

³ No. 48, l. 36; No. 50, l. 37; No. 56, ll. 25-26.

⁴ No. 53, l. 10.

⁵ No. 21, l. 42.

⁶ No. 119, l. 6.

⁷ No. 26, l. 38.

⁸ No. 74, l. 34.

⁹ The Kahla plates (No. 74, l. 34), however, mention the *Mahāsēnāpati* among such officers.

¹⁰ No. 118, l. 3; No. 120, l. 5.

¹¹ No. 11, l. 2; No. 119, l. 6.

¹² No. 24, l. 19; No. 56, l. 16.

¹³ No. 74, l. 35.

¹⁴ No. 9, l. 10.

¹⁵ No. 9, ll. 17-18.

¹⁶ See Mitāksharā on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, adhyāya I, v. 320; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 139.

of Peace and War was most likely to have an accurate information about the conquests of the king and his ancestors which were generally described in the initial part of such charters

Other Officers—Several other officers are mentioned in later inscriptions. The *Bhōndāgārīka* was the Treasurer. The *Mahābhāndāgārīka* corresponded to the modern Chancellor of the Exchequer¹. The *Mahāsāmanta* was the head of the feudatory princes. The *Mahākaramika* was the head of the Secretariat². The *Vāsāka* or *Vāsāpvaka* arranged for the residence of strangers and officers on tour.³ *Mahākōttapāla* was the head of the guards of foits⁴. The exact significance of some technical terms denoting officers such as *Khandavāla*, *Balādhīra* and *Mākutika*⁵ is not known.

The records do not show that any of these officers' posts were held on the principle of heredity. For instance, Kēsava, the *Mahabalādhikṛita* of Jayabhata III, was the son of a mere *Bhōgika*⁶. He must have risen to his high post by merit. If in some families the same post was held for more than one generation, it must also have been due to merit. Thus Sahabhata, the writer of the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III, who held the post of *Balādhikṛita*, was the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Durgabhata⁷. Similarly, Sōmēśvara, the capable Prime Minister of Lakshmanarāja II of Tripurī, was the son of Bhākamīśra who had served the royal family in the previous generation in the same capacity⁸. There are some other instances of the same type in the history of the Ratanpur branch also. We have no reason to suppose that any of these posts were monopolised by these families on the principle of heredity. In some minor offices, the posts may have been held hereditarily. The post of the scribe of copper-plate grants in the Secretariat at Ratanpur was, for instance, held by a Kāyastha family of the village Jandēra for several generations.⁹

In towns and villages, the administration seems to have been carried on by royal officers with the assistance of the committees called *pañchakulas*. The *Sukranītisāra* states that the officers appointed by the king in every town and village should be six, viz., the head of the town or the village, the collector of land revenue, the collector of taxes, the magistrate, the scribe (or accountant) and the Pratihāra who was probably the head of the town or village police¹⁰. Some of these officers are mentioned in our records. The mayor of a town is called *Drāngika*¹¹ in early records and *Pūrapradhāna*¹² in later ones. The head of a village was *Grāmakūta* or *Grāmabhōgika*.¹³ The *Saulkika* who collected taxes and the *Dandapāśika* who inflicted punishment are also named in some records¹⁴. The other officers were generally mentioned as *āyuktakas* in early records. The *pañchakulas* were committees of persons elected by the residents of a town or a village for the management of the several departments.¹⁵ The Dhurētī plates mention a *pañchakula-dharmādhikarana*

¹ No. 48, l. 36.

² No. 48, l. 35. He is called *Lēkhanādhyaksha* in No. 113, l. 1.

³ No. 30, l. 36.

⁴ No. 70, l. 12.

⁵ No. 74, l. 35. The *Mākutika* was perhaps a village officer. See below, p. 396, n. 1.

⁶ No. 21, l. 42.

⁷ No. 22, l. 38.

⁸ No. 42, ll. 3 ff.

⁹ Below, p. 458, n. 3.

¹⁰ SNS, adhyāya II, vv. 120-21; 170-75. Nilakantha, in his commentary on MBH, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya V, v. 80, mentions five village officers somewhat differently.

¹¹ No. 11, l. 2.

¹² No. 76, l. 34.

¹³ No. 30, l. 36.

¹⁴ No. 74, l. 34, No. 120, l. 3.

¹⁵ In NVA, XVIII, 49, Sōmadēva mentions the following members of the *karana* or *pañchakula* of what appears to be the Revenue Department—One member receives the offered amount, the second records it in the register, the third seals it, the fourth deposits it in the Treasury, while the fifth exercises general supervision.

which was probably the Judicial Department managed by a *pañchakula*.¹ The description shows that the merchant community had a preponderating representation on it. Other departments also must have had similar *pañchakulas* elected for their administration. The Anjanēri plates state that when the king Bhōgaśakti assigned certain taxes *etc* for the maintenance of the temple of Bhōgēśvara in the town of Jayapura, he laid down that the festival of the god should be celebrated by five or even ten merchants in accordance with the custom of the town.² The wording of the passage shows that five was the usual number of the members of such committees, on account of which they were usually known as *pañchakulas*. In special circumstances, however, a larger number up to ten was elected. The *pañchakulas* decided also civil and criminal cases and imposed fines. Some rules for their guidance were laid down by the central government.³ In other cases, the Anjanēri plates state, whatever eight or sixteen *Mahallakas* would declare after due deliberation would be the right standard of punishment.⁴ This shows that sometimes the committees consisted of as many as sixteen members. Generally appeals were allowed on the decisions of the *pañchakulas*, except in the case of *agrabāra* villages which were donated with full powers of adjudication.⁵

The members of the *pañchakulas* were called *Mahattaras* (Prakrit, *Mahallakas*). There were evidently elected, but we have no information about the mode of election or the manner of voting. Their head or President was probably called *Mahattama*. The Smritis lay down special qualifications for the post of the *Mahattama*. A *Mahattama* should be honest, conversant with religion, vigilant, self-controlled and high-born. *Mahattamas* were also called *Pāñchakulikas*, heads of *pañchakulas*. The chief of them, called *Mahāpāñchakulika*, is mentioned in the Kahla plates.⁶ He evidently resided in the capital, but what department he exactly represented we do not know.

Another officer who was common to both the town and the village was *Gamāgamika*.⁷ He is mentioned in the grants of Subandhu and the Sēndrakas. His function evidently was to keep a watch on persons coming into or going out of the town or the village. It is interesting to note that the *Sukranīlisāra* also mentions a similar officer. He was specially in charge of the *pāñthasālā* or *sarai* of the village. He made inquiries about the caste, family, name and residence of the traveller, the places he came from and was going to, and after taking away his arms if he had any, made arrangements for guarding the *sarai* at night. In the morning the traveller's arms were returned to him and he was escorted to the limit of the village.⁸

RELIGION

We shall next proceed to consider the state of religion in the periods represented by our records. In the beginning of the earlier period, Buddhism was in the ascendant in Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra, and claimed many votaries—especially among the lower classes as also among the foreigners who were attracted by its catholic spirit. It is significant that the first record of the period included here, which belongs to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna, registers certain endowments made by a woman of the Śaka race

¹ No. 72, l. 9.

² No. 31, l. 44.

³ No. 32, ll. 34 ff.

⁴ No. 32, l. 37.

⁵ No. 31, l. 41.

⁶ No. 74, l. 34.

⁷ No. 7, l. 3, No. 25, l. 19, No. 26, l. 16.

⁸ *SNS.*, adhyāya I, vv. 270-7.

to provide medicines for the sick among the Community of the Buddhist monks living in the *vihāra* on the Trirāśmi hill near Nasik. Later, during the time of the Traikūtakas we find an inhabitant of distant Sindh coming to Krishnagiri in North Konkan and erecting a *stūpa* dedicated to Śāradvatīputra, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha¹ At Bāgh in the former Barwāni State, a private individual named Dattataka caused a cave to be excavated and decorated with beautiful paintings for use by the followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The ruler of the country, though himself a follower of the Vēdic religion, made a liberal grant for the worship of the Buddha image, the repairs of the *vihāra* and provision of food, clothing, medicines *etc* for the Buddhist monks living there² Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A C, states that there were about 100 monasteries in Maharashtra with more than 5000 monks of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna living in them. In the country of Bharukachchha (*ie*, Central Gujarat) he found more than ten Buddhist monasteries with 300 monks, all adherents of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school³ Later, Buddhism seems to have gradually declined in strength for want of royal patronage.

On the other hand, Hinduism which had been lying dormant for some centuries began to assert itself with the rise of the Gupta and Vākātaka dynasties in North and South India respectively. This revival of Hinduism was marked by the performance of the *Śrauta* sacrifices which had been in abeyance for a long time. In North India Samudragupta is credited with the revival of the *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice⁴ In South India the Ikshvāku king Śāntamūla I and the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna I performed several Vēdic sacrifices such as *Agnishītoma*, *Vājapēya* and *Āśvamēdha*⁵ Unfortunately we have no official records of the Ābhīras wherein we could have expected positive information about their religious activities. Perhaps on account of their low social status, they were not keen on the performance of the Vēdic sacrifices. The Traikūtakas, who followed them, showed a greater regard for the Vēdic religion. Dahrasēna performed an *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice to proclaim his independent status.⁶ It is noteworthy that this is the first known mention of the performance of this sacrifice by a king of Northern Maharashtra after a lapse of nearly seven centuries. The Vedic sacrifices were, however, costly and could, therefore, be performed by rich persons only. The Smritis also lay down that great Vedic sacrifices such as the *Sōmayāga* should be performed by such householders only as have in stock food-grains sufficient for the maintenance of their dependants for at least three years⁷ Even among kings, few emulated the example of Samudragupta and Pravarasēna I. The tendency to perform great Vēdic sacrifices did not strike deep root, and after the sixth century A C., we have hardly any record mentioning them.

Though the *Śrauta* sacrifices were rarely performed, the *grihya* rites such as the *pañchamahāyajñas* continued unabated in Brāhmaṇa families. The State also encouraged them. Most of the grants⁸ of the Early Kalachuris, the Sēndrakas, the Gurjaras and the Chālukyas were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *viz*, *dēvayajña* (offerings to gods),

¹ No. 10

² No. 7. For the age of the Bāgh caves, see my article in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 ff.

³ O. Y. C., Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 43.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 21.

⁶ No. 8, l. 2.

⁷ *MS.*, adhyāya XI, v. 7.

⁸ The earlier records of the *Mahārājas* of Valukha registered only the royal consent to certain gifts made by private persons. The Barwāni plate of Subandhu and the Pārdi and Surat plates of the Traikūtakas do not mention any specific purpose for the royal grant.

pitriyajña (offerings to manes), *bhūtajajña* (offerings to creatures), *manushyajajña* (reception to guests) and *brahmayajña* (study of one's Vēdic texts). It was believed that the regular performance of such rites by pious Brāhmanas conduced to the well-being of the State.¹

We find that the Purāṇic Hinduism was making a much greater headway in the earlier period. The doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion) preached in the *Bhagavadgītā* appealed more to the popular mind than the cult of the sacrifice. Again, the teaching of that sacred work that all worship, whatever may be its object, ultimately reaches the same Supreme Being, led to religious eclecticism. Of the several gods of the Hindu pantheon, Vishnu, Śiva, Kārttikēya and Āditya attained a great importance in this period. The Traikūtakas were Vaiṣnavas. They describe themselves as *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara* (servants of the feet of Bhagavat) in their grants² and as *paramavaishnava* (fervent devotees of Vishnu) on their coins. Again, the Hariśchandriya king Bhōgaśakti believed that there was no pre-eminent god except Vāsudēva (Vishnu), who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. He built a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Bhōgēśvara in the merchant-town of Jayapura, and granted some villages and assigned certain taxes for the worship of the deity, the repairs of the temple and the maintenance of a charitable feeding house attached to it. The *Yātrā* festival of the god was to continue for a full fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha. The management of the temple was entrusted to a committee of five or ten members elected by the merchants of the town. In return for this, the merchants living there enjoyed certain immunities and exemptions.³

Śiva was also an equally popular god—perhaps more so with the aborigines and foreigners who embraced Hinduism. The cult of this god received even a greater royal patronage than that of Vishnu. In the absence of the official records of the Ābhīras we have no definite information about their religious inclinations, but judging by their names Śivadatta and Īśvarasēna, they seem to have been devotees of Śiva. The same appears to be true of their feudatories ruling in Khandesh and Central Gujarat, for, their names Svāmīdāsa, Rudradāsa and Īśvararāta unmistakably point to their predilection for the Śaiva faith. The Katāchchuris or Early Kalachuris also were adherents of Śaivism. All the three Early Kalachuri kings, Kṛṣṇarāja, Śankaragana and Buddharāja, are described in the Kalachuri grants as *paramamāhēśvara*, i.e., fervent devotees of Mahēśvara (Śiva). That they belonged to the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism is shown by the description of Kṛṣṇarāja as devoted to Pāśupati from his very birth.⁴ Anantamahāyī, the queen of Buddharāja, is specifically mentioned as a follower of the Pāśupata sect.⁵ The *Dūtaka* of the Ābhōna plates bore the name *Pāśupata* itself.⁶ All this is a clear indication of the influence the Pāśupatas exercised in the court of the Early Kalachuris.

The Early Kalachuris must have erected splendid temples for the worship of their *īshṭa-dēvatā*, but none have been discovered so far. The magnificent temple of Śiva, however, carved out of a living rock, now known as Elephanta near the island of Bombay, probably belongs to their age. There has been a considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephanta caves. Burgess placed them about 800 A.C.,⁷ while Hiranand Sastri thought that the sculptures therein were, in all probability, wrought in the Gupta

¹ Inscriptions of this period generally mention *bali* (offerings to creatures), *charu* (offerings to manes), *varṣadēva* (offerings to gods) and *atithi* (reception of guests). See, *e.g.*, No. 21, l. 21.

² No. 8, ll. 1-2, No. 9, l. 1.

³ No. 31, ll. 48 ff.

⁴ No. 12, l. 4.

⁵ No. 14, ll. 32-33.

⁶ No. 12, l. 34.

⁷ C. T. I, p. 467. Fergusson placed them slightly earlier in *circa* 750 A.C.

period of Indian history.¹ Gupte, on the other hand, who finds certain resemblances between the sculptures at Elephanta and those at Bādāmi, would place them in the first half of the seventh century A.C.² The last view seems to be nearest to the truth. Now, the only great royal family ruling in Maharashtra and Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. which could have financed such a magnificent work of art was that of the Kalachuris. The Mauryas, who held North Konkan in that period, were only a feudatory family which could hardly have commanded the resources necessary for such a great work. There is another circumstance which supports this conjecture. The cave temple was caused to be carved by the Pāsupatas. This is indicated by the figure of Lakulīsa, the founder of the Pāsupata sect, in the recess at the north end of the shrine in the Western Court of the caves.³ We have seen above that the Kalachuri Emperors were followers of the Pāsupata sect, which exercised a considerable influence in their court. It would seem, therefore, that the Elephanta caves were excavated in the second half of the sixth century A.C. when the Kalachuri power was at its peak.

Saivism must have received further support from the Sēndrakas and the Early Chālukyas, who succeeded the Kalachuris in Gujarat and Maharashtra; for, they also were votaries of that cult. The Sēndraka prince Allaśakti made a grant of some *nivartanas* of land in favour of the god Alanghyēśvara whose temple was situated at Pippalakhēta, modern Pimpalner in the West Khandesh District.⁴ This Alanghyēśvara appears to be a name of Śiva. The object of worship in this temple was probably his phallic emblem.⁵ The Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasimha as well as his two sons, Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya and Avanījanāśraya-Pulakēśin, were also worshippers of Śiva. In the Nasik plates Jayasimha is described as meditating on the feet of a holy sage whose name ended in *śiva*⁶ and who therefore probably belonged to the Saiva, not the Pāsupata, sect.

Of the two sons of Śiva, Kārttikēya and Gaṇēśa, the former seems to have risen into prominence earlier. He is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*⁷ and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali⁸ and is adored in the beginning of the great Nānāghāt cave inscription.⁹ He was, it seems, a favourite god of the foreigners like the Sakas and the Kushāṇas who embraced Hinduism. The Saka king Śrīdharavarman was his devotee. In the Kānākhēiā inscription, this god is called Mahāsēna and Mahākumāra and is described as the Commander-in-chief of the heavenly army. The Early Chālukyas believed that they owed their continuous prosperity to his grace. Gaṇapati, though sculptured in the panel of the Mātrikas (Divine Mothers) in the Elephanta caves,¹⁰ does not appear to have been separately worshipped in this period. Needless to say that there is no obeisance to him in the beginning of the inscriptions of this age.

The Sun also was a popular god in this period. Many of the Early Gurjara kings were his worshippers. They are described as devoted to the feet of the Sun.

¹ Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 11.

² Y. R. Gupte, *A Guide to Elephanta* (Marathi), p. 1.

³ Hirananda Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ No. 25, l. 24.

⁵ Similarly, in the temple of Āśramadēva to which a grant was made by the Gurjara king Jayabhata IV (No. 23, l. 10), the object of worship was probably the Śiva-linga.

⁶ No. 28, l. 11.

⁷ MBH., Ādiparvan, adhyāya 60, vv. 22-23.

⁸ *Mahābhāshya* on Pāṇini, V, 3, 99.

⁹ I have shown elsewhere that *Kumāravara* in the first line of that inscription refers to Kārttikēya. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 29 ff. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 46, n. 4.

¹⁰ Hiranand Sastri, *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 50.

Their copper-plate grants have an emblem of solar worship, perhaps an *agnikunda*, on their seals. Some of their grants were made on the occasion of a *sankrānti*, i.e., the sun's crossing a sign of the zodiac.¹ The later kings of this dynasty from Dadda III onwards were worshippers of Mahēśvara, but they continued the old emblem of the dynasty and made grants on the *tithis* sacred to the Sun. Dadda III, for instance, made a grant on Magha śu. di 7, known as the *Rathasaptamī*.²

There must have been several temples of the Sun built by the Gurjara princes and others in the country of Lāta, but none are mentioned in Gurjara grants. We know, however, of a temple of the Sun under the name of Jayāditya from a reference in a later grant of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūtas.³ It was situated at Kōtipura in the territorial division of Kāpikā (modern Kāvī) and was probably erected by the Gurjara king Jayabhata II.

An analysis of the grants of this period would shed an interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. Of the thirty-one grants⁴ of this period, two were made to Buddhist *vihāras*⁵ and three to Hindu temples.⁶ The remaining twenty-six grants were made to Brāhmanas, most of them being intended for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. As for the auspicious occasions on which grants were made, we find that no particular *tithis* were observed in the grants to Buddhist *vihāras*. Those to Hindu temples and Brāhmanas were generally made on some sacred *tithi* or *parvan*. Of the twenty-five grants, in which a *tithi* is mentioned, we find that three were made at the time of a solar eclipse⁷ and one on that of a lunar eclipse.⁸ The *pūrṇimā* was generally regarded as an auspicious *tithi*, for eleven grants were made on a *pūrṇimā*. The *Kārttikī pūrṇimā* or the full-moon day of Kārttika was regarded as specially holy, probably because Śiva killed Tripurāsura on that *tithi*. Donations on this *tithi* are specially enjoined when it is joined with the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā. Of the eleven grants made on *pūrṇimās*, as many as five were on the *Kārttikī pūrṇimā*.⁹ In two grants it is called *Mahākārttikī*.¹⁰ Some grants were recorded on the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of a month, probably after the completion of the *Ekādaśī-vrata*.¹¹ Grants were rarely made on an *amāvāsyā* unless it was the day of a solar eclipse. Only three such occur in the records of this period.¹² The holy *tithi* *Rathasaptamī*, sacred to the Sun, has already been mentioned. Finally, three grants are known to have been made on the occasion of *sankrāntis*, namely Mēsha, Karkataka and Tulā.¹³

This analysis will show that though the Vedic religion had not lost its hold on the people of the age, the Pauranic Hinduism, which laid a stress on the construction of the temples of gods as a specially meritorious act, was gradually gaining ground. Buddhism, on the other hand, was losing the popular support.

We shall next turn to the later period and first take up the countries of Chēdi and Sarayūpāra. In the fragmentary Kārītalāi stone inscription which is the earliest official record of the Kalachuris of Tripurī, all the three members of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā,

¹ See Nos. 22 and 23.

² No. 121, l. 28.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 f.

⁴ No. 33 and 34 are excluded as the grants are spurious.

⁵ Nos. 1 and 7.

⁶ Nos. 23, 25 and 31.

⁷ Nos. 13, 25 and 120.

⁸ No. 21.

⁹ Nos. 9, 11, 16, 17 and 30.

¹⁰ The *pūrṇimā* gets this name when the moon is in Rōhinī or when the moon and Jupiter are in Kṛttikā.

¹¹ Nos. 8, 14 and 27.

¹² Nos. 15, 18 and 24. The grant on Āśvina *amāvāsyā* is in propitiation of Lakshmī.

¹³ Nos. 28, 23 and 22 respectively.

Vishnu and Rudra, are revered¹ and praised, a fact which indicates the eclectic spirit of the age. Temples dedicated to Brahmā are, however, very rare and none have yet been discovered in any part of the Kalachuri dominion,² but that the cult of Vishnu was widely prevalent and had influential followers in the Chēdi country is shown by several inscriptions of the 10th and later centuries. At Bāndhōgarh and the adjoining village of Gōpālpur, Gollāka *alias* Gauda, the *Amātya* of Yuvarājādēva I, caused to be carved out of the rocks huge images of several incarnations of Vishnu such as the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, Paraśurāma and Haladhara (*i.e.*, Balarāma), besides one of Śēshaśāyin (Vishnu reclining on the serpent Śēsha)³. It is noteworthy that as in some early panels, Balarāma, not Krishna, is included among the incarnations of Vishnu⁴. Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmana minister of Lakshmanarāja II, who performed several Vēdic sacrifices, erected a lofty and magnificent temple dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishnu under the name of Sōmasvāmin at Kārītālāi in the Jabalpur District⁵. The remains of this temple are still extant at the place. The contemporary Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja II was himself a devotee of Śiva, but he granted a village for the maintenance of the eight Brāhmanas whom he settled there for the worship of the god. His queen Rāhadā and son Sankaragana III also made grants in favour of the god⁶. This prince is described as *paramavaishnava*. Contrary to the general tendency of the Kalachuris, he was a devotee of Vishnu and erected a temple dedicated to that god under the name of Sankaranārāyana at Bargaon in the Jabalpur District.⁷ At Makundpur in the Rewa District of Vindhya Pradesh, there was another temple dedicated to Vishnu under the name of Jalāśayana (the god who reposes on water) by a private individual, viz., the *Srēshṭhin* Dāmōdara⁸.

Though the cult of Vishnu was thus prevalent in the Chēdi country and received a considerable patronage from the royal family, it was far outshone by that of Śiva, the tutelary deity of the Kalachuris. Vāmarāja, the founder of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, was a devout worshipper of Śiva. No inscription of his reign has been discovered so far, but in some records of his successors⁹ he receives the epithet *paramamāhēśvara* indicative of his devotion to Śiva. He first established himself at Kālāñjara, the impregnable fort in the Banda District, which from very early times has been sacred to Śiva. Later, the family divided itself into two branches, one establishing itself in the country of Sarayūpāra and the other in that of Chēdi¹⁰. Both of them were devoted to Śiva. The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra had Nandin, the *vāhana* of Śiva, as their emblem on the seals of their copper-plate charters. Though the Kalachuris of Tripurī adopted the Gaja-Lakshmī as their distinctive emblem, they did not omit Nandin from the seals of their charters.

Saivism became the paramount cult throughout the extensive dominion of the

¹ No 37, ll 1-4

² Subsidiary images of Brahmā are, however, noticed in several temples of that period. See *H T M*, pp. 52, 63 *etc*

³ Nos. 38-41

⁴ R. D Banerji, *Eastern and Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 103. I have noticed the same in the *prabhāvali* of an image of Vishnu found at Pavnār in the Wardha District. According to the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, Balarāma represents both himself and his younger brother Krishna.

⁵ No. 42, l 17.

⁶ *Ibid*, ll. 29-30.

⁷ No 43, l. 3

⁸ No 47, l 2. For other temples of Vishnu at Amarakantak and Vaishnava sculptures at Sōhāgpur, see *H T M*, pp 57 and 99 ff. There was a temple of Vishnu erected by a private person at Karanbēl, for which, see below, p 653

⁹ No 56, l 22

¹⁰ See above, pp. lxix ff.

Kalachuris from the 8th to the 12th century A C. It received a great fillip during the reign of Yuvarājadēva I, who, under the influence of his queen Nōhalā, invited several *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan to the Chēdi country and built magnificent temples of Śiva and monasteries for them at Gurgi, Masaun, Chandrēhē, Bilhāri, Bhērā-Ghāt and other places. As these *Āchāryas* exercised a profound influence on the political and religious history of the period, it would not be out of place to give here a somewhat detailed account of this clan.

The earliest inscription of the Mattamayūra clan, which was discovered at Ranōd in the former Gwalior State, was edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 351 ff. It gives the following earliest genealogy of the line. It is to be remembered that the genealogy is spiritual, *i.e.*, not from father to son, but from *guru* to disciple.

Kadambaguhādhivāsīn—(the Inhabitant of Kadambaguhā)

Sankhamathikādhīpati—(the Lord of Sankhamathikā)

Tērambipāla—(the Protector of Tērambi)

Āmardakatīrthanātha—(the Lord of Āmardaka)

Purandara

Kavachaśiva

Sadāśiva

Hridayaśiva

Vyōmaśiva

We learn from the inscription that when the king, the illustrious Avantivarman, who desired to be initiated in the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of the sage Purandara, he attempted to bring him to his own country. He himself went to Upēndrapura where the sage was practising penance, and with a great difficulty persuaded him to accede to his request. The sage founded a *matha* at Mattamayūra, the capital of the king whom he initiated in the Śaiva faith, and established another *matha* at Ranipadra (modern Ranōd). The last *Āchārya* mentioned in the genealogy, *viz.*, Vyōmaśiva, enlarged and repaired the *matha*, erected temples and excavated a magnificent tank at the same place.

Another inscription of this line, discovered somewhere in the former Gwalior State and now deposited in the Gwalior Museum, gives the same genealogy as above, except for the substitution of Rudraśiva for Āmardakatīrthanātha¹. It will be noticed that the personal names of the first four *Āchāryas* in the genealogical list have not been given. The name of the fourth *Āchārya* is thus known from the Gwalior Museum inscription. Again, this record carries the genealogy one generation further and mentions Patangaśambhu as the disciple of Vyōmaśiva².

The Ranōd inscription is undated, but on palæographic grounds, Dr. Kielhorn referred it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A C³. The

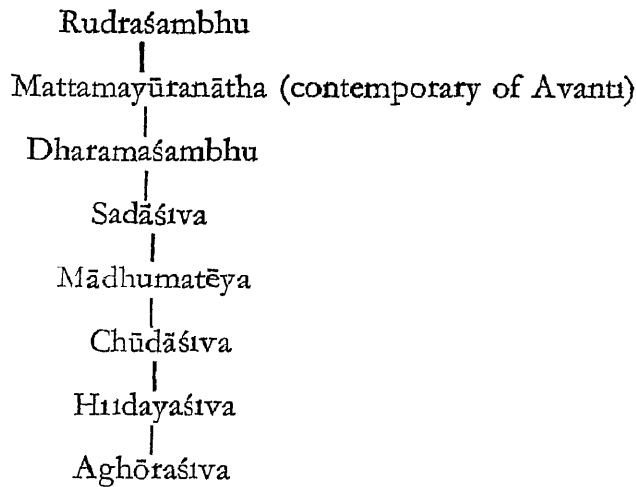
¹ I am indebted to Mr. M. B. Garde, late Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State, who first supplied to me an account of this inscription. Dr. D. R. Patil, the present Director of Archaeology in Madhya Bharat, has also obliged me by sending me an impression of it.

² The members of this clan who belonged to the Śaiva, not the Pāśupata, sect bore names ending in *śiva* or *sambhu*. The names of the Pāśupatas generally ended in *śaśi*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 353.

tenour of the description shows that the first four *Āchāryas* of this clan were living at different places such as Kadambaguhā, Sankhamathikā, Tērambi and Āmardaktīrtha, far away from the country of Avantivarman, and that Purandara was the first *Āchārya* who came to Mattamayūra,¹ the prince's town, and founded a *matha* there, from which this clan derived its name *Mattamayūravamśa*. Upēndrapura, where Purandara practised penance, has not been identified. Banerji has called our attention to a place of the same name which is mentioned as the head-quarters of a *mandala* in a grant of Naravarman, dated V. 1167 (1110 A.C.).² This grant mentions Kadambapadraka as situated in the *pratyāgaranaka* (*parganā*) of Mandāraka in the *mandala* of Upēndrapura. None of these places have yet been identified. Mandāraka may be identical with Mundair, about 15 miles north-east of Ujjain. The village Kamlikhērā, which lies only about a mile to the east, may be the ancient Kadambapadraka. Whether the latter is identical with Kadambaguhā, the traditional original home of the *Āchāryas* of this clan, cannot be determined at present. We may, in any case, be certain that the earlier Saiva *Āchāryas* of this clan were living in Western Malwa. The places Kadambaguhā, Sankhamathikā, Tērambi and Āmardaka, from which they derived their appellations, must therefore be sought for in Malwa.³ Kielhorn identified Kadambaguhā with Kadwāhā, six miles to the south of Ranōd, and Tērambi with Tērahi, 5 miles to the south-east. At both these places some remains of Saiva *mathas* and temples are still extant, but these identifications do not seem to be plausible in view of the description given in the Ranōd inscription. Perhaps some places in the kingdom of Avantivarman were named after the older seats of the clan in Western Malwa.⁴

Avantivarman who brought the sage Purandara to his capital is not known from any dated record, but his age can be ascertained approximately on other evidence. The Bilhāri stone inscription of Yuvarājādēva II (circa 980-990 A.C.) gives the following genealogy of the Mattamayūravamśa :—



¹ The Mattamayūras are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as living in Rōhitaka (modern Rohtak, 43 miles north-west of Delhi). See *MBH*, Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 32, vv. 4 f. They were, of course, not connected with this town of Mattamayūra.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff

³ This is also supported by the following extract from the *Pañjikā* of Brahmaśambhu, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. S. N. Sen—

श्रीमदामर्दकाधीशमायातमवनीतले । तच्छिष्याणां बहुत्वेऽपि कृतमालवकस्थितिम् ॥

⁴ This is suggested by the name Uttara-Tērambagriha mentioned as the original place of habitation of the *Āchārya* Gaganasiva in the Ranipur Jharial inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 240 ff. This place seems to be distinguished from the original Tērambi by prefixing *uttara* to its name. It may be identical with modern Tērahi in the former Gwalior State,

The inscription tells us that Rudraśambhu belonged to the line of the *Siddhas* living at Kadambaguhā and that Mattamayūranātha communicated the supreme splendour to the king Avantī. This description shows that the first two *Āchāryas* of this line were identical with Amardakatīrthanātha¹ and Purandara mentioned in the Ranōd inscription. This identification is further supported by the aforementioned Gwalior Museum inscription which names Rudraśiva as the spiritual ancestor of Purandara.

The Bilhāri inscription further tells us that Hridayaśiva was a contemporary of a king of Chēdi (probably Lakshmanarāja II mentioned in the next verse) who invited him to his country². He may, therefore, be referred to *circa* 950 A.C. Taking 25 years as the average duration of a generation, we can place Purandara *alias* Mattamayūranātha, the fifth ancestor of Hridayaśiva, in *circa* 825 A.C.

Two other inscriptions of this clan, discovered at Chandrēhē³ and Gurgī⁴ in Vindhya Pradesh, give the following genealogy of the Śaiva *Āchāryas* who subsequently came to and settled down in the Chēdi country :

Chandrēhē

Purandara

↓
Sikhāśiva
(*alias* Madhumatīpati)

↓
Prabhāvaśiva
(contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)

↓
Praśāntaśiva

↓
Prabōdhaśiva
(972 A.C.)

Gurgī

Chūdāśiva

↓
Prabhāvaśiva
(contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I)

↓
Praśāntaśiva

↓
Īśānaśambhu

↓
Prabōdhaśiva

(Name illegible)

The genealogy in the Chandrēhē inscription begins one generation earlier and that in the Gurgī inscription is carried one generation further, but otherwise the two genealogies are identical. The Chandrēhē inscription is dated K. 724 (972 A.C.). It tells us that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva, who must evidently be the first king of that name, invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and induced him to sanctify it with his feet. Prabhāvaśiva, who flourished two generations before Prabōdhaśiva (972 A.C.), must have lived in *circa* 925 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadēva I (*circa* 915-945 A.C.).

Comparing the genealogies in the Bilhāri and Chandrēhē inscriptions, we find that Chūdāśiva of the former must be identical with Sikhāśiva of the latter, for, (i) the two names are synonyms and (ii) their disciples Hridayaśiva and Prabhāvaśiva lived in the same period, the latter being a senior contemporary of the former as he was invited by an earlier Chēdi king, viz., Yuvarājadēva I. The immediate ancestors of Chūdāśiva and Sikhāśiva, viz., Mādhumatēya and Purandara, must, therefore, be identical. Purandara evidently obtained the other name *Mādhumatēya* because he lived at Madhumatī. His disciple is called Madhumatīpati (the lord of Madhumatī) in the Chandrēhē inscription. Madhumatī,

¹ Āmardaka is mentioned as the original habitation of the Śaiva *Āchāryas* of the Sōpuriya clan
Ind, Vol. III, p. 266

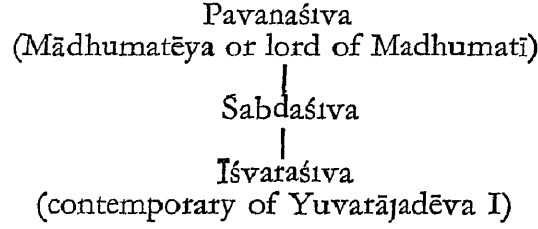
² No. 45, l. 22

³ No. 44

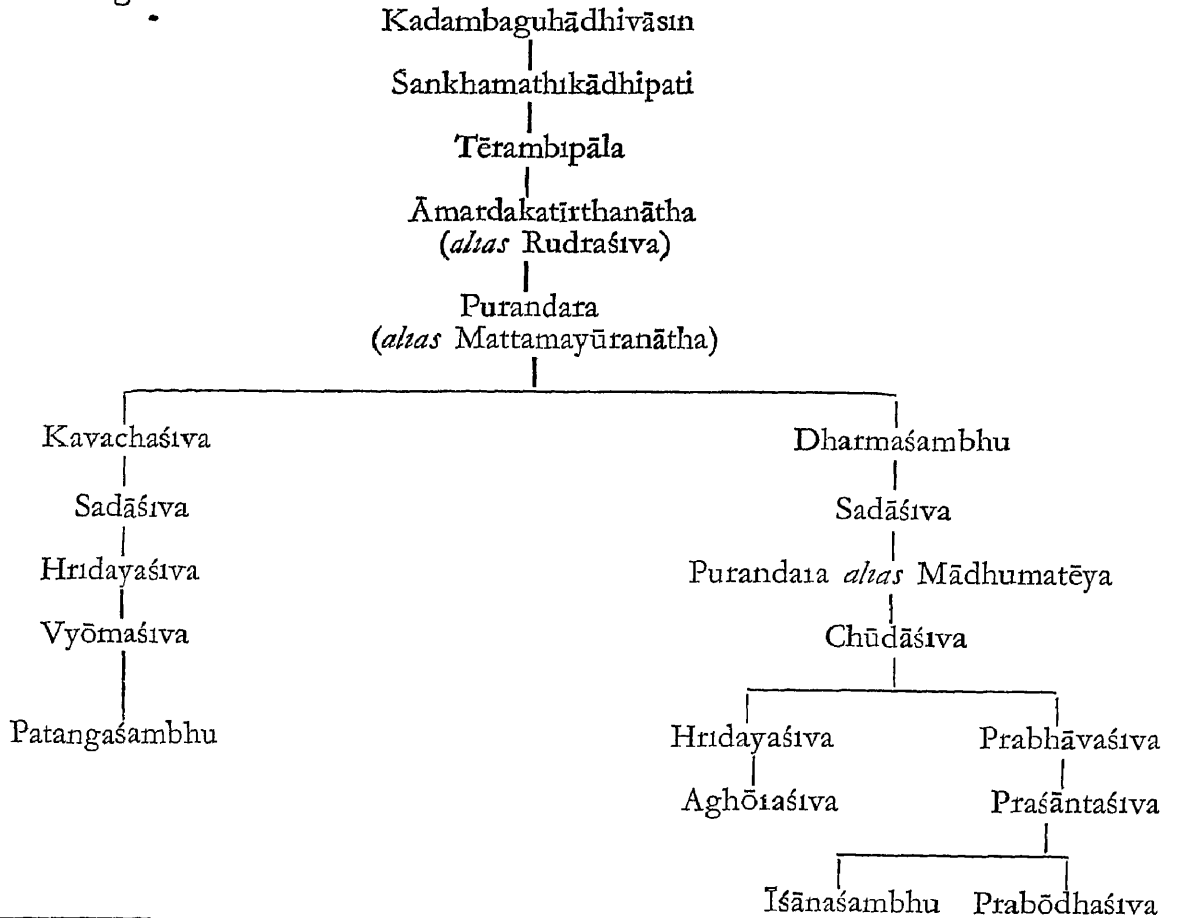
⁴ No. 46

where these *Ācharyas* flourished, was probably situated on the Madhuvēnī¹ (Mohwar of the maps), and may be identical with the modern village Mahuā which lies only a mile to the south of Tērahi. This Purandara *alias* Mādhumatēya must be distinguished from his namesake who founded the *matha* of Mattamayūra and was a contemporary of Avanti-varman; for, the latter flourished four generations before Chūdāśiva, while the former immediately preceded him.²

Another line of Śaiva *Ācharyas* is also mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription. While describing the grants of Nōhalā,³ the queen of Yuvarājadēva I, the inscription gives the following genealogy:—



The known *Ācharyas* of the Mattamayūra clan may, therefore, be stated in the form of the following table:—



¹ The river Madhuvēnī is mentioned in an inscription at Tērahi dated V 960 (903 A.C.). *Ind Ant*, Vol. XVII, pp. 201 ff. Mahuā has the remains of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Mahādēva. They are assigned to the seventh century A.C. on the palaeographic evidence of a Sanskrit inscription which exists on the porch of one of them. The river Madhumati is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālātīmādhava*, Act IX.

² Banerji identified the two. This has vitiated the genealogy given by him in *HTM*, p. 112. The first Purandara was called Mattamayūranātha, while the second was Mādhumatēya.

³ Nōhalā donated some villages to Īśvaraśiva as *vidyā-dhana*.

Pavanaśiva, Śabdaśiva and Īśvaraśiva¹ were contemporaries of Purandara, Chūdāśiva and Prabhāvaśiva, but whether Pavanaśiva was a disciple of Sadāśiva or of some other *Āchārya* of Madhumatī is not known. Another Śaiva *Āchārya*, named Gaganaśiva, who originally hailed from Uttara-Tērambagūha and built a temple of Śiva at Ranipur Jharial in the former Patna State in Orissa, is known from an inscription recently edited by Dr. Chhabra. He probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan, but his exact relation to the other *Āchāryas* of the clan is not known.

Mattamayūra, the chief seat of this clan, has not yet been identified. It must have been situated not far from Tēiahi, Ranōd and Mahuā, where inscriptions, temples and monasteries of this clan have been found. It may be identical with Kadwāhā, about 15 miles south of Ranōd, which possesses the remains of a Hindu monastery and of not less than 14 Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A.C. "Such a large group of temples," says Mr. Garde, "is found at no other single place in the Gwalior State. Kadwāhā thus deserves to be styled the Khajurāhō or Bhuvanēśvara of Gwalior." Such buildings could not have been erected without a continuous royal patronage. Kadwāhā may, therefore, have been the capital of Avantivarman and his successors.²

Inscriptions give no definite information about the dynasty and age of Avantivarman who ruled at Mattamayūra. From the evidence of the Chēdi inscriptions mentioning the Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this line, we have inferred above that Purandara who was invited by Avantivarman flourished in *circa* 825 A.C. This is, therefore, the approximate time of Avantivarman. As regards his dynasty, Kielhorn, while editing the Ranōd inscription, suggested that he might be related to the Chaulukya princes Simhavarman, Sadhanva and Avanivarman, the ancestors of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The suggestion appears quite plausible; for, it was probably owing to the influence of this queen, who was a favourite wife of Yuvarājadēva I, that the Śaiva *Āchāryas* first obtained a footing in the Chēdi country. She, her husband Yuvarājadēva I and their son Lakshmanarāja II invited Śaiva *Āchāryas* of this line to the Chēdi country and honoured them with munificent gifts of temples, monasteries and villages. It is, therefore, quite plausible that her ancestors were ruling over the territory round Mattamayūra.³ This suggestion is further supported by the reference to a Sulkī (*i.e.*, Chaulukya) dynasty ruling in Central India in the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. A stone inscription discovered by Mr. Garde at Maser in the Bhilsā District mentions a line of Sulkī kings.⁴ The progenitor of this line was the sage Bhāradvāja. He was born of a drop of water which fell from the *añjali* of the Creator. Hence, the royal family descended from him came to be known as *Sulkī*. This tradition differs from that described in the Bilhārī inscription in connection with the ancestry of the Chēdi queen Nōhalā. The ancestors of Nōhalā belonged to the Chaulukya family, which was so called because its progenitor was born from the *chuluka* (handful of water) of the sage Bhāradvāja himself.⁵ Both these traditions are no doubt fanciful, being intended to give a plausible explanation of the dynastic name *Sulkī* or *Chaulukya*, but they leave no room for doubt that the two families were identical. The Maser inscription mentions some kings of this

¹ This Īśvaraśiva may be identical with his namesake mentioned in a fragmentary inscription at Kadwāhā. *A R A D G S* (1939), p. 18.

² The old name of the place seems to have survived in the name *Murayatas* of an old tank on the south of the village, the temples near which are 'the largest and the most important.' See *Archæology in Gwalior*, p. 96.

³ An analogous instance is that of the Kalachuri queen Alhanadēvī, who, hailing from Mewad, placed the Pāsupata ascetic Rudrarāśi of Lāta in charge of a temple of Śiva and made grants of some villages for its maintenance. No. 60, ll. 24-25.

⁴ *A R A D G S*. (1930-31), p. 10.

⁵ No. 45, l. 14.

line such as Narasimha and Kēsarin and describes their wars with the Kalachuris, their neighbours on the east, as well as with the rulers of Lāta (Central and Southern Gujarat), Kachchhavāha and Hūṇa kings. Narasimha was a feudatory of Krishnarāja who is undoubtedly the same as Krishnapa, the younger brother of the Chandēlla Dhanga. The latter flourished from 950 A.C. to 1005 A.C. These kings, therefore, undoubtedly flourished in the 10th century A.C. They evidently belonged to the same line as Avantivarman and Simhavarman. The known kings of this line may, therefore, be stated as follows¹ :—

Avantivarman (825 A.C.)
 |
 Simhavarman (850 A.C.)
 |
 Sadhanva (875 A.C.)
 |
 Avantivarman (900 A.C.)
 |
 Narasimha (950 A.C.)
 |
 Kēsarin (975 A.C.)

The subsequent history of this family is not known; but as shown elsewhere,² the Chaulukyas of Gujarat who flourished from the 10th century onwards may have been related to these kings. That the Chaulukyas of Gujarat were staunch supporters of Śaivism is well known.

The *matha* at Mattamayūra, being a renowned seat of Śaivism, supplied Śaiva pontiffs from time to time to the monasteries in the Chēḍī country. As stated above, Yuvarājadēva I invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and made munificent gifts to him. His wife Nōhalā invited another Śaiva *Āchārya* named Īśvaraśiva and donated several villages to him. Her son Lakshmanarāja II called Hridayaśiva from the *matha* of Madhumatī and made over to him the *mathas* of Vaidyanātha and Nauhalēśvara. Hridayaśiva placed his disciple Aghōraśiva in charge of the latter *matha*.

Kalachuri inscriptions mention some other Śaiva *Āchāryas* who acted as *Rājagurus*. They also probably belonged to the Mattamayūra clan. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 (1174 A.C.) mentions the following Śaiva *Āchāryas* :—

Vimalaśiva
 |
 Vāstuśiva
 |
 Puruṣaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Yaśahkarṇa)
 |
 Śaktiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Gayākarṇa)
 |
 Kirttiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Narasimha)
 |
 Vimalaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Jayasimha)

Two sons of the last *Āchārya* Vimalaśiva became *sannyasins*. The elder was Sāntaśiva, who became the *Rājaguru* of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyamalla, when the latter annexed the Chēḍī country. The younger son was Nādaśiva. He executed a mortgage deed recorded in the Dhurētī plates of Trailōkyamalla, dated K. 963 (1212 A.C.)³

¹ The dates given against the royal names here are approximate.

² See my article 'Varuṇaśarmaka Grant of Chāmundaarāja' in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (May 1945), pp. 90 ff.

³ No. 72, l. 18.

A branch of the Mattamayūra clan was founded at Bhērā-Ghāt, about 10 miles from Tripurī. A hypethral temple was erected on a hillock on the bank of the Narmadā, where sixty-four *yōgmīs* with Ganapati were installed. Most of the *yōgmīs* are of the time of Yuvarājādēva I, but some are of a much earlier age.¹ The place seems to have been considered holy from very early times. The hypethral temple became known as *Gōlakī* or the Round Temple from its shape. The *maṭha* or monastery established by its side became well known as *Gōlakī maṭha*. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription² says that the *Gōlakī maṭha* was situated in the Dāhala *mandala* between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā. As stated before, Dāhala was the home province of the Kalachuris with Tripurī as its capital. This *maṭha* sent its *Āchāryas* to distant places for the propagation of its faith. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had risen to the position of the chief abbot of this *maṭha*, made an *agrahāra* called *Viśvēśvara-Gōlakī* in the Andhra country as stated in the Malkāpuram pillar inscription. This inscription gives the following spiritual genealogy of Viśvēśvaraśambhu :—

Durvāsas

⋮

Sadbhāvaśambhu (contemporary of Yuvarājādēva I)

|

Sōmaśambhu

|

Vāmaśambhu³

⋮

Saktiśambhu

|

Kīrtiśambhu

|

Vimalaśiva

|

Dharmaśambhu

|

Viśvēśvaraśambhu

(contemporary of the Kākatīya king Ganapati, 1213-1249 A.C.)

It will be noticed that the three *Āchāryas* from Saktiśambhu to Vimalaśiva are identical with those mentioned in the Jabalpur inscription as the *Rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings Gayākarna, Narasimha and Jayasimha. Vimalaśiva hailed from the Kērala country, while his disciple's disciple Viśvēśvaraśambhu was a resident of Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa Rādha in Gauda. This shows plainly that the *Gōlakī maṭha* attracted learned and pious men from distant places. Viśvēśvaraśambhu, who had attained the position of the head of the *Gōlakī maṭha*, afterwards repaired to the Andhra country, where he received great honours at the Kākatīya court. He initiated the Kākatīya king Ganapati into the Śaiva faith and received munificent gifts of land and villages from him as well as from his daughter Rudrāmbā. Branches of the *Gōlakī maṭha* were established at several other places in Cudappa, Kurnool, Guntur and North Arcot Districts in the Madras State.

¹ H.T.M., p. 78.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.

³ Some scholars identify this Vāmaśambhu with Vāmadēva, mentioned in the grants of Karna and others with full imperial titles. The identification does not appear to be correct. From the description in the Malkāpuram inscription, Vāmaśambhu does not appear to have been the immediate predecessor of Saktiśambhu, but flourished several generations earlier. Cf. तस्मिन् मठे तस्य गुरोर्बभूवुः शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च परःसहस्राः । विनिग्रहीतु समनुग्रहीतु क्षोणीश्वरान्दक्षकटाक्षपातैः ॥ इत्थं काले याति सत्संप्रदाये सन्तानेऽस्मिन्नर्थिसन्तानकल्प[.] । शैवाम्भोधेः शक्तिशम्भोरुदाराच्छिष्यः श्रीमान् कीर्तिशम्भुर्बभूव ॥ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 156.

Another branch of the Mattamayūra clan was established at Karkarōnī. This place has not been identified, but was situated somewhere in Central India. Brahmaśambhu, the author of the *Pañjikā*, belonged to this branch¹ Some *Āchāryas* of this branch settled down in Konkan. A copper-plate inscription of Rattarāja of the Śilāhāra dynasty, dated in Ś. 930 (1008 A. C.) and discovered at Kharepatan, records a grant of land made for the use of the *Āchāryas* of this branch²

Kalachuri inscriptions afford us glimpses into the lives of these *Āchāryas*. The Jabalpur inscription dated K. 926 describes the lineage, learning and mode of life of the great Śaiva *Āchārya* Vimalaśiva, the *Rājaguru* of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha³ He was born in a family of great Vedic scholars renowned as much for charitable and religious works as for learning. Vimalaśiva studied the Vēdas, observed religious vows and visited holy places in different parts of India such as Prabhāsa, Gōkarna and Gayā. He then received initiation from Kīrtiśiva of the *Gōlakī matha*, the *Rājaguru* of Narasimha. He was employed by the king Jayasimha in various affairs of the State, but never neglected his *niṭya* and *naimittika* religious duties. He was renowned for his charities and erected temples, *mathas*, charitable feeding houses (*sattras*), dwellings for the Brāhmanas as well as gardens. He built a large temple of Śiva under the name of *Kīrtiśvara* in honour of his *guru* Kīrtiśiva. For the maintenance of the temple, the Kalachuri king Jayasimha donated some villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse in K. 926 (1174 A. C.)

Similar glowing accounts of the religious and charitable activities of other Śaiva *Āchāryas* are given by several Kalachuri inscriptions. These *Āchāryas* received honour and patronage at the hands of the ruling kings. The *Rājagurus* are mentioned among royal officers to whom grants of land and villages, recorded in copper-plate charters, are communicated. The Malkāpuram pillar inscription records the tradition that Sadbhāvaśambhu of the *Gōlakī matha* received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva (I). If correct, this would indicate that the king assigned to him one third of the total revenue of his home province of Dāhala, which, according to tradition, comprised nine lakhs of villages⁴ Though this princely gift has not been recorded in any Chēdi inscriptions, there is no doubt that the Kalachuris liberally patronised the *mathas*. Both the Bilhārī⁵ and Gurgi⁶ inscriptions record the donations of several villages for the maintenance of temples and monasteries, made by successive Kalachuri kings. The former inscription mentions, besides, several taxes and rates levied on oil mills, and on elephants, horses, vegetables, betel leaves and other articles sold in the local markets, which were assigned for the maintenance of these religious and charitable institutions.

Many of these *Āchāryas* were engaged in austerities and, therefore, preferred to stay in solitary retreats far from the crowd. For them monasteries were built on the banks of holy rivers where they could practise meditation in peaceful surroundings. A graphic description of the quiet life led by these *Āchāryas* is given in the Chandrēhē inscription⁷

The *Āchāryas* utilised the wealth of the *mathas* and the income of the *agrabāra* villages for the welfare of the people. Kalachuri inscriptions mention *vyākhyāna-śālās* (lecture halls), *sattras* (charitable feeding houses) and gardens with which the *mathas* were provided⁸

¹ I owe this information to Mr. S. N. Sen, Curator of the Nepal Museum, who kindly supplied me with an extract from the MS. of the work in his possession.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

³ No. 64, ll. 14 ff.

⁴ It is noteworthy that the *Āchāryas* of the South-Indian branches of the *Gōlakī matha* are described as belonging to the *Lakṣhādhyāyī-santāna* or *Bhikṣhā-matha*. *A.R.S.I.E.* (1923-24), p. 114

⁵ No. 45.

⁶ No. 46

⁷ No. 44, ll. 15 ff.

⁸ No. 60, ll. 23-24.

They do not, however, give us any information about the management of these *mathas*. For this we must turn to the Malkāpuram inscription, which gives a detailed description of the measures adopted by Viśvēśvaraśambhu for the maintenance and management of the institutions he founded in his *agrabāra* village, viz., a temple, a monastery, a college, a choultry for the distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital. Elaborate rules were laid down for the appointment of an *Āchārya* as the head of the *Matha*, his qualifications and the fee to be paid to him for his services were set forth in detail. The whole Śaiva community of the village was given the right to appoint a new *Āchārya*, if the existing one was found negligent in his duty or was guilty of misbehaviour¹. As Viśvēśvaraśambhu was previously the head of the *Gōlakī Matha*, it would not be wrong to infer that similar rules were in force for the management of the *mathas* in the Chēdi country.

There were four well-known sects of Śaivism, viz., Śaiva, Pāsupata, Kārūka (or Kārūnika) Siddhāntin and Kāpālīka. The *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan belonged to the Śaiva, not the Pāsupata sect. According to tradition, Śiva first initiated Brahmā, the Creator, into this faith after a sacrifice in Dāruvana². From the latter sprang this line of Śaiva *Āchāryas*. In some inscriptions the first *Āchārya* is said to be Durvāsa. His spiritual descendants called themselves *Siddhāntikas*, i.e., followers of the true doctrine. Madhumatī in Central India is described as the abode of the *Siddhāntikas*³. The *Siddhāntas* were revealed by Mahēśvara. According to this sect, there are three principles, viz., the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*pasu*) and the fetters (*pāśa*). The whole system has four *pādas*, viz., *vidyā* or right knowledge of the three *padārthas*, *kriyā* or ceremonies consisting of *dīkṣhā* (initiation) etc., *yōga* or meditation and *charyā* or discipline consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is prohibited. *Charyā* and *yōga* are regarded as important as *vidyā*⁴. The *Āchāryas* of Madhumatī are described as having an excellent discipline⁵. Most of the inscriptions of this clan contain descriptions of the yōgic practices of the *Āchāryas*. These led to emancipation (*siddhi*). The *Āchāryas* who attained emancipation were called *Siddhas*. Kadambaguhā, the original home of the Mattamayūra school, is called the venerable abode of the line of the *Siddhas*.

Though the *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan were followers of the Śaiva school, they were not bigotted. They studied various orthodox and even heterodox systems. Rudraśiva, the *guru* of the Kalachuri king Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant not only with the *siddhāntas* of his own but also with those of others' schools, he was, besides, well-read in the authoritative works of Dinnāga and others⁶. In the Gurgi inscription, the Śaiva *Āchārya* Praśāntaśiva is said to have spent his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adepts in the philosophy of the *Pāñchārthikas* or Pāsupatas⁷.

There were several Pāsupata *Āchāryas* living in the Kalachuri kingdom. One of them, viz., Rudrarāśi who came from Lāta, was placed in charge of the temple of Śiva under the name of *Vaidyanātha*, and of the *matha* and the hall of teaching with gardens etc. attached to them, which the Kalachuri dowager queen Alhanadēvī had erected at Bhērā-Ghāt⁸. Another Pāsupata *Āchārya*, known from the inscriptions, was Bhāvabrahman, who also had

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 158 ff.; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 355.

³ No. 46, l. 5.

⁴ *Sarvadarsanasangraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 175.

⁵ Cf. *Sacchary-āchārya-varyāḥ* in No. 46, l. 4.

⁶ No. 77, l. 27.

⁷ No. 46, l. 20.

⁸ No. 60, ll. 23-24.

hailed from Lāta and erected a temple of Śiva at Tripurī¹. His mode of life was in accordance with the teaching of the Pāśupata system. He lived on scanty food which he obtained by begging, wore only a loin cloth, slept on pure ashes and lived a life of celibacy. He practised *yōga* as taught in the system of *Patañjali*, and cultivated the four *bhāvanās* (sentiments) of *maitrī* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkṣhā* (indifference). According to the Pāśupatas, salvation consists not only in the cessation of misery but also in the attainment of supernatural powers. Liberated souls live in an intimate union with Śiva.²

As stated before, almost all Kalachuri kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. Some of them went on a pilgrimage to distant holy places to offer worship to the god. We learn from the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmanarāja II marched in state with his whole retinue of feudatory princes and his army of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers all the way from Tripurī to Sōmanāth Pattan, and bathing in the sea there, he worshipped the god Sōmanātha with lotuses of gold. He also offered to the god in worship the effigy of the serpent Kāliya, made of gold inlaid with precious stones, which he had obtained from the king of Orissa. He then himself composed a hymn of praise and concentrated his mind on Śiva's glory.³ His son Yuvarājadēva II also dedicated to Sōmēśvara the wealth he had obtained by conquering the kings of the four quarters.⁴ He also composed an excellent hymn in praise of the god.⁵

There was a great building activity during the age of the Kalachuris. The temples and monasteries, built by Yuvarājadēva I, his queen Nōhalā and their son Lakshmanarāja II, have already been mentioned. From a huge sculpture of Hara-Gaurī, measuring 12' 8" long by 4' 7" broad on the mound at Gurgi, Cunningham conjectured that the structure in which it was enshrined must have been about 100 ft in height.⁶ Banerji says that the height of the top of the *śikhara* of this temple, when it was intact, must have been a good 150 ft. above the surrounding ground level.⁷ From the Gurgi inscription we know that this temple was erected by the sage Praśāntaśiva.⁸ By its side there was another temple erected by Yuvarājadēva I, which must have been still more lofty. The illustrious king Karna built a twelve- or sixteen-storeyed temple called *Karnamēru*, which was probably dedicated to Śiva. The ruins of this temple can still be seen near Rājghāt in Banaras. Another temple, said to have been erected by Karna, is at Amarakantak. It is a magnificent triple-shrined structure with profusely sculptured lofty *śikharas*. Other temples of the age are those of Virātēśvara at Sōhāgpur and Vaidyanātha at Baijnāth, both in the former Rewa State. Most of these temples have a circular *garbha-griha*. Temples of this type were a speciality of the Chēdi country and were built for the first time by the *Āchāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan. Such temples have not been noticed outside the dominion of the Kalachuris.⁹

Several ministers and generals of the Kalachuri kings as well as private individuals living in the Chēdi country followed the example of their rulers and erected temples dedicated to Śiva. The descendants of the aforementioned Kāyastha *Amātya* of Yuvarāja-

¹ No 58, ll. 8 ff.

² See *Sarvadarsanasangraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed), p 171. See also No 58, l 8

³ No 45, ll. 23-24.

⁴ Appendix, No. 3, l. 7.

⁵ No. 45, ll. 28-30.

⁶ C. A. S. I. R., Vol XXI, p 152. The great *tōrana* erected in front of the Rājā's palace in Rewa originally belonged to the temple of Śiva at Gurgi.

⁷ H. T. M., p 43.

⁸ No. 46, l 14

⁹ H. T. M., pp. 48, 53-54 etc.

dēva I changed their religious creed and became Śaivas. The last of them, mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription dated K. 800, whose name is unfortunately lost, constructed a temple of an imposing height probably at Guigi, which he dedicated to Śiva.¹ Vappulla, a brave general of Karna, who had distinguished himself in several battles, built a temple of the *pañchāyatana* type, in which the central shrine was surrounded by four small *dēvakulīs*. The image installed in one of them was of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. The names of the images in the other three are unfortunately lost.² Besides Viṣṇu and Śiva, Gaṇēśa also seems to have been worshipped in this period. He is invoked in the beginning of some records of this period,³ but no specific mention of a temple erected in his honour occurs in the records of the Chēdi country. The same is true of Kāṭtikēya.⁴ Sculptures of both the gods have, however, been found in abundance at Tripurī and other places. Ambikā was regarded as a guardian deity and her image was installed when a new work like a *ghāṭ* was constructed.⁵ Images of the Sun also have been found at Masaun and Bhērā-Ghāt, but there is no mention of any temple dedicated to him.⁶ A beautiful bronze image of Rēvanta, son of the Sun, was found at Tripurī and is now in the possession of the former Malguzar of the village.

Buddhism and Jainism also were flourishing in the Chēdi country. At Sarnath, Māmakā, the wife of Dharmēśvara, who was a follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Ashtasāhasrikāprajñā* to be written, which she made over to the Order of the Venerable Monks of the Mahābōdhi Mahāvihāra where the Buddha had turned the Wheel of the Law by his first sermon. At Gopālpur, about 3 miles from Bhērā-Ghāt, were discovered five Buddhist images. Four of these were of Bōdhisattva Avalōkuteśvara, while the fifth was of his consort Tārā. From the inscription on one of them, it seems that the image was the gift of a woman named Dhēnuvā, who was a gate-keeper of one Satka, son of a lay worshipper named Subhata Kāyastha. She was a follower of the Mahāyāna school. These images appear to be of the Magadha school.⁷ The inscription shows that there were some Buddhists living in peace and prosperity near the Kalachuri capital Tripurī.⁸ At Tewar itself was found the beautiful image of a Bōdhisattva of the Mahāyāna school, seated in the Vajrāsana posture, with his two hands in the attitude of teaching.⁹ The Buddha had come to be included among the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and is figured on the *prabhāvali* of the images of that god.¹⁰

That Jainism also was flourishing in the Kalachuri dominion is shown by the Bahuribandh inscription of the reign of Gayākarna. It records the construction of a temple of the Jaina *Tirthankara* Śāntinātha by one Mahābhōja, son of Sarvadhara.¹¹ The

¹ No. 51, l. 28

² No. 53, ll. 14-15

³ No. 60, ll. 4-5; No. 65, l. 1.

⁴ See, e.g., H. T. M., pp. 86, 92 etc

⁵ No. 62, l. 4.

⁶ H T M, pp 91 and 93

⁷ No. 52, ll. 10-11.

⁸ Ep Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 73 ff

⁹ H T M, pp 93 ff According to S. C. Vidyabhushan, Gāṅgēyadēva and Karna overthrew Buddhism and brought about the revival of Brahmanism in Mithilā. See his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 350. This view is based on the wrong identification of Gāṅgēyadēva of Tirabhukti with the homonymous Kalachuri king. See above, p. lxxxix, n. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹¹ No. 59, C, l. 4. Recently another fragmentary Jaina inscription has been discovered at Tripurī. In the extant portion it mentions the Kalachuri king Karṇa.

colossal statue of Sāntinātha is still standing at Bahuribandh. Several other images of the Jaina Tīrthankaras have been found in the Jabalpur District. There were Jaina temples at Sōhāgpur also. At the palace of the *Thākur* of the place are collected a number of Jaina sculptures, among which there are some Sāsana-dēvatās¹. All this leaves no room for doubt that Jainism also had a considerable following in the Chēdī country.

Many of the grants made in this period were in the form of endowments to temples erected by kings, their ministers and *Rājagurus*. Some grants were made to Brāhmanas for the attainment of religious merit. There is, however, no specific mention of the object as in the earlier grants, viz., that they were made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. Some *agrahāra* villages were granted for the settlement of the Brāhmanas. These settlements were called the *Brahma-stambas*.² Karna invited some learned and pious Brāhmanas to settle at a newly founded town called *Karnāvatī*, which, from its description, appears to have been situated on the bank of the Gangā. Karaṇbēl was another town founded by the same king near Tripurī.

Of the ten grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Chēdī and Sarayūpāra or their feudatories, two were made on the occasion of the *śrāddha* of the donor's father,³ three on the occasion of a sankrānti,⁴ one on a lunar eclipse,⁵ and two on the *tithis* of Kārttika-pūrṇimā and Mārgaśīrsha-kṛishṇa-saptamī⁶. The occasion and purpose of one are not known. One grant was made on the occasion of a *yugādī*.⁷ Curious as it may appear, no grant made by the Kalachuris to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of a solar eclipse in this period has yet been found in the Chēdī and Sarayūpāra countries.

Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala—The religious condition in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala did not materially differ from that in Chēdī and Sarayūpāra. The Kalachuris who ruled there believed that they had obtained their kingdom by the grace of the god Vankēśvara.⁸ This was probably a Prakrit name of Śiva. There was an old temple of Vankēśvara at Tummāna, the old capital of the Kalachuris. The object of worship was an image, not a *linga*, for, the Amōdā plates state that the king Prithvīdēva I washed the resplendent feet of the god before he made a grant to a Brāhmaṇa on the occasion of the construction of the *chatushkīkā* (hall) of the temple.⁹ After the capital was shifted to Ratnapura, several temples were built there by the kings and their ministers. Jājalladēva I founded the town of Jājallapura (modern Janjgir in the Bilaspur District), and built there a temple of Śiva and a monastery for ascetics.¹⁰ He also repaired the old temple of Śiva at Pālī by constructing additional walls and pillars.¹¹ The temples of Śiva were erected by the princes, their feudatories and ministers as well as private persons at several places such as Mallāla, Sōnthivapura, Varēlāpura, Nārāyanapura, Kumarākōṭa, Pathariā, Shēorinārāyan, Vaḍada and Pōrathā.¹²

Saivism was thus the predominant cult in Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala, but Vaishnavism also was prevalent, though it played a subordinate rôle. At Janjgir there is a beautifully sculp-

¹ H. T. M., p. 100

² No. 43, l. 2, No. 56, l. 13.

³ No. 48, l. 40, No. 65, l. 14.

⁴ No. 56, l. 27, No. 74, l. 39, Appendix, No. 2.

⁵ No. 63, l. 26.

⁶ No. 50, l. 41, No. 68, l. 13.

⁷ See below, p. 649.

⁸ No. 75, l. 4.

⁹ No. 76, l. 28.

¹⁰ No. 77, l. 26.

¹¹ Nos. 78-81. See also p. 418.

¹² See No. 97, l. 24, No. 98, l. 21, No. 96, l. 25, No. 96, ll. 28 and 29; No. 98, ll. 22 and 25, No. 100, l. 23.

tured temple of Vishnu which was unfortunately left incomplete. Above the door-way of the *garbhagriha* are carved the images of the Hindu Trinity, Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva, which testify to the religious syncretism of the age. Vishnu, to whom the temple was dedicated, appears in the centre. On the pillars and walls of the temple appear beautifully carved images of the several incarnations of Vishnu as well as of Sūrya, Dēvi and other gods. This is one of the most beautiful temples in Chhattisgarh.¹ Its builder's name is unknown. Another old temple of Vishnu exists at Shēorinārāyan, perhaps erected by a collateral branch of the royal family. It is a simple structure, possessing no architectural beauty. Jagapāla, who distinguished himself in several battles of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, repaired an old temple of Vishnu, originally built by a Nala king in the 8th century A C.² He re-named the god as Rāmachandra and granted a village for his worship.³ Another temple dedicated to the god was built by a *Mōchī* or Shoe-maker at Khalvātikā in the Raipur District.⁴ Several beautifully carved images of Vishnu have been discovered at Ratanpur and other places.

Besides Śiva and Vishnu, other gods and goddesses like Pārvatī, Ēkavīrā, Ganapati and Rēvanta (son of the Sun) were adored by people, high and low, and had temples dedicated to them at several places such as Ratnapura, Vadada, Durga, Pahapaka and Vikarnapura.⁵ Of these the temple of Rēvanta at Vikarnapura, modern Kotgaḍh, deserves a special mention. It was built by Vallabharāja, a feudatory of the Vaiśya caste, who distinguished himself in the wars of Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. It was a fine structure, beautifully decorated with sculptures. Its ruins still exist at Kōtgaḍh. Some of these temples were of the *pañchāyatana* type,⁶ and some others had charitable feeding houses attached to them. At some places like Jānjgir and Kharōd, monasteries were constructed for the residence of ascetics.⁷ They must have served as centres of learning and religious teaching as in the Chēdi country.

The cult of Dēvi also was prevalent in Dakshina Kōsala. She and other Śaktis like Vaishnavī, Vārāhī, Nārasimhī, Aindrī, Chāmunda and others, who were associated with her in her fight with the demons, were worshipped in several places, and their favour was invoked for success in fighting. Tantricism also had some followers.⁸ It was believed that by the practice of the *Śākambharī vidyā*, one could obtain supernatural powers ensuring success in battles.⁹

A festival was celebrated in honour of Durgā in the bright fortnight of Āśvina. It continued for nine days. The Dipāvalī festival in Kārttika was marked by illuminations, gifts of cows and reading of the Purānas, as at present.¹⁰ Mahāmāyā and other similar gods and goddesses were worshipped by the lower classes of the society.¹¹

Buddhism was flourishing in Dakshina Kōsala before the advent of the Kalachuris. That Buddhist *vihāras* existed at Ārang in the Raipur District¹² and Mallār in the Bilaspur District¹³ is known from inscriptions. Yuan Chwang tells us that there were over 100

¹ *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 271.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.

³ No. 88, l. 14.

⁴ No. 108, l. 12.

⁵ No. 96, l. 26, No. 100, l. 23, No. 95, l. 26.

⁶ No. 90, l. 23.

⁷ No. 77, l. 26, No. 100, l. 22.

⁸ No. 114, ll. 1 ff.

⁹ No. 89, l. 25.

¹⁰ No. 105, l. 10.

¹¹ Nos. 103 and 104 are on stones built into a wall of the temple of Mahāmāyā.

¹² *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, pp. 617 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227, n. 2.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.

Buddhist monasteries and about 10000 Brethren, all Mahāyānists, in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala.¹ The reigning king Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna made grants to Buddhist *vihāras*, though he himself was a fervent devotee of Śiva. But in later times Buddhism declined here as in other parts of the country. There is not a single reference to any Buddhist *vihāra* or Bhikṣu in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. The Buddhist canonical and philosophical works were, however, studied by some people. Rudraśiva, the spiritual teacher of Jājalladēva I, is described as conversant with the works of Dinnāga and others.² Kāśala, who composed the Kōṇi stone inscription, tells us that he had knowledge of three *ratnas* (i.e., probably Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) and that he had mastered the *āgamas* of the Buddha and others.³ Some learned Brāhmaṇas also, who were required to take part in philosophical debates, must have been well acquainted with the Buddhist systems.

There are also no references to the Jainas in the Kalachuri inscriptions of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, but there is no doubt that Jainism had some followers there. Images of the Jaina Tīrthankaras have been discovered at Ārang, Sirpur, Mallār, Dhanpur, Ratanpur and Padampur, these at Mallār being colossal.⁴

It is noteworthy that many of the grants made to Brāhmaṇas by the Kalachuris of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala were on the occasion of a solar or a lunar eclipse. Of the sixteen grants included here, as many as nine were made at the time of eclipses, five being lunar and four solar.⁵ Three grants were made on a sankrānti,⁶ one on the *akṣaya tritīyā*⁷ which is regarded as a very holy day, and one on the *śrāddha-tithi* of the donor's father.⁸ In the case of the remaining two, no auspicious occasion has been mentioned.⁹

SOCIETY

Like religion, the social life also changed considerably in course of time. In the earlier period people had a broader outlook on social matters. The caste system had not become quite rigid. Foreign tribes like the Sakas were welcomed to the Hindu fold and were assigned their rightful place in the social structure. Hence they did not try to conceal their racial origin, but proudly stated it in their records. The Śaka king Śrīdhavarman, for instance, makes a specific mention of his race in both the records of his reign.¹⁰ The Gurjaras also make no attempt in their earlier grants to trace their pedigree from a mythological or legendary hero, but take pride in stating that they were born in the *Gurjara-vamśa*.¹¹ The Sakas, the Gurjaras and the Hūnas became completely absorbed in the Hindu society in course of time and had matrimonial relations with the most notable Kshatriya families. The Hūnas came to be reckoned among the thirty-six Kshatriya families of the best blood, their foreign origin having been completely forgotten.¹² We find that the Kalachuri Emperor Kaṇva, who claimed to belong to the lunar race, had

¹ O. Y. C., Vol. II, p. 200.

² No. 77, l. 27.

³ No. 90, l. 27.

⁴ *Razpur District Gazetteer*, pp. 65-66, *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 61.

⁵ For lunar eclipses, see Nos. 82, 83, 86, 91 and 102, and for solar ones, see Nos. 89, 90, 117 and 122.

⁶ Nos. 75, 92 and 101.

⁷ No. 94, ll. 20-21.

⁸ No. 123, l. 27.

⁹ Nos. 76 and 99.

¹⁰ No. 5, l. 2, No. 119, l. 2.

¹¹ See, e.g., No. 16, l. 2.

¹² *Pratibhāṣā*, I, 135. The list with a few minor changes occurs in the *Kumārāpālacharita*.

no objection to marrying the princess Āvalladēvi of the Hūṇa lineage.¹ She was probably his chief queen. Her son Yaśahkaṇṇa succeeded his father on the Kalachuri throne. The Ābhīras also rose in social status and, like the Hūṇas, were ranked among the best Kshatriya families.²

In the social hierarchy, the Brāhmanas occupied an honoured place. They were revered for their pious life and devotion to learning, and received royal patronage in the form of grants of land. In the earlier period, their sub-castes had not been formed and their surnames based on the places of origin had not come into vogue. The only distinctions recognised were those of the Vēdas, *śākhās* and *gōtras*. It would be interesting to see how the Brāhmaṇas of the different Vēdas and *śākhās* were geographically distributed. Unfortunately, we do not find these details mentioned in all grants. The earliest grants included here, *viz.*, those of the *Mahārājas* of Valkha, Subandhu and the Traikūtakas, mention the *gōtras*, but not the Vēdas and *śākhās*, of the Brāhmaṇa donees.³ In later records they are generally mentioned, though some details are found lacking in a few grants. They are again conspicuous by their absence in the grants made after 1150 A.C. In this latter period, we find modern surnames gradually coming into vogue. We find that the Bahurichas or Ṛigvēdins are mentioned in very few records.⁴ When their *śākhā* is named, it is only Āśvalāyana. The Ṛigvēdins, though few, were fairly wide-spread. We find them named in the grants from Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh. The Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurveda was predominant everywhere. Several Brāhmaṇas of this *śākhā* received grants of land in Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh.⁵ The other *śākhā*, Kanva, of this Vēda is rarely mentioned. There are only four references to it in our records.⁶ The Brāhmaṇas of the Black Yajurveda or the Taittirīyas were rarer still. They had their home in South India and we find them mentioned only in the records of the south. One of them, residing at Kallivana, modern Kalvan in the Nasik District, received a grant of land situated in that district.⁷ A few others were residing near Nagpur.⁸ We no doubt find a Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya *śākhā* receiving the grant of a village in Gujarat,⁹ but he originally hailed from Vanavāsī in the Kanara District, Bombay State. He bore a Kanarese name and had evidently gone to Gujarat at the invitation of the Chālukya prince, Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin, who also originally came from Karnāṭaka. A few Sāmavēdins are noticed in the grants from Gujarat, Sarayūpāra, and the Nagpur and Chhattisgarh Divisions of Madhya Pradesh.¹⁰ When their *śākhā* is mentioned, it is invariably Kauthuma.¹¹ The Atharvavēdins were extremely rare. They are mentioned only in one record, *viz.*, in the Kairā plates of Dadda II-Praśāntarāga, dated K. 380.¹² They all belonged to the Pippalāda *śākhā* and were residents of Bhērajikā, modern Borjat in the Broach District. They received a village in common with the

¹ No 56, l. 13, No 57, l. 13

² *Prithvīrājarāso*, I, 135

³ Nos. 2-4, 6, 8 and 9

⁴ See No 11, l. 8, No 16, ll. 35-37, No 56, l. 30, No 74, ll. 41 ff., No 76, l. 26, No 121, l. 19

⁵ No. 14, l. 21, No 19, ll. 16-17, No 20, l. 15, No 21, l. 20, No 24, l. 36, No 25, l. 22, No 26, l. 25; No 74, ll. 41-42, No 91, l. 21.

⁶ No 15, l. 22, No. 16, l. 37, No 29, l. 19, No 120, l. 10

⁷ No. 12, l. 21

⁸ No 120, ll. 10-11.

⁹ No. 30, ll. 37-38

¹⁰ No 11, l. 5, No 16, l. 39, No 22, l. 16, No 74, l. 44, No 75, l. 10, No 82, l. 17, No. 120, l. 11.

¹¹ No. 16, l. 39, No 22, l. 16

¹² No. 16, l. 41.

Brāhmanas of the other Vēdas, but they seem to have fallen out with them. They were, therefore, omitted in a later grant of the same village, which virtually cancelled the earlier grant. It is well known that the Atharvavēda was looked upon with disfavour in ancient times.

The original places of habitation, from which the Brāhmanas had migrated, are generally stated in land-grants. Some of these places were well known in ancient times as the homes of particular *śākhās*. Thus, Kulāñchā in the Bogra District of North Bengal was famous as the home of the Brāhmanas of the Sāndilya *gōtra*,¹ most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda. Similarly, Ṭakārī in Madhyadēśa, which is probably identical with the homonymous village in the Gayā District, was known as the home of the Brāhmanas of the Mādhyandina *śākhā*,² though some Brāhmanas of other *śākhās* also resided there. In some cases we find Brāhmanas migrating from far off places in search of royal patronage. Thus, the Kalachuri court in Ratanpur attracted Brāhmaṇas from such distant places as Sōnabhadra³ in Uttar Pradesh and Kumbhatī⁴ in Madhya Bharat. Derivatives from place-names such as Māthura and Nāgara, which later became family-names of the Brāhmanas, are also noticed in one record.⁵ In the earlier period the Brāhmanas were distinguished from other castes by the prefix *Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ *Bhatta* or *Bhattika*⁷ and the suffix *svāmin*.⁸ Towards the close of the later period other prefixes such as *Pandita*, *Thakkeura*, *Rāuta* and *Gantā* became common.⁹ The names generally ended in *śarman*. The modern surnames Miśra¹⁰ and Tripāthī¹¹ occur in very late records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.C.

Many Brāhmanas devoted themselves to the study of the Vēdas and Sāstras. Some of them mastered more than one Vēda. This was indicated by the prefixes like *Dviveda* attached to their names,¹² which in the earlier period had not become mere family surnames. Those who had performed a sacrifice were known as *Dīkṣita*.¹³ In the earlier period, the Brāhmaṇas generally maintained the sacred fire and performed the *grihya* rites like the five great sacrifices regularly. It is interesting to read that Sōmēśvara, the Brāhmaṇa Prime Minister of Lakshmaṇarāja II, performed regularly the *Darśapūrnāmāsa* and other sacrifices.¹⁴ Some Brāhmaṇas officiated as priests (*Purōhitas*). The *Mahāpurōhita*, who was in charge of the Department of Religion, is mentioned with ministers and high State functionaries in the later grants of the Kalachuris.¹⁵ Many members of the priestly caste obtained proficiency in the Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vēdānta and other *darśanas* and even studied heterodox philosophical systems like the Chārvāka, Bauddha and Jaina.¹⁶ Some of them took part in literary competitions and philosophical disputations at the royal courts. Some others became proficient in astronomy and mastered more than one

¹ See below, p. 268, n. 1

² See below, p. 475, n. 4

³ No. 83, l. 16

⁴ No. 97, l. 11.

⁵ No. 74, ll. 41 and 44

⁶ No. 11, l. 5.

⁷ No. 13, l. 7

⁸ No. 14, l. 22.

⁹ No. 99, l. 37, No. 117, l. 5.

¹⁰ No. 108, l. 13

¹¹ No. 105, l. 16

¹² Np. 30, l. 38.

¹³ No. 29, l. 20

¹⁴ No. 42, ll. 10 ff

¹⁵ No. 56, l. 25

¹⁶ No. 97, ll. 16-18.

Siddhānta. At the royal court, there was sometimes a competition among astronomers about the prediction of the correct time of an eclipse. The successful astronomer was rewarded with a grant of land ¹ Some Brāhmanas left the worldly life and took orders in some religious sect like the Śaiva and the Pāśupata.²

From very ancient times the Brāhmanas have been allowed to adopt the profession of a Kshatriya if they are unable to earn a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or acceptance of gifts ³ In our records there are some instances of the Brāhmanas occupying influential positions in the State. The castes of royal officers are rarely mentioned in land-grants. So the information is very meagre. Still we find that in two cases the Brāhmanas acted as *Dūtakas* of land-grants ⁴ The office of the *Dūtaka* was a very high one⁵ and was held by State functionaries of the rank of *Mahāpīlupati* and *Mahābalādhikṛta*. Some Brāhmanas are known to have filled with distinction the office of the Prime Minister also. Bhākamīśra, Sōmēśvara, Purushōttama and Gangādhara were some of the learned and capable Prime Ministers of the Later Kalachuris ⁶ They are highly eulogised in our records. Some of them distinguished themselves on the battlefield also and won important victories for their masters. Others by their diplomacy saved the State in times of economic and political crises and restored peace and prosperity to the country. Some Brāhmanas are mentioned as the authors of royal *praśastis* ⁷ Their compositions reveal no mean poetic talent.

The Brāhmanas generally married within their caste, but marriages of the *anulōma* type, in which they took to wife a girl from a lower caste, were not unknown. Rājaśekhara, who was a Brāhmana of the Yāyāvāra family, married Avantisundarī of the Chauhāna lineage. This was probably not a solitary instance.

The Kshatriyas, like the Brāhmanas, enjoyed a high social status. Many of the rulers in the earlier as well the later period belonged to this caste. The Chālukyās and the Kalachuris were known as Kshatriyas. The former claimed to have descended from Hārīti and mentioned their Mānayya *gōtra* in their land-grants ⁸ The Sēndrakas, who were matrimonially connected with them, also probably belonged to the same caste. The Kalachuris called themselves Haihayas, i.e., descendants of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. The latter was born in the family of the Moon. The Kalachuris, therefore, claimed to be of the famous lunar race ⁹ They had matrimonial relations with all the principal Kshatriya families of the age, viz.,

¹ No. 83, ll. 23 ff.

² No. 64, l. 17, No. 38, l. 7.

³ *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II, 2, 69-70.

⁴ No. 2, l. 8 mentions Nannabhatti, and No. 24, l. 49, *Bhatta śrī-Dēiyaka* as *Dūtakas*.

⁵ The *Dūtaka* communicated the royal order about a grant to the office of the *Sāndhivigrahika*. Cf. *rāj-ājñā-prada* used instead of the usual *dūtaka* in the Pōnnutūru plates of Sāmantavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 220. The *Dūtaka* of No. 12 was a *Mahāpīlupati*, and that of No. 14 was a *Mahābalādhikṛta*.

⁶ See No. 42, ll. 3 ff. and 6 ff., No. 90, ll. 15 ff., No. 100, ll. 17 ff.

⁷ No. 44, ll. 24-25.

⁸ No. 27, ll. 2-3.

⁹ D. R. Bhandarkar regarded the Kalachuris as of foreign extraction, because, in the *Harwamśa* and the *Viśhnupurāṇa*, the Haihayas, when they seized the kingdom of the Indian king Bāhu, were assisted by the Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Khasas. The argument has no force, for, though the Haihayas may have taken the help of some foreign tribes, they do not thereby themselves become *Mlechhas*. If they had invaded India from the North-west after the Kushānas as supposed by Bhandarkar, we would have found traces of their rule in the north-western parts of the country, where they may be supposed to have first established themselves. But we do not get any records of the Kalachuris in North India till the 8th century A.C. For further discussion of this subject, see my presidential address in Section II of *P. I. H. C.*, seventh session, pp. 157 ff.

the Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas, the Chandēllas and the Pālas. The Śaka king Śrīdhara-varman and the Gurjaras, some of whom bore names ending in *bhata*,¹ were also probably regarded as Kshatriyas. The latter, in their later records, claim to have descended from Karna, the son of Kuntī by the Sun. They were, therefore, probably regarded as born of the race of the Sun. That they claimed to be Kshatriyas is also clear from the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, in which their ancestor Dadda I is spoken of as the son of a Brāhmana father and a Kshatriya mother.²

Many of the important civil and military offices must have been held by the Kshatriyas. The State functionaries mentioned in early grants, whose names ended in *bhata*, probably belonged to the warrior caste.³ Some Kshatriyas followed peaceful vocations. Several records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur mention Kumālapala of the Haihaya lineage as a scribe. He was known for calligraphy, and out of curiosity wrote several *prāśastis*.⁴ He had made a deep study of politics, literature and poetics, and himself composed *prāśastis* of no mean literary merit.⁵

Next to the Kshatriyas came the Vaiśyas. They were doubtless engaged in trade and commerce, and exercised great influence at the royal court as well as in the *Pañchakulas*.⁶ Some towns which had predominantly a merchant population were known as *vanin-nagaras* (merchant-towns).⁷ All the affairs of such towns were managed by the *Pañchakulas* elected by them. Some merchants were appointed Mayors of towns⁸ and contributed liberally to the religious and charitable institutions in the State. Some Vaiśyas distinguished themselves in the military professions also. Several later records⁹ from Chhattisgarh give a glowing description of the victories won by Vallabharāja, a Vaiśya feudatory of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. He constructed several temples, excavated tanks and reared mango groves.¹⁰ He was specially favoured by Lāchchhalladēvī, the queen of Ratnadēva II, who treated him as her own son.¹¹

The Kāyasthas were another influential community. Their descent from a legendary sage named Kāchāra who practised penance at Kulāñchā in Gauda is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription of the reign of Karṇa.¹² Gōllāka *alias* Gauda, the *Amātya* of Yuvarājadēva I, probably belonged to the Kāyastha caste. He is known from several huge rock-cut images which he caused to be carved at Bāndhōgarh.¹³ Some of his descendants like Sōmēśvara served the Kalachuris of Tripurī by diplomacy as well as personal valour. Some Kāyasthas who settled in Chhattisgarh belonged to the Vāstavya family. Their ancestor Gōvinda had emigrated from the Chēdi *mandala*. His grandson Ratnasimha and great-grandson Dēvagana were learned persons who composed *prāśastis* of considerable merit.¹⁴ The Kāyasthas were generally employed as clerks and are mentioned as scribes in some

¹ No. 21, l 7

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XVIII, p 95

³ See No 22, l 38 which mentions Durgabhata and his son Sahabhata as military officers

⁴ No 93, l 22, No 96, l 34, No 97, ll. 27-28. The engravers of Nos. 34 and 120 belonged to the Kshatriya Caste.

⁵ No. 100, l 27.

⁶ No. 72, l 9

⁷ No. 31, l 47.

⁸ No 77, l 12

⁹ Nos 84, 85, 87 and 95.

¹⁰ No 95, ll. 24 ff

¹¹ No 85, l 14

¹² No 51, ll 20 ff.

¹³ Nos 38-41

¹⁴ Nos. 93 and 97.

inscriptions.¹ The *Karamikas* mentioned in some records² were not different from the *Kāyasthas*.

Some lower castes like *Sūtradhāra* occasionally find a mention in our records³ Of the untouchables, the *Mōchi* or shoe-maker is mentioned in a late record⁴ *Dēvapāla*, who belonged to this caste, was a religious-minded person. He was rich enough to construct a temple of *Nārāyana* at *Khalvātikā*, modern *Khalārī* in the *Raipur District*.

Women were honoured and treated with respect Polygamy was in vogue. Kings generally maintained a large seraglio From inscriptions as well as from literature⁵ we know that *Yuvarājadēva* I married a large number of princesses from different countries. *Gāngēyadēva* is said to have had as many as a hundred wives.⁶ The custom of the *Satī* was in vogue. If the description in the *Khairhā* and *Jabalpur* plates is correct, all the hundred wives of *Gāngēyadēva* immolated themselves on his funeral pyre near the banyan tree at *Prayāga*. Another instance of the *Satī* is recorded in the *Shēorinārāyan* inscription of K. 919 When the prince *Ulhanadēva* died fighting with *Jayasimha* of *Tripuṇī*, his three queens died as *Satīs*⁷ The inscription describes vividly the grief which the people felt on that occasion Such self-immolation was, however, not obligatory on women Those who did not subject themselves to it led a restrained and pious life We know of some queens who survived their husbands and helped their sons with advice in the administration of the State. The dowager queens *Alhanadēvī* and *Gōsaladēvī* are notable instances of this type mentioned in our records⁸

That the joint family system was in vogue appears clear from the numbers of relatives mentioned in commemorative *prāśastis* The *Ratanpur* inscription dated V 1207, for instance, mentions, besides the *Kāyastha* *Ratnasimha*, his wife, one son, two daughters-in-law, two grandsons, one grand-daughter and two other persons whose relation to him is not stated explicitly⁹ Another instance is that of *Purushōttama*, the *Sarvādhikārī* of *Ratnadēva* II He lived to a good old age His four sons, all of whom distinguished themselves in statecraft, continued to live with him.¹⁰ On the other hand, we have an instance of the division of even State property *Sarvadēva*, the brother of *Prithvīdēva* I, we are told, obtained, as a share of patrimony, the territory round *Sōnthiva*, where he later established himself Such partitions were, however, rare.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

In India from very ancient times trade and commerce have been carried on through guilds (*śrēṇis*) The first inscription included in this Volume mentions four guilds, viz., those of potters, makers of hydraulic engines, and oil-millers, and one more whose name is lost. These guilds acted also as banks and received deposits of money, on which they stipulated to pay a certain amount of interest in perpetuity. Pious persons deposited money

¹ *Kīrtidhara*, his son *Vatsarāja* and grandson *Dharmarāja*, who wrote several grants of the *Kalachuris* of *Ratanpur*, belonged to the *Vāstavya* family and were evidently *Kāyasthas*

² No. 45, l. 33, No. 50, l. 49

³ No. 64 l. 26, No. 105, l. 20 etc.

⁴ No. 108, l. 10

⁵ See above, p. lxxvii

⁶ No. 56, ll. 10-11, No. 57, l. 10

⁷ No. 98, l. 20

⁸ No. 60, l. 23 and No. 69, l. 1.

⁹ No. 93, ll. 10 ff.

¹⁰ No. 90, l. 20.

in these guilds to make perpetual endowments for religious purposes¹ Traders and artisans also had their own corporations called *ganas*. There were, besides, other corporate organisations of persons who followed the same avocation. The Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja mention a corporation of elephant-drivers (*mahāmātras*)² This corporation seems to have been an influential one. It had its own assembly called *samūha* Its President was called *Sthavira*, and members of the Executive Committee *Pramukhas*, among whom were included the *Pilupati* (Chief of the Elephant force) and the *Hastivaidya* (Physician of Elephants) The grant of land made by the corporation had to be approved by the reigning king, but it affixed its characteristic seal to the charter This circumstance indicates how much power it wielded in the State.

There were, doubtless, several other guilds and corporations functioning in both the periods, but very few of them find a mention in our records The Vāgūlikas and Pāyatis, who donated fifty leaves for each bundle sold in the market in favour of a temple at Kārītalāi, were probably guilds of traders in betel-leaves³ The Kārītalāi inscription speaks of the *Deśi* or foreman of the guild of five kinds of spirituous liquors (*kashāya-pañchaka*)⁴ These guilds and corporations had their own militia which could be called upon to serve the State when necessary.

There was a *mandapikā* or market pavilion in every town and village, where the various articles brought for sale were assessed and taxed⁵ A voucher called *yugā* was issued for the small fee of half a *paura*, paid for permission to exhibit the articles for sale in the market⁶ It was valid for a day. There were markets (*āpanas*)⁷ and shops (*vithīs*)⁸ where articles were offered for sale in stalls (*āvāras*)⁹ Our records incidentally mention several articles which were brought and sold in the markets of towns and villages They include, besides food-grains, areca-nuts, betel leaves, salt, pepper, and other commodities such as liquor, oil, grass and vegetables Elephants and horses also were sold in the markets¹⁰ Traders and merchants were required to pay excise and octroi duties as well as a sales tax on the things sold in the market

Our records mention different kinds of weights and measures They varied from district to district¹¹ One grant mentions the larger measure (*brihan-māna*),¹² implying thereby that there was a smaller measure also in vogue there The standard land-measure was the *nivartana* Several varieties of it are mentioned in ancient works¹³ The *nivartana*, current in the dominion of the Early Kalachuris, is described in the Ābhōna plates as *ubhaya-chatvārimśaka-nivartanam*, i e., measuring forty *dandas* in length and breadth, or 1600 square *dandas*.¹⁴ It was, therefore, larger than the *nivartanas* mentioned in ancient works

Sometimes land was measured in *balas*¹⁵ A *bala* signified as much land as could be

¹ No. 1, ll 8-13.

² No. 120, ll 4 ff

³ No. 42, l 34 It is noteworthy that the inscription mentions the chief of the *Vāgūlikas*.

⁴ *Ibid*, l. 33

⁵ No. 45, l. 30.

⁶ *Ibid*, l. 31. See also p. 223, n. 6.

⁷ No 31, l 35.

⁸ No 45, l 31

⁹ No 31, l 35

¹⁰ No 42, l 33, No 45, ll 30-36

¹¹ Cf *tad-vishaya-mānēna* in No 19, l 10

¹² No 20, ll 9-10

¹³ See below, p 43, n 6

¹⁴ No 14, l. 18 With this compare पञ्चविंशतिभिर्दण्डैरुभयोस्तु निवर्तनम् in *JNS* adhyāya I, v 200

¹⁵ No. 90, l v. 27.

ploughed by a single pair of bullocks. This is said to be equivalent to five acres. A third method of stating the intended extent of land was by mentioning the quantity of seed required for sowing it. The measures of capacity *khāri*,¹ *pitaka*² and *prastha*³ are mentioned in this connection. Other measures of the same kind were *khandī* or *khandikā*, *gōnī* and *ghatī*.⁴ Of the weights used in that age, only one, viz., *bharaka*⁵ is found mentioned. It was used for weighing ginger, areca-nuts, pepper etc.

The records do not shed much light on the vexed question of the ownership of land. We can draw some inferences from the conditions and descriptions of the gifts in copper-plate charters. In most cases the gifts were of entire villages in favour of temples, monasteries and individuals. In such cases, what was transferred was evidently the royal prerogative of demanding land revenue and other dues in cash or kind. The donee plainly could not dispossess the individuals residing in the village of their homesteads and cultivated fields. The maxim of fallow land (*bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāya*),⁶ usually mentioned in land-grants to describe the gifts, signified full proprietary right, i.e., a complete freedom from the payment of revenue and other dues to the reigning prince. It also transferred some other privileges usually claimed by the king, but it did not carry with it the right to oust all tenants. When fields and small plots of land were, however, donated, the case was different. The cultivators who were formerly in possession of the pieces of land are generally mentioned in such cases. The words signifying their possession used in early grants are *pratyaya*, *bbukta* and *satka*.⁷ None of these signifies absolute ownership. Besides, it is clearly stated in all these grants that the donee was free to cultivate the land himself or to get it cultivated by others as he pleased. The previous cultivators of these lands were evidently temporary tenants who had no proprietary right to them. The fields were probably a part of the crown land in the particular villages. On the other hand, those fields which the cultivators owned absolutely were known as *kantumba-kshētra*. Two such fields are mentioned in a grant for the demarcation of the boundaries of the donated piece of land.⁸ Such fields were evidently held by the particular families from generation to generation and could not, therefore, be taken away from them except for the non-payment of land-revenue etc.

The bulk of the population then, as now, lived in villages. The chief village of a *ushaya* was called *vyēshthikā-grāma*. Some of the villages had banks which received endowments and paid interest on them in perpetuity. The boundaries of the villages were properly marked. There used to be a village common and a pasture-land surrounding it for the grazing of the cattle.⁹ Sometimes, pasture-lands were donated by private individuals. Their boundaries were clearly marked by erecting pillars with the image of the goddess Durgā carved on them.¹⁰ Among other things which constituted the common property of the villagers were the tank which irrigated their fields, the jungle which supplied them

¹ No. 42, l. 32.

² No. 19, l. 10.

³ No. 20, l. 10.

⁴ No. 42, ll. 31 and 33.

⁵ No. 45, l. 31. The exact meaning of *bharaka* is uncertain. If derived from *bhri* to fill, it may signify a measure of capacity. Perhaps, the meaning of 'a weight' would suit the context better. Cf. *bhāra* (Marathi), meaning 'a load'.

⁶ No. 7, l. 9, No. 11, l. 10. See also p. 21, n. 8.

⁷ No. 2, l. 4, No. 3, l. 4, No. 4, ll. 4-5, No. 6, l. 2, No. 22, l. 20.

⁸ No. 22, ll. 20 and 24.

⁹ Cf. *सवनतुण्युतिगोचरपर्यन्त*. in No. 50, l. 39.

¹⁰ No. 31, ll. 56 ff.

with fuel, and the temple where they assembled for prayers. These are mentioned in some grants in connection with the boundaries of the donated fields. The king was, no doubt, the owner of all marshy and barren land, woodland and jungles, pasture-lands, tanks and watering places. When he donated a village, he transferred his rights to the donee;¹ but in practice, the village folk used these in common. The king was also the owner of the mines of minerals and salt, of the mango and *mahuā* trees, and also of the treasure trove.² He had further the privileges of *diya* and *vishti*.³ The former probably signified the obligations of the villagers to make customary presents on the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess, and the latter, that of rendering occasional service free of charge. There were other miscellaneous royal privileges designated as *prātibhēdikā*.⁴ Besides, the villagers were required to provide for the lodging and boarding of royal officers on tour.⁵ Sometimes a small cess was levied for the purpose. The donated villages were free from all these obligations. They could also adjudicate their own law-suits and levy fines for the commission of the ten crimes (*daś-āparādhas*).⁶ They could not also be entered by soldiers and policemen except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason.

The towns were in a flourishing condition. In the *Bālarāmāyana* Rājaśekhara ascribes the origin of Tripuri, the capital of the Kalachuris, to the fall from the sky of a portion of the three cities of Tripurāsura burnt by Śiva.⁷ The description suggests the great magnificence of the capital which justified such a fancy. It is borne out by numerous beautiful sculptures and extensive remains of buildings discovered at Tewar. Tummāṇa, the earlier capital of a branch of the same family in Chhattisgarh, is said to have been beautified by Ratnadēva I with magnificent buildings, lofty temples of gods and beautiful groves of mango trees. Ratnapura, the later capital founded by the same prince, is said to have resembled the city of Alakā.⁸ The existing extensive ruins of buildings and temples and large tanks at both the places testify to the past splendour of the towns. Mallāla, Jājallanagara and Vikainapura were some of the other places in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, noted for their grandeur and prosperity.

As remarked in a private record at Mallār,⁹ the country was well governed, it was free from the infestation of troubles, and the people were happy under the rule of the Kalachuris.

LITERATURE

We have very meagre information about the literature of the earlier period. The only reference to a literary work occurring in the earlier inscriptions is that noticed in the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha.¹⁰ His religious preceptor, who was an ascetic of the Śaiva sect, but whose full name has, unfortunately, not been preserved, wrote a Sanskrit play called *Harapāravatīya*. This work has not come down to us, but its title indicates that it treated of some incident in the life of Hara and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. This is

¹ See, e.g., No. 50, ll. 38-39.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ No. 16, l. 34.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Some villages were exempted from these. See No. 32, ll. 33-34. See p. 156, n. 2.

⁶ No. 21, l. 27, No. 22, l. 28. See also p. 89, n. 3.

⁷ *Bālarāmāyana*, Act III, v. 38.

⁸ No. 77, ll. 9-12.

⁹ No. 97, ll. 9-10.

¹⁰ No. 28, ll. 10-11.

one of the rare instances in which a member of an ascetic order is seen busying himself with the composition of a dramatic work

We have comparatively more information about the literature of the later period. After the Kalachuris established themselves at the fort of Kālañjara, some of them took to literary activities. Māyūrāja, whom Rājaśekhara calls a Kalachuri poet,¹ wrote a Sanskrit play named *Udāttarāghava*. This play also is not extant, but some references to and extracts from it occur in several Sanskrit works.² As the name indicates, its theme was the life of Rāma. There are some incidents in Rāma's career, as described in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyana*, which are open to criticism. Māyūrāja seems to have altered or omitted them in order to present the hero as absolutely free from blemish. This object of the author is indicated also by the title of the play, *Udāttarāghava*, 'The Noble Rāghava'. From some references and extracts in later Sanskrit works, it appears that Māyūrāja omitted the incident of *Vāli-vadha* (the killing of Vāli). The *Rāmāyana* tells us that while Vāli and Sugrīva were engaged in a deadly combat, Rāma concealed himself behind some trees and discharged an arrow which fatally wounded Vāli.³ The monkey chief reproached Rāma severely for this unprovoked wrong and the latter was hard put to it in justifying his action. Some earlier playwrights like Bhāsa⁴ had followed Vālmiki⁵ in stating Rāma's defence. Others like Bhavabhūti had given a different turn to the incident. Māyūrāja seems to have cut the Gordian knot by omitting the incident altogether. In one more respect, Māyūrāja is known to have deviated from the original story of Vālmiki.⁶ He sends Lakshmana first to kill the *māyāmṛga* (pseudo-deer). A Rākshasa, who had disguised himself as a sage, plaintively beseeches Rāma to go to the rescue of his brother who was in danger. Rāma hesitates at first to leave Sītā alone in the hermitage, but ultimately departs to save Lakshmana. In his absence, Sītā is carried away by Rāvaṇa. By this manipulation of the original story, Māyūrāja has cleverly avoided the occasion for Sītā's unmerited reproach of Lakshmana.⁷ Judging by the available extracts,⁸ Māyūrāja seems to have adopted the Vaidarbhi *rīti* for the composition of his play. His style is lucid and charming, being unloaded with long compounds. Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvali* cites two verses of Māyūrāja without referring them to the *Udāttarāghava*.⁹ They describe Rāvaṇa and are in the Gaudī style. That Māyūrāja wrote also a *kāvya* is known from Hēmachandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*.¹⁰ Some of the verses cited in the anthologies may have been taken from that *kāvya*.

Another king of Kālañjara, who also probably belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty, was Bhīmata. According to Rājaśekhara's account,¹¹ he composed five plays, of which the

¹ मायुराजसमो नाट्यो जज्ञे कलचुरि कविः । *SM*, p. 46.

² *Daśarūpaka*, II, 59, III, 24, IV, 13, 28, *Vakrōktyānta* (ed by S. K. De, 1928), pp. 225 and 244, Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch. XIX, *Nāṭyadarpana*, pp. 66, 116, 194.

³ Cf. यथा छद्मना वालिवधो मायुराजेनोदात्तराघवे परित्यक्त । in the *Daśarūpaka*, III, 24.

⁴ See Bhāsa's *Abhisheka*, I, 17-21.

⁵ *Rāmāyana*, IV, 17, 33 ff.

⁶ *Daśarūpaka*, IV, 28.

⁷ Bhattasvamin shows that the plot of the *Udāttarāghava* deviates much more from the story of the *Rāmāyana* than Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracharita*. He, therefore, concludes that Māyūrāja flourished later than Bhavabhūti and earlier than Rājaśekhara, somewhere between 750 and 880 A.C. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 143.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 142-43.

⁹ *SM*, pp. 314, 318.

¹⁰ *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* (ed by R. C. Parekh), Vol. I, p. 457. Māyūrāja inserted the word *dhairya* in the last verse of every canto.

¹¹ Cf. कालञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमत पञ्चनाटकीम् । प्राप प्रबन्धराजत्वं तेषु स्वप्नदर्शनतम् ॥ *SM*, p. 46. Two Kalachuri princes named Bhīmata are mentioned in the Kasia inscription (No. 73, ll. 17 and 21), but they flourished much later.

Svapnadaśānana was judged to be the best. Anthologies contain some verses of Bhīmata, which appear to be of the *subhāṣita* type¹

Another renowned author of the later period was Rājaśekhara. In the prologues of his plays as well as in the stray verses collected in Sanskrit anthologies, Rājaśekhara has given a considerable information about his ancestors who flourished in the Chēdī court. This Brāhmaṇa family hailed from Mahārāshtra.² Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim (properly Vāśim) in the Akola District of Madhya Pradesh, was probably its original place of habitation.³ This family bore the ancient name of Yāyāvara,⁴ and was noted for its learning as well as poetic ability. Rājaśekhara mentions, as his ancestors, Akāla-jalada, Surānanda, Tarala and Kavirāja, all of whom distinguished themselves by their poetic composition.⁵ Akāla-jalada, the great-grandfather of Rājaśekhara, probably flourished in *circa* 850 A.C. He may have been a court-poet of Kōkalla I (*circa* 850-890 A.C.), whose glorious reign must have attracted learned men, poets and artists from far-off lands. *Akāla-jalada* was not the poet's proper name. It was a sobriquet which he earned by composing an interesting verse containing the word *akāla-jalada* (an unseasonable cloud).⁶ According to Rājaśekhara, his works were eagerly studied by later poets. Some of his verses were plagiarised by one Kādambarīrāma, who earned fame by inserting them in his play.⁷

¹ *SM*, p. 157

² M. M. Ghosh has questioned the identification of this Mahārāshtra with the modern country of that name on the ground that Rājaśekhara has mentioned it as distinct from Vidarbha and Kuntala. See his edition of the *Karpūramāñjarī*, p. lxvi. It may be noted that there were three Mahārāshtras known in ancient times, comprising modern Northern Mahārāshtra, Vidarbha and Kuntala (Southern Mahārāshtra). Rājaśekhara sometimes mentions Mahārāshtra separately from Vidarbha and Kuntala (vide *KM*, p. 93) and sometimes as including the latter two countries (vide *Bālarāmāyana*, Act XI, v. 74 and 75). His other arguments that Rājaśekhara does not mention Mahārāshtra as the country of Prakrit, that he wrote in Śaurasēnī and that he has great praise for Pāñchāla, have little force, for, in the verse referred to, Rājaśekhara is only quoting the opinion of others (vide *śāntam* in *KM*, p. 51), if he wrote in Śaurasēnī, that was because he was then at the court of the Pratihāras, and he has praised Mahārāshtra and Vidarbha also in as high terms. Ghosh comes to the strange conclusion that Rājaśekhara was not a native of Mahārāshtra, though his ancestors might have come to Madhyadēsa from some place in Mahārāshtra! His attention is drawn to the passage in the *KM*, p. 10, which glorifies Vatsagulma in Vidarbha as the pleasure-resort of the god of love. See also the next note.

³ Rājaśekhara shows a special love for Vatsagulma. This city was formerly the prosperous capital of a branch of the Vākātaka dynasty. It seems to have retained its importance down to the time of Rājaśekhara, for, it gave its name to a particular style. In the *Karpūramāñjarī*, Rājaśekhara mentions *Vachchhōmī* (Sanskrit, Vātsagulmī) as a *rīti* together with Māgadhi and Pāñchālī. The poet again mentions this place as situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The heroine of the *Karpūramāñjarī* was a princess of Vachchhōma. In the *KM* (p. 10), Rājaśekhara states that the mythical Kāvya-purusha married Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love. All these references show the poet's special admiration for the place. It may, therefore, have been his ancestral home.

⁴ The Yāyāvaras are mentioned in the *MBH.*, Ādiparvan, adhyāya 11, v. 13, where the commentator Nilakantha explains the term as meaning 'a householder living for only one night in a village'. Dēvala divides householders into Śālīna and Yāyāvara. The latter did not accumulate wealth and did not earn their living by teaching, officiating as a priest or accepting gifts as the former did. *H. D. L.*, Vol. II, pp. 641 ff.

⁵ *Bālarāmāyana*, I, 13.

⁶ The following verse is ascribed to him in the *Sārngadhara-paddhati*: भेके. कोटरशायिभिर्मृतमिव क्षान्तर्गतं कच्छपैः पाठीनैः पृथुपङ्कपीठलुठनाच्चास्मिन्नुद्धर्मुच्छितम् । तस्मिच्छुष्कसरस्यकालजलदेनागत्य तच्चेष्टित यत्रा कुम्भनिमग्नवन्यकरिणा यूयै पय पीयते ॥

The verse appears to be of the *anyōkēti* type, and suggests unexpected munificent gifts of a liberal donor which relieved a great distress.

⁷ Cf. अकालजलदश्लोकेश्चित्रमात्मकृतैरिव । जात. कादम्बरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥ *SM*, p. 46

This Kādambarīrāma may be identical with Kādambarīrāmakrishna, the author of the *Aditi-kundalābarana*, as suggested by J. B. Chaudhari. See *Padyavāṇī*, p. 83.

From a *subhāshita* of Rājasēkhara, we learn that Surānanda was a contemporary of the Chēdi prince Ranavigraha¹. As shown before, Ranavigraha was a *viruda* of Sankaragana II, son of Kōkalla I, who flourished in *circa* 890-910 A.C.² This prince is probably identical with the poet Sankaragana, some of whose verses are included in the anthologies *Subhāshitāvali* and *Sūktimuktāvali*³. One of them is also cited in Bhōja's *Sarasvatī-kanthābharana*,⁴ which lends colour to the identification. The poet Surānanda, patronised by Sankaragana, is described as an ornament of the Chēdi country. Unfortunately, none of his *kāvya*s has come down to us. The anthologies also do not contain any *subhāshitas* composed by him. About Tarala and Kavirāja, two other ancestors of Rājasēkhara, we have no information. From a *subhāshita* of Rājasēkhara we learn that Tarala's poetry was known for its excellent alliteration⁵.

About Rājasēkhara himself, we know much more, thanks to his garrulity. His father was Durduka (or Duhika), who held the post of *Mahāmantrin* probably in the Chēdi court. His mother's name was Śilavatī. His wife Avantisundarī was born in the Chauhāna lineage⁶. She was a learned lady. Her views on rhetorical matters are cited in Rājasēkhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.⁷ In his early career Rājasēkhara was attracted by the prosperous court of the Pratihāras in Kanauj. Before he went there, he had written six *prabandhas* and earned the title of *Bālakavi*.⁸ These juvenile compositions, not even known by their titles, have long been lost. At Kanauj he received a high honour and the title of *Kavirāja* from the illustrious Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla, who regarded him as his *guru*.⁹ Rājasēkhara composed there three plays—the *Bālarāmāyana* during the reign of Mahēndrapāla, and the *Bālabbārata* alias *Prachandapāndava*¹⁰ and the *Karpūramaijari* during that of his son and successor Mahīpāla. The first two of these, to which he has prefixed his title *Bāla*, are in Sanskrit, and the third, which was staged at the instance of his wife Avantisundarī, is in Prakrit.¹¹

During the reign of Mahīpāla, the power of the Pratihāras declined owing to the invasion of the Rāshtrakūta king Indra III, who advanced up to Kanauj and devastated the Imperial capital. Just about this time, Yuvarājadēva I of Tripurī rose to power. He made extensive conquests in all parts of India and dealt a staggering blow to the Pratihāra Empire during the closing years of Mahīpāla's reign. Rājasēkhara then returned to Tripurī, where he composed the *Viddhasālabbhañjika* and other works. This Sanskrit play was staged in the Kalachuri capital to celebrate the victory of Yuvarājadēva I over a confederacy of southern kings headed by the reigning Rāshtrakūta Emperor Gōvinda IV.¹² The *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, which was planned to be a comprehensive work on poetics, has remained unfinished. This was evidently his last work, since it contains quotations from all his

¹ See above, p. lxxvi, n. 5.

² Above, p. lxxvi.

³ *SA*, vv. 1516 and 1905, *SM*, p. 169.

⁴ *Nirnayasāgar* ed (1934), pp. 464 and 723.

⁵ Cf. यायावरकुलश्रेणैर्मुक्तायष्टैश्च मण्डनम् । सुवर्णवन्धस्त्रिस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥ *SM*, p. 47.

⁶ *Karpūramaijari*, Act I, v. 11.

⁷ *KM*, pp. 20, 46, 57.

⁸ *Bālarāmāyana*, Act I, v. 12.

⁹ *Karpūramaijari*, Act I, v. 9. According to Rājasēkhara, a *Kavirāja* is higher than a *Mahākavi*. He is proficient in several languages, various kinds of poetic compositions and different sentiments.

¹⁰ This play has only two acts. The author did not probably complete it. As its *mangala-sloka* is cited in the *KM*, it was plainly not the last work of the poet.

¹¹ *Karpūramaijari*, Act I, v. 11.

¹² See above, p. lxxix.

Sanskrit plays.¹ Two other works—the *Haravijaya*, a *kāvya*, and the *Bhuvanakōśha*, a work on general geography—are known only from quotations

As the author of a Rāma-play, Rājāsēkhara traces his literary pedigree from the Ādikavi Vālmīki. As a matter of fact, his enormous plays are more of the epic than of the dramatic type. He is conscious of this defect and asks the critic to *read* them if they contain any literary qualities. In the *Karpūramāñjarī* also, he defines *kāvya* as ‘a beauty of expression’.² Rājāsēkhara has shown some inventive power, but he has little skill in the arrangement of incidents and still less in characterisation. Some of the devices he employs such as the introduction, on the stage, of marionettes with parrots in their mouths are very crude.³ Above all, he knows no restraint, but goes on piling verse on verse, regardless of monotony and hindrance to action. It cannot, however, be denied that he has a considerable felicity of expression. The ease with which he handles long metres like the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* and the *Sragdhanā* is truly remarkable. He had an inexhaustible stock of legends about old writers and their works. It cannot be gainsaid that several Sanskrit authors would have remained unknown to us, if he had not written his commemorative verses about them. His *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* is a veritable mine of information on a variety of subjects.

Rājāsēkhara’s works continued to be studied in the Chēḍi country and have considerably influenced the composition of later poets of the Chēḍi court.⁴ Some of them imitated his mannerisms.⁵ Again, some of his verses with suitable modifications are found inserted in Kalachuri inscriptions.

The reign of the illustrious king Karna saw a rare outburst of poetic activity. Several great poets of the age flocked to his court. According to a well-known *subhāshita*,⁶ Karna’s court-poet was Vidyāpati. Several Sanskrit verses of this poet, in some of which he praises Karna in a clever manner,⁷ are cited in Sanskrit anthologies. Another poet of Karna’s court was Gangādhara. From the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* we learn that he was challenged and defeated, evidently in a poetic contest, by the celebrated Kāshmirian poet Bilhana, who visited Karna’s court at Banaras in the course of his itineracy.⁸ While at Banaras, Bilhana delighted the great king of Dāhala with his sweet poetry.⁹ He also composed a *kāvya* in glorification of Rāma on the occasion of his visit to Ayōdhyā.¹⁰ That work also is unfortunately not extant.

Other poets of Karna’s court were Vallana (or Vallana), Karpūra and Nāchirāja. Vallana was a great poet. Several *subhāshitas* composed by him are found in old antho-

¹ For the chronological order of Rājāsēkhara’s works, see my article in the *K. B. Patbak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 359 ff.

² Cf. उत्तिविसेसो कव्व in the *Karpūramāñjarī*, Act I, v. 7.

³ *Bālarāmāyana*, Act V, v. 5.

⁴ For instance, the hemistich, यदेतदग्रेसरमम्बरस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुष पुराण, occurring in the beginning of several grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur (vide Nos. 76, 83, 86 etc.), is taken from the *Bālarāmāyana*, Act I, v. 22. Similarly the verse य सत्यस्य निधिः श्रिया च सरणि etc. in the Banaras plates of Karna (No. 48, ll. 19-20) is taken from the *Bālabbārata*, Act I, v. 62.

⁵ Below, p. 208.

⁶ Cf. कर्णोऽपि विद्यापते । *S.A.*, v. 186. See also *PCH.*, p. 50.

⁷ Cf. (i) त्व द्वित्राणि पदानि गच्छसि महीमुल्लङ्घ्य यान्ति द्विषस्त्व बाणान्दश पञ्च मुञ्चसि बहून्यस्त्राणि मुञ्चन्ति ते । ते देवीपतयस्तवासिनिहतास्त्व मानुषीणा पतिस्ते निन्दास्तव वर्णनं कथयन्ति श्रीकर्णं निर्णयिताम् ॥ विद्यापते । *SKM.*, III, 13, 4

(ii) कर्णं चक्षुरजीगणतव पितुस्तता पिता ते पुन शक्त्याधारकुमारमप्यजगणत्तं कातरत्वेन स । देवो गं महिषीति पश्यति जगत्स्त्वं विवेक्तु पुन. प्रागल्भ्यं प्रथयन्ति वस्तदपि च प्रज्ञाघना साधवः ॥ विद्यापते । *Ibid.*, III, 54, 2.

⁸ *VDC*, XVIII, 95.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, v. 93.

¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*, v. 94.

logies like the *Kavindravachanasamuchchaya* and the *Saduketikarnāmrita*. In one of these, he praises Karna¹. The other two poets are known from Mērutunga's *Prabandbachintāmanī*². Nāchirāja also was a renowned poet. In a tribute which the poet Karpūra pays to him, he is said to be the only support of Bhārati after the death of Muñja and Bhōja, the famous poet-kings of Dhārā³. Both Karpūra⁴ and Nāchirāja⁵ have left us beautiful verses in praise of Karna.

It seems that there were competitions in *samasyāpūrāṇa* (completion of incomplete verses) at the court of Karna. Those who completed the *samasyās* successfully were liberally rewarded. Several years ago, Sir G. A. Grierson published, under the heading 'Curiosities of Indian Literature', a strange story about 'King Dahāriā Karna and the Pandit's promise'⁶. In this story a Pandit composes extempore five verses—one about the queen of Karna Dahāriā, who, being attracted by his melody, goes to him at dead of night, and four more which he recites next day before the king. The latter being pleased with them makes up his mind to give him his kingdom in all the four directions. He even allows the Pandit to take him as a prisoner before his mother in fulfilment of a promise made to her. The story is absurd as it stands, but some of the stanzas mentioned in it may have been recited at Karna's court. Two of them, which end in *kṛitakam manyē bhayam yōshītām*, are of the *samasyāpūrāṇa* type⁷. They specifically refer to Karna and describe his fame as roaming about fearlessly. They were evidently composed by different poets. This is also shown by the remark *kayōr=api* 'of some two poets', with which they are cited in the *Subhashitāvalī*. The first of them, which does not explicitly refer to the king's fame, but apparently describes a lady coming out of the king's seraglio in pitchy darkness, seems to have given rise to the fantastic story mentioned above.

Karna gave a liberal patronage to Prakrit poets also. Some Mahārāshtrī and Apabhramśa verses, describing the king and his victories, occur in the *Prākṛita Paṅgala*⁸. They were first brought to notice by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts*⁹. Unfortunately the authors of these verses are not named in the commentaries. Again, Kanakāmara, the author of the Apabhramśa work *Karakandacharīu*, tells us that he delighted the mind of the king Karna, who was probably none other than the homonymous Kalachuri king¹⁰.

¹ लक्ष्मीसदसरोजरेणुसुहृदः सेवावनम्रीभवद्भूमीपालकिरीटरत्नकिरणज्योत्स्नानदीवालुका ।

जीयासुः कलिकाल कर्णनृपते दरिद्रद्यदारुदरव्याघूर्णद्वुणवृन्दलङ्घनमुषस्त्वत्पादयो पाशव ॥

वल्लणस्य । SKM, III, 10, 2

² PCH, p. 50

³ Op cit

⁴ मुखे हारावाप्तिर्नयनयुगले कङ्कणभरो नितम्बे पत्राली सतिलकमभूत्पाणियुगलम् । अरण्ये श्रीकर्ण त्वदरियुवतीना विधिवशादपूर्वोऽयं भूषाविधिरहह जात किमधुना ॥ Ibid, p. 50.

⁵ कुक्षे कोटर एव कैटभरिपुर्धत्ते त्रिलोकीमिमामन्तर्भूरिभर बिभर्ति तमपि प्रीतो भुजङ्गाधिप ।

श्रीकण्ठस्य स कण्ठसूत्रमभवद्देव त्वया त हृदा विभ्राणेन परेषु विक्रमकया श्रीकर्ण निर्णीहिता ॥ SM, Introd.,

⁶ Ind Ant, Vol. XVI, pp. 46 ff.

P. 39

⁷ (i) उन्नादाम्बुदवाधतान्धतमसप्रभ्रष्टदिङ्मण्डले यामे यामिकजाग्रदुग्रसुभटव्याकीर्णकोलाहले ।

कर्णस्यारिमहार्णवाम्बुवडवावह्लैर्यदन्त पुरादायातासि तदम्बुजाक्षि कृतक मन्ये भय योषिताम् ॥

(ii) उद्यद्ग्राहमुदन्वति जलमतिक्रामत्यनालम्बिनि व्योम्नि भ्राम्यति दुर्गमक्षितिभृता मूर्धानमारोहति ।

व्याप्त याति विषाकुलैरहिकुले पातालमेकाकिनी कीर्तिस्ते मदनाभिराम कृतक मन्ये भय योषिताम् ॥

⁸ Prākṛita Paṅgala (Bibliotheca Indica Series), I, 69, 96, 126 and 185.

⁹ C W B, Vol II, pp. 334 ff

¹⁰ Above, p. cu

The Kalachuris of Dakshina Kōsala also patronised Sanskrit and Prakrit poets.¹ One of them, Nārāyaṇa who composed the Pujārīpālī stone inscription of Gōpāladēva, tells us that he composed a *kāvya* named *Rāmābhyudaya*, which greatly delighted the Goddess of speech. Several Sanskrit works of this name, *kāvyas* as well as *nātakas*, are known, and some of them have come down to us; but this work of Nārāyaṇa seems to be different from all of them.²

Some of the authors of the *prastūti*s included here were poets of no mean order. Dhāmsata, the author of the Chandrēhē inscription,³ Śrīnivāsa who composed the eulogy of the first three kings in the Bilhāṇī inscription,⁴ the unknown author of the fragmentary Rewa inscription of Karna,⁵ Dēvapāṇī, the author of the Akaltarā inscription,⁶ and Kāśala who composed the Kōṇī inscription,⁷ to name only a few, had a considerable poetic talent. They have composed their respective *prastūti*s in an ornate *kāvya* style, embellishing them with numerous *arthāṅkārās*. As the power and patronage of the Kalachuri courts declined, they ceased to attract poets of eminence. Many of the later inscriptions in this Volume are consequently written in a barbarous style.

COINS

The Nasik cave inscription of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna records the investment of certain amounts of Kārshāpanas with the guilds of Gōvardhana, but no coins of that king or his descendants have come down to us. Perhaps the Ābhīras, like some other dynasties⁸ of ancient times, did not value highly the prerogative of minting coins for currency in their own dominion, and were content to use the issues of other contemporary or past kings. This is also indicated by the find of a hoard of Kshatrapa silver coins at Karhad in the Satara District of the Bombay State. The hoard contained several coins, but those of the following Kshatrapas only could be recovered—Vijayasēna (240-250 A.C.), Dāmajada-śrī (250-255 A.C.), Rudrasēna II (255-277 A.C.), Viśvasīmha (277-279 A.C.), Bhartridāman (279-295 A.C.) and Viśvasēna (295-305 A.C.) It will be noticed that the last five of these Kshatrapas were contemporaries of the Ābhīras. The Karhad hoard, therefore, plainly indicates that the Kshatrapa silver coins were current in Maharashtra and probably also in Gujarat and Konkan, during the rule of the Ābhīras. The silver coins of Yajña Sātakarṇī, which were of similar fabric and weight,⁹ may also have continued in circulation. The potin coins struck by the Sātavāhanas perhaps supplemented this silver coinage, though no finds of them have yet been reported from these parts of the country.¹⁰

That these silver coins were called *kārshāpanas* appears clear from the Nasik cave

¹ An inscription composed wholly in Prakrit was put up in the temple of Ēkavīrā at Ratnapura. It is much abraded and has not yet been deciphered.

² Below, pp 589 ff

³ No. 44, ll. 24-25.

⁴ No. 45, l. 30.

⁵ No. 51, l. 30

⁶ No. 84, ll. 18-19

⁷ No. 90, ll. 26-27.

⁸ The Early Chālukyas and their feudatories such as the Harischandriyas seem to have used the *rūpakas* of the Kalachuri Krishnarāja, who had flourished more than a century before. See No. 31, ll. 31 ff, and No. 32, ll. 34 ff

⁹ C. A. D., p. 45, pl. VII.

¹⁰ They were current in Berar and the Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh. J. N. S. I., Vol. II, pp. 83 ff

inscription of Īśvarasēna. According to Manu,¹ the *kārshāpana* was a copper coin, but some other Sanskrit and Pāli works² leave no doubt that it was a denomination of silver coins also. Prof. Rapson has shown that the references to gifts of *kārshāpanas* in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas must be understood as referring to the silver coins of those dynasties which circulated in Maharashtra and Konkan. The *Kārshāpanas* referred to in the Nasik inscription of Īśvarasēna must, therefore, have been silver coins, probably of the Western Kshatrapas. These coins have the head of the Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa with the date in the Saka era on the obverse, and the chaitya (or hill), the sun and the crescent with a legend along the edge inside a circle of dots on the reverse. Their average weight is about 34 grains. These silver coins, though called *kārshāpanas*, were not, therefore, struck to the standard weight of 32 *ratīs* mentioned in Sanskrit works.³ They were evidently copied from the hemidrachmas of Apollodotus and Menander, which, according to the *Periplus*,⁴ were current in Barygaza (modern Broach).

The Coins of the Traikūṭakas

The Traikūṭakas, who succeeded the Ābhīras in Maharashtra and Gujarat, had their own silver coinage. The first notice of this coinage can be traced back to 1862. In that year Mr. Justice Newton described, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 11 ff., a coin of Dahrasēna which had been found at Karhad. He noticed on it the title *Mahārāja* of both Dahrasēna and his father Indradatta, but could not read the names of these princes completely as the letters were only partially preserved. Thereafter in 1886, in an article entitled 'Two New Grants of the Chālukya Dynasty' published in the *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, p. 222, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji described a coin of this dynasty which he had obtained from Daman in Gujarat.⁵ He deciphered the legend on it as *Mahārāj-Ēndravarmma-putra-paramavaishnava-śrī-Mahārāja-Rudragana*.⁶ He thought that Rudragana was the first king after the revival of the Traikūṭaka power on the downfall of the Kshatrapas. Afterwards in 1905, Prof. Rapson showed that the correct reading of the legend on this coin and on those acquired by the British Museum was *Mahārāj-Ēndradatta-putra-paramavaishnava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna*. He identified this Dahrasēna with the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna, whose Pārdī plates dated in the (Kalachuri) year 207 had already been published.⁷ Prof. Rapson also described another silver coin of this dynasty which had been acquired by the British Museum in 1904 from the collection of Dr. Gerson da Cunha.⁸ He correctly read the legend on it as *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishnava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna* and thus showed that it was issued by the Traikūṭaka king Vyāghrasēna, the son of Dahrasēna.

In 1905 a hoard of Traikūṭaka coins was discovered at Kāzad in the Indāpur *tāluka* of the Poona district. Only 359 coins were recovered from it. They were examined by Rev. H. R. Scott, who published an account of them in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. Of these, 353 coins were of Dahrasēna. On as

¹ MSM, adhyāya VIII, v. 136.

² Cf. *Kārshāpanō dakṣhiṇasyām dīrṣi rauṇyab pravartatē*, Nārada cited in the *Vāchaspatyam*. See also C. A. D., Introd., pp. clxxix ff., and D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 76 ff.

³ Cf. MSM, adhyāya VIII, v. 136.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

⁵ A hoard of 500 such coins was discovered in 1887.

⁶ In a foot-note Bhagvanlal admitted the possibility of the reading *-jendradanna* or *-datta*.

⁷ J. R. A. S. (1905), pp. 801 ff.

⁸ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 346 ff.

many as 350 of them the name of the Traikūtaka king appeared as Dahragana, and only on three, as Dahrasēna. Rev. Scott thought that Dahrasēna started his career as a feudatory of the Western Kshatrapas whose names usually ended in *sēna*, and later on, when he emancipated himself from the yoke of the Kshatrapas, he altered the termination of his name from *sēna* to *gana*. The Kāzad hoard contained four coins of Vyāghrasēna also, but the royal name on all of them appeared as Vyāghragana.

In a note which Mr. A. M. T. Jackson appended to Rev. Scott's article, he announced that he had obtained a Traikūtaka copper-plate grant from Surat, in which the king's name was clearly given as Vyāghrasēna.

Finally, in the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, etc.*, (p clxiii) published in 1908 Prof. Rapson admitted that *gana* (perhaps intended for *gana*) would be a more natural reading than *sēna* on most of the known coins of Dahrasēna and on all of those of Vyāghrasēna, but he contended that what appeared as *ga* might quite possibly be a conventionalised form of *sa*. This view seems to be the correct one in view of the undoubted readings *Dahrasēna* and *Vyāghrasēna* of the royal names in the Pārdī and the Surat plates respectively. If Dahrasēna had purposely changed his name to Dahragana, he would not have named his son Vyāghrasēna.

A Coin of Dahrasēna.

Pl. A, No. 1. AR. Size in diameter—.5" Weight—34 4 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the left, and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots—

Mahārāj-Andradatta-putra-parama-vashnava-śra-Mahārāja-Dabra[sana] representing
Mahārāj-Endradatta-putra-paramavaishnava-śrī-Mahārāja-Dahrasēna

On some coins the sun appears to the right of the chaitya.

A Coin of Vyāghrasēna

Pl. A, No. 2. AR. Size in diameter—.5". Weight—32 grs

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date.

Reverse—Chaitya with the sun to the right and the legend along the edge inside a circle of dots, viz., *Mahārāja-Dabra[sana]-putra-paramavashnava-śra-Mahārāja-Vyāghra[sana]*, representing *Mahārāja-Dahrasēna-putra-paramavaishnava-śrī-Mahārāja-Vyāghrasēna*.

As stated before, these coins were found in Southern Gujarat, and the Poona and Satara Districts of the Bombay State. They were evidently imitated from the Kshatrapa coins which had been current in Maharashtra and Gujarat during the rule of the Ābhīras. We have no means of knowing their denomination, as they are nowhere referred to in the inscriptions of the Traikūtakas. Perhaps, like Kshatrapa coins, they also were known as *kārshāpaṇas*.

The Coins of the Kalachuris.

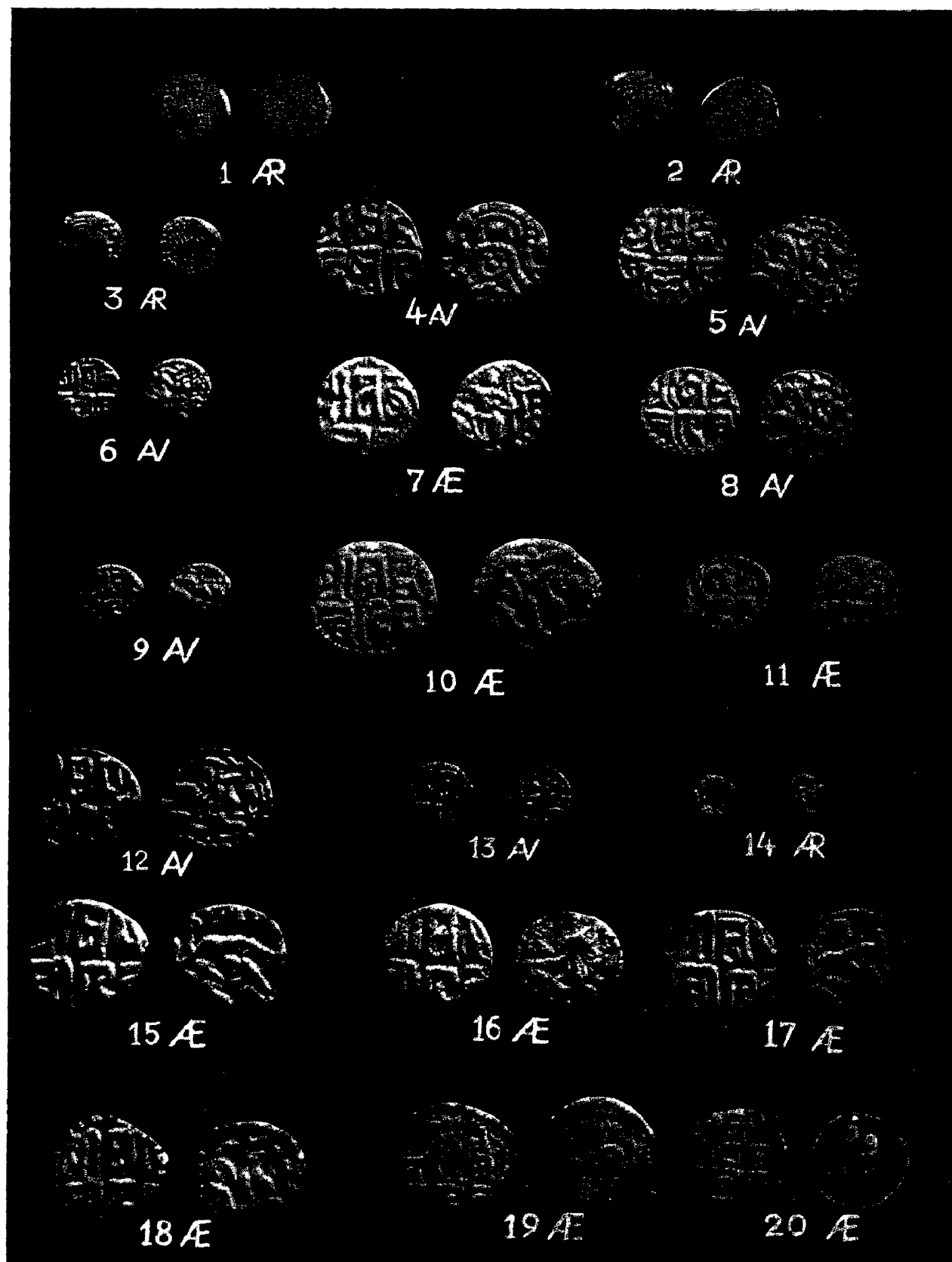
The Coins of Krishnarāja.

The coins of this king were first discovered about 1870 in the village Dēvlānā in the Bāglān *tāluka* of the Nasik District. The hoard comprised 82 coins, which were sent to Dr. Bhau Daji for examination. He published his account of the hoard together with facsimiles of five of the coins in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI (1876), pp. 213-14. All the coins were of silver and round in shape. They varied in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

In his article Dr. Bhau Daji drew attention to the similarity that the coins bore to the silver coins of Kumāragupta and especially to those of Skandagupta, but he read the legend

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

COINS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS AND THE KALACHURIS



(From a Photograph)

on the reverse as *Rājā Parama Mahēśvara Mānasa Nripa-Deva Dhyāna-śrī-kaśa* (?), and interpreted it as 'Mānasa king, the great devotee of Mahēśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God' He conjecturally placed this Mānasa king about the end of the fourth century A C

The coins were next considered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol IX (1879), pp. 29 ff He read the legend on them as *Parama-māhēśvara-Mahāditya-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛṣṇa Rājā* He admitted that some of the coins in his cabinet had possibly the word *Mahākshatra* in place of *Mahāditya*, in which case, he said, the translation would be 'the reverencer of the great king.' Cunningham agreed with Bhau Daji's view that the coins belonged to about the end of the fourth century A C, but he identified the king who struck them with the Rāshtrakūta king Kṛṣṇa whom he placed in the period 375-400 A C.

In 1885 Dr Fleet published his account of two silver coins of Kṛṣṇarāja from Cunningham's collection in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XIV, p 68. He for the first time read the legend correctly as *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja*, which means 'the glorious Kṛṣṇarāja, who is a devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara (and) who meditates on the feet of (his) parents' In the second edition of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (1896), Fleet suggested that in all probability the Dēvlānā coins were coins of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Kalachuri king, who was the father of Sankatagana

Prof Rapson also discussed these coins in his *Indian coins* (1897), p 27, Pl IV, No 17 He doubtfully read the legend on them as *Parama-Māhēśvara-mahādēvyōb pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja* As regards the date 375-400 A C. proposed by Cunningham for this Kṛṣṇarāja, Rapson pointed out that it was certainly incorrect, as it was too early for the style of the coins which were imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in the western provinces. For the same reason he could not also assign them to Kṛṣṇarāja Rāshtrakūta, c 756 A C Rapson was, however, unable to put forward any conjecture about the identification of this Kṛṣṇarāja

During his excavations at Besnagar in 1913-14, Dr D R Bhandarkar found seven coins of Kṛṣṇarāja He supported Fleet's view that this Kṛṣṇarāja belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty As stated before, this Kṛṣṇarāja flourished from circa 550 A C to 575 A C

Pl A, No 3. AR Size in diameter— 45" Wt.—29 grs.

Obverse—Head of the king with mustaches to the right, without any date

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots along the edge, the legend *Parama-mahāśvara-mata-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja* representing *Paramamāhēśvara-mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyāta-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja* In the centre, the figure of a couchant humped bull to right

These coins of Kṛṣṇarāja resemble the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas, the Guptas and the Traikūtakas, which were struck to the Graeco-Bactrian weight-standard of the hemidrachma Their fabric is also similar But while the Kshatrapa and Traikūta coins have the symbols of a Chaitya (or a hill), the sun and the moon, these coins of Kṛṣṇarāja have, like some western issues of Skandagupta, the figure of a couchant bull (Śiva's Nandī) facing right, in the centre of the reverse side. The coins of Skandagupta were evidently in circulation in the Anūpa country, the home province of the Kalachuris before the rise of Kṛṣṇarāja.

In the legend on his coins Kṛṣṇarāja, like Skandagupta, refers to his religious faith He calls himself *paramamāhēśvara*, 'a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara' He dropped all reference to the patronymic and the royal title which invariably appear on the coins of the Kshatrapas and the Traikūtakas He substituted instead an expression denoting his devotion to his parents, the like of which is noticed nowhere else in Indian numismatics

As stated before, the coins of Krishnarāja circulated over a very wide territory from Rajputana in the north to Maharashtra in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha in the east. They continued to be current long after the time of Krishnarāja, for, they are mentioned in the Anjanēri plates dated K 461 (710-11 A.C.) of Bhōgaśakti. They were, therefore, in circulation for at least 150 years after the time of Krishnarāja. As might be expected, there were several issues of them; for, the inscription on the reverse does not always commence at the same place and differences in the shapes of some letters are also noticeable.

As stated before, the silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight-standard as the coins of Krishnarāja were called *kārshāpanas*. Later on, however, this denomination seems to have given place to *rūpaka*. The Anjanēri plates show that the coins of Krishnarāja, which were then in general circulation were called *Krishnarāja-rūpakas*, evidently to distinguish them from the *rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, the Sāta-vāhanas and the Traikūtakas which were similar in fabric.

The Coins of Gāngēyadēva

The first coin of this king to be recorded was that figured in Pl. L, No 1, facing page 668 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV (1835). Prinsep, who published the coin, read the legend on the obverse as *Srīmad-Jādjēyadēva*, and described the figure on the other side as 'a rudely executed front view of a male or female (it is difficult to say which), seated in the native fashion, with a glory round the head and some incomprehensible objects in the hands'. The legend was correctly read as *Srīmad-Gāngēyadēva* by E. Thomas¹ in 1858, but he could not identify the king.

In his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. X (1880), p. 21 and *Coins of Mediaeval India* (1894), p. 72, Cunningham described, with illustrations, gold, silver and copper coins of Gāngēyadēva. He identified the goddess on the reverse as Pārvatī and ascribed the coins to the Kalachuri king Gāngēyadēva, mentioned by Albērūnī as the contemporary ruler of Dāhala. The coins were next described by Rapson in his *Indian Coins* (1897), p. 33, and by Vincent Smith, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVI (1897) pp. 305-6, and then in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (1906), pp. 251 ff.

Pl. A, No. 4 AV Size in diameter—7'' Wt.—61 grs

Obverse—Inside a circle of dots, the legend in Nāgarī characters in three lines (1) [*Srī-mad*]-
G[ā]- (2) *ngēyadē*- (3) [*va*]

Reverse—Inside a circle of dots the figure of four-armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged, with lotuses in her two upper hands²

Gāngēya's coins exist in all the three metals—gold, silver and copper. Gold coins generally weigh 61 or 62 grains, but Dr V. S. Agiawala informs me that the top weight of Gāngēya's gold coin in the Lucknow Museum is 65 grains. Gold coins were called *tanakas*. The Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha mentions *tanakakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (or rather Bhagavatī, i.e., Lakshmī³). They were probably the gold coins of Gāngēya. Another term denoting gold coins which seems to have been current in that period, though it does not occur in any record edited here, was *gadyānaka*. The Chandrāvati plate dated V 1148 (1090 A.C.) of the Gāhadavāla king Chandradēva, who was a

¹ See his edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, p. 291.

² The Kalachuri kings were no doubt Śaivas, but the device on the seals of their copper-plate grants is a figure of Lakshmī with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head. The lotuses in the hands of the female deity on the coins of Gāngēya plainly indicate that she was intended to represent Lakshmī.

³ No. 67, ll. 20-21.

contemporary of Yaśahkarna, mentions *kumara-gadyānaka*¹ which shows that the *gadyānakas*, were current in the north as they were in the south² According to the *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarāchārya (I, 3), a *gadyānaka* weighed 48 *ratīs*. The large gold coins of the Gāhadavālas weigh from 59 to 68 grains. They may be taken to be *gadyānakas*, making allowance for the variation in the weight of the *ratīs* and for the usual deviation from the standard type. The large gold coins of Gāngēya which were the proto-type of the Gāhadavāla coinage seem, therefore, to have been known also as *gadyānakas*³

Smaller denominations of half, quarter and one-eighth *tanka* (or *gadyānaka*), struck by Gāngēya, are also known. The half-*tanka* was probably known as *dharana*⁴. Whether the lower denominations had any special names is not known.

Gāngēya's gold *tankas* are frequently met with in the southern and eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and some have been found in Madhya Pradesh also⁵. Of the lower denominations the quarter-*tanka* is sometimes found, but the half-*tanka* and one-eighth *tanka* described by Cunningham are believed to be rare⁶. Silver coins were called *drammas* as they were struck to the weight-standard of the Attic *drachma* or 67.5 grains, though they rarely reach that standard. The silver coins of Gāngēya are very rare. Vincent Smith says that all pieces which seem at first sight to be silver were perhaps regarded officially as gold⁷. The Bēsāni stone inscription of K. 958 mentions certain contributions in *drammas*.⁸ From the Siyadōnī inscription we learn that a quarter-*dramma* was known as *pañcāyaka-dramma*, because it was equal in value to five *vimśōpakas*⁹. In the same inscription a half-*dramma* is called *drammārdha* and a three-quarter *dramma* *dramma-tri-bhāga*. Copper coins were known as *panas*. This name also is not noticed in the records edited here, but the Kāman stone inscription mentions *drammas* and *panas*, of which the former were of silver and the latter of copper¹⁰. The standard weight of the *pana* was a *karsha* or 80 *raktikās* (146.4 grains), but the recorded copper coins of Gāngēyadēva do not weigh more than 60 grains. Perhaps they were half-*panas*. The lower denominations of silver *drammas* and copper *panas* are wanting.

In the Numismatic Supplement, No. XVII (*JASB* for 1912, p. 123, Pl. VI), Mr. Nelson Wright has described 8 gold coins of Gāngēyadēva which had been found in the village Isurpur in *taluk* Rehlī of the Saugor District. These coins differed in fabric from the usual coins of Gāngēyadēva. They were thick and in diameter half an inch. It is, therefore, suggested that they were struck by Karna, the son of Gāngēyadēva. Except for these, no coins struck by Gāngēya's successors are known.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 305.

² The Khārepātān plates of the Śīlāhāra Rattarāja mention the levy of gold *gadyānas* on ships coming from foreign countries. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

³ According to an interpolated verse in the *Līlāvatī* a *tanka* was equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ *gadyānaka*, i.e., was 63 grains in weight.

⁴ According to the *Līlāvatī*, two *dharanas* make one *gadyānaka*. Gold *dharanas* also are mentioned in the Khārepātān plates of Rattarāja. *Loc. cit.*

⁵ The legend on these coins found in Madhya Pradesh was read as *Śrīmad-Udayadēva* by R. D. Banerji, who ascribed the coins to the Paramāra Udayāditya. See *JASB* for 1920, p. 84. But the type and the legend (which is somewhat crudely executed) are like those of the coins of Gāngēyadēva.

⁶ Cunningham has described one gold coin of Gāngēya weighing 7 grains, and V. Smith another which weighs only 5.6 grains.

⁷ *JASB*, Vol. LXVI (1897), Part I, p. 306.

⁸ No. 71, ll. 2 ff.

⁹ The Siyadōnī inscription lays down in line 37 a cess of a quarter-*Ādivaiśva-dramma* and then in the next line expresses the same cess as *pan dra 1, 1 e*, one *pañcāyaka-dramma*. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-177.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 335.

The Lakshmi type introduced by Gāṅgēyadēva became popular in North India. It was imitated by the Chandēllas of Jajjhauti, the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj and the Tōmars of Delhi. It was also introduced in distant Kashmir. See, for instance, No. 7 in Pl. XXXV, *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937. This coin has on the reverse the figure of the four-armed seated Lakshmi as on the coins of Gāṅgēyadēva. Allan ascribes it to Śrī-Harsha of Kashmir (1089-1101 A.C.)

The Coins of the Kalachuris of South Kosala

The first coin of these kings to be published was that in Pl. XXXIX, facing p. 654 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (1836). It was a copper coin of Prithvidēva from the collection of Cunningham. It had the king's name on the obverse and 'the figure of a four-armed god¹ crushing a demon' on the reverse. Prinsep read the legend correctly, but ascribed the coin to the king whose name occurs 'in the Delhi list as having reigned at Lahore in A.D. 1176-1192'. A hoard of 56 gold coins² was next discovered in 1892 in the former State of Sārangarh, and some time later, three coins³ of the same type were found in the bed of the river Āṅg in the State of Patnā. All these coins were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where they were examined by Dr. Hoernle. His report on them appears in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1893, pp. 92 ff. and 141 ff. The coins were of three kings, Jājalladēva, Prithvidēva and Ratnadēva. All the coins were round in shape. They had the particular king's name on the obverse and the same device on the reverse. Hoernle at first took the device to be the standing figure of Hanumān, but later on changed his opinion and thought that it represented an elephant, a horse or a bull. As more than one king bore each of these names, Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II.

The coinage of this Kalachuri branch was next noticed by Cunningham in his *Coins of Mediaeval India* (1894), pp. 73 ff. In this work Cunningham described the gold coins⁴ of the three kings mentioned above, as well as two unique copper coins which he had acquired in 1835 and 1885. He identified the figure on the copper coins as that of Hanumān, but he was not certain about the device on the gold coins which he described as a number of shapeless objects surrounded by a circle of dots. Prof. Rapson, who edited Cunningham's work published posthumously, thought that the confused type on the reverse might perhaps be intended to represent a lion, facing right, rampant.⁵ In his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 254 ff., Vincent Smith has described only the gold coins of the aforementioned three kings. He follows Rapson in taking the device on the reverse to be the figure of a rampant lion. Since then some hoards of gold coins of these kings have been discovered from time to time in Chhattisgarh. The largest of them was of 600 gold coins discovered in 1921-22 at Sonsari in the *taluk* and District of Bilaspur. It contained the coins of both the large and the small size of all the three kings together with

¹ This god is of course Hanumān, though Prinsep did not identify him at the time.

² This hoard contained 26 coins (9 large and 17 small) of Jājalladēva, 29 coins (all small) of Ratnadēva, and one coin (large size) of Prithvidēva. Coins of the large size weigh about 60 grains, and those of the small size about 15 grains.

³ All the three coins (two large and one small) were of Jājalladēva.

⁴ In his descriptive table on p. 76 and in Pl. VIII, in *C. M. I.*, Cunningham labels three of these coins (Nos. 9-11) as those of copper. But this is incorrect, for, as he has himself stated, the coins were from the British Museum and were found in 1893. Cunningham has also quoted Hoernle's opinion about the device on them. They were, therefore, identical with the coins discovered in 1892, which were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for examination. Some of them were apparently presented to the British Museum later on. As stated above, all these coins were of gold.

⁵ *C. M. I.*, pp. 75-76, n. 45.

two coins of the Gāhadavāla king Gōvīndachandra.¹ In nearly all the hoards of gold coins discovered so far, the coins of Prithvīdēva are seen to preponderate, which seems to indicate that he was the last of the three kings

Copper coins also of the aforementioned three kings and of one more, *viz.*, Pratāpamalla, have been discovered at several places in Chhattisgarh. The credit of preserving them and of bringing them to the notice of scholars belongs to Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary of the Mahākōshal Historical Society. The gold coins described below are from the Nagpur Museum, and the copper coins from the collection of Pandit Pandeya.

The Coins of Jājalladēva I

No in Plate A	Metal	Size-dia- metre in inches	Wt in grains	Obverse	Reverse
5	AV	8	61	Three-line Nāgarī legend written inside a circle of dots (1) <i>Śrīmaj-J[a]-</i> (2) <i>jalladē-</i> (3) <i>va</i>	Lion with tail upraised to right jumping on an elephant lying prostrate below
6	AV	47	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	Legend as above (1) <i>Śrī-</i> <i>maj-J[ā]</i> (2) <i>jalladē-</i>	As above
7	AE	7	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	Legend as above (1) <i>Śrī-</i> <i>maj-J[ā]</i> (2) <i>[ja*][ladē-]</i>	Two-armed Hanumān to left trampling a demon

Only gold and copper coins of this king have been discovered. About the identity of the figure on the reverse of the gold coins there has been a great divergence of opinion. Hoernle thought at first that like the figure on the copper coin of Prithvīdēva which had been published before, the figure on the gold coins also was that of Hanumān. But on none of the gold coins examined by me does the figure appear like that of Hanumān. Hoernle himself changed his opinion later on and took the figure to be that of an elephant, a bull, a horse or a lion. As stated before, Rapson thought it might be that of a rampant lion. Vincent Smith has followed Rapson's view.

The figure on these coins is indeed crudely executed, and hence it has caused such a divergence of opinion among scholars. A close examination of coin No. 5 shows that its reverse has the figure of a lion with the tail upraised, facing right and jumping on an elephant which lies prostrate below.²

On the copper coins, the figure of Hanumān is, of course, quite clear. In the coin figured in Pl. A, No. 7, the god is turned to the left. The demon on the left, on whom he must be trampling, is cut out on this coin.

¹ Twenty-seven coins were discovered in the former State of Sonpur, some of which have been published in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff.

² The device was correctly interpreted for the first time by Mr. B. N. Nath in *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 199 ff. His view that this coinage was first introduced by Ratnadēva II does not, however, appear to be correct, for, it would relegate all coins with the legend *Śrīmaj-Jājalladēva* to Jājalladēva II. This is precluded by the palaeographic evidence detailed below.

The Coins of Ratnadēva II.

No in Plate A	Metal	Size-diameter in inches	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
8	AV	7	62 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend. (1) <i>Śrīmad-Ra-</i> (2) <i>tnadē-va</i> .	Lion to right attacking an elephant.
9	AV	.45	15½ „	As above	As above
10	AE	9	100 „	As above	Lion to right, with tail upraised.
11	AE	6	23½ „	As above. (1) <i>[Śrī] mad-Ra-</i> (2) <i>[tna*] dēva</i>	A sheathed dagger below some indistinct object (debased figure of a lion?)

Of this king also, only gold and copper coins are known. I have not seen any copper coins of this king with the Hanumān device. The seal of the Pārakaon plates of this king (No 122) has a sheathed dagger as on some of his copper coins.

The Coins of Pūthvidēva II

No in Plate A	Metal	Size-diameter in inches	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
12	AV	77	61 grs.	Two-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>Śrīmat-Pri-</i> (2) <i>thvī-dēva</i>	Lion with tail upraised to right with elephant lying prostrate below
13	AV	.5	15 „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pri]-</i> (2) <i>[th]vīdē [va*]</i>	As above.
14	AR	35	6 „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-[Pri]-</i> (2) <i>[thvīdē] [va*]</i>	Some shapeless objects perhaps representing a lion
15	AE	85	99½ „	As above: (1) <i>Śrīmat-Pri-</i> (2) <i>thvīdē[va]</i>	Four-armed Hanumān to left. He carries a mace in his upper left hand and something (a hill?) in his upper right hand. His other two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, one on right (cut out) and the other on left, whom he tramples under his right foot.

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size diameter in inches.	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
16	AE	.75	68 grs	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-Prī-</i> (2) <i>[thvī]dē[va]</i>	Hanumān to right, with a demon on left
17	AE	.85	99½ „	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-[Prī]-</i> (2) <i>thvīdē[va]</i>	Hanumān to left. He tramples a demon on left and has an attendant on right
18	AE	.8	73 „	As above (1) <i>Srīmat-[Prī]-</i> (2) <i>thvīdē[va]</i>	Lion with tail raised to right.

Of this king, coins in all the three metals are known, but his silver coins are very rare. Pandit L. P. Pandeya has so far been able to secure only three silver coins. All these are very small in size and resemble the one-eighth *dramma* pieces of Gāṅgēyadēva. This king's copper coins have both the devices of the lion and Hanumān (facing right or left).

The Coins of Pratāpamalla

No. in Plate A	Metal	Size	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
19	AE	.8	38 grs.	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>[Srī]mat-Prīa-</i> (2) <i>tā-</i> <i>pama-</i> (3) <i>[lla]dēva.</i>	Lion to left, looking backward
20	AE	.75	29 „	Three-line Nāgarī legend (1) <i>Srīmat-Prīa-</i> (2) <i>tāp-</i> <i>ma-</i> (3) <i>[lla]dēva</i> , with a sheathed dagger below	Some indistinct device, perhaps a lion

No gold and silver coins of this king have been reported till now. His copper coins were found for the first time in 1924. Pandit L. P. Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king has been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Pendra-bandh plates.¹ The seal of these plates has a sheathed dagger below the legend as on some coins of this king.

As the name Ratnadēva is repeated thrice and the names Prithvīdēva and Jājalladēva twice in the genealogical list of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the question of the attribution of these coins becomes very difficult. While describing the hoard from the Sārangaṭh, Dr. Hoernle conjecturally ascribed the coins to Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and of Prithvīdēva II,² but he gave no reason to support his view. Cunningham, on the other hand, assigned the same coins to Prithvīdēva I, Jājalladēva I and Ratnadēva II.³ Vincent

¹ No. 101.

² *P. A. S. B.* for 1898, p. 93.

³ *C. M. I.*, p. 76.

Smith was not certain about the matter. He doubtfully referred them to Prithvīdēva II, Jājalladēva II and Ratnadēva III, but did not deny the possibility of their being assigned to earlier homonymous kings¹. No satisfactory reasons have, however, been given for any of these identifications. Mr Allan has recently pointed out² that in view of the probability that Prithvīdēva I was still a feudatory³ and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladēva I, it is not improbable that some at least of the coins should be attributed to Prithvīdēva II. He thinks that the same is true of the distribution of coins between Jājalladēva I and II and Ratnadēva II and III.

An important clue to the identification of the kings who struck these coins is afforded by the form of the palatal *ś* in the legends on these coins. On the gold coins of Jājalladēva the left member of this letter is either joined to the vertical on the right, or resembles the English letter S, which shows that this prince must be identified with Jājalladēva I.⁴ There is another piece of evidence which points in the same direction. Jājalladēva I was a powerful prince. The Ratanpur stone inscription of his reign states that the ruling chiefs of the neighbouring territories, viz., South Kōsala, Andhra, Khimidi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhānāra, Talahārī, Dandakapura, Nandāvalī and Kukkuta, paid him annual tributes, and that as he was valiant, his alliance was sought by the lords of Chēdi, Kānyakubja and Jējābhuktika.⁵ Jājalladēva I's alliance with the contemporary Chandēlla king, who is evidently meant here by the lord of Jējābhuktika, is reflected in his coinage. It is well known that Chandēlla coinage begins in the reign of Kīrtivarman (*circa* 1060-1100 A.C.). Only gold coins of this king are known. Copper coins appear for the first time during the reign of Sallakshanavarman, the son and successor of Kīrtivarman, who was a contemporary of Jājalladēva. Sallakshanavarman's copper coins are extremely rare. Cunningham had only one in his cabinet, which is figured as No. 16 in Plate VIII of his *Coins of Mediaeval India*. It has the king's name in three lines on the obverse and the figure of Hanumān facing right on the reverse. The Hanumān type was apparently evolved in the Chandēlla kingdom⁶ where we find the earliest reference to the worship of the monkey-god in a stone inscription, dated in the Harsha year 316 (922 A.C.)⁷. This type seems to have been copied with a slight variation⁸ by Jājalladēva I after he formed an alliance with the Chandēlla king Sallakshanavarman.

The type 'Lion attacking an elephant' seen on the gold coins of this dynasty seems also to have been introduced for the first time by Jājalladēva I. It probably symbolises his victory over the contemporary Ganga king. The Ratanpur inscription of his reign mentions his conquest of Khimidi which lay in the kingdom of the Gangas. The latter were known as *Gajapatis* or *Gajādhīśas*, 'lords of elephants'. Jājalladēva's victory over the Ganga king was, therefore, fittingly represented by a lion attacking an elephant which lies prostrate below.

Some coins of debased gold with the legend *Śrīmaṣ-Jājalladēva* may have been struck by Jājalladēva II, whose reign does not appear to have been very prosperous.

¹ *I M C*, pp. 254-55, Pl. XXVI.

² *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1937, pp. 298 ff.

³ In his Amōdā plates dated K. 831, (No. 76, l. 25), Prithvīdēva I describes himself as *Mahāmandalēśvara*, which indicates his feudatory rank.

⁴ This form of *ś* is no longer seen in grants of Jājalladēva II. See the facsimile of No. 99.

⁵ No. 77, ll. 22-23.

⁶ The Hanumān type was evidently suggested by the Ādivarāha type used by Bhōja I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.

⁷ This date was read by Cunningham as *Samvat* 940, and by Kielhorn as *Samvat* 215. D. R. Bhandarkar read it as *Samvat* 316, which he referred to the Harsha era. See *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, for 1903-4, p. 47.

⁸ On the coins of Jājalladēva, the god appears two-armed as on the Chandēlla coins, but is shown to be trampling on a demon. On those of his successors he appears four-armed.

On the coins of Ratnadēva and Prithvidēva, the left member of the palatal *ś* has a somewhat longer serif at the bottom¹ than in the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, but the letter has not yet assumed the form seen in later records². These kings must, therefore, be identified with Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. It is noteworthy that the Sonsari hoard mentioned above, which contained the coins of all these kings, had also two coins of Gōvīndachandradēva. This Gāhaḍavala king of Kanauj had a long reign of nearly 45 years (circa 1110-1155 A.C.) and so was a contemporary of Jājalladēva I, Ratnadēva II and Prithvidēva II. The Sonsari hoard seems to have been secreted some time during the reign of Prithvidēva II.

Besides *tankas* and *drammas*, some other coins are mentioned in the Kalachuri inscriptions, to which we shall now turn. The Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja, dated K 965, mentions 130 *Sarāhagadām āchbhu*³ which may mean 130 gold coins minted in Sarāhagada⁴ (modern Sārangarh). It is noteworthy that a similar Marathi word *āsu* occurs in inscriptions⁵ found in Maharashtra and in the Mahānubhāva literature of the 14th century A.C. From several passages in the *Līlācharitra*,⁶ the Marathi biography of Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, *āsu* appears to have been a gold coin current in Maharashtra in the 13th century A.C. The *Līlācharitra* speaks in one place of a *pāuna āsu* or three-quarter *āsu*, which shows that lower denominations of one-quarter, one-half and three-quarter *āsus* were also current.

The Bilhārī stone inscription mentions *sōdasīkā*, which seems to have denoted a copper coin equal in value to one-sixteenth of a *dramma* just as *vimśōpaka* denoted one-twentieth of a *dramma*.⁷ Another coin mentioned in the same inscription is *paura*, which was probably a small coin of silver. A tax of four *pauras* was levied on every elephant, and that of two *pauras* on every horse, sold in the local market.⁸ *Kaparda* and *dyūta-kaparda* were other coins current at the time. Kautilya also mentions *kaparda* as a copper coin.⁹ It was probably identical with *kākinī* mentioned by Bhāskarāchārya as equivalent to twenty cowries. Four *kākinīs* made one *pana*.¹⁰ *Dyūtakaparda* was probably so called because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling.¹¹ Some of these coins may be represented by the smaller Kalachuri coins which are often found in Chhattisgarh. But they are so much worn and so irregular in weight that it is often difficult to say what denominations they represent.¹²

¹ V. Smith, *I. M. C.*, pp. 254 ff., Pl. XXVI.

² In the time of Prithvidēva II the earlier form of *ś* had no doubt gone out of use, but it seems to have continued on his coins, for, conservatism in regard to forms of letters is a characteristic of Indian coinage.

³ No. 116, l. 6.

⁴ The Rājīm stone inscription of Jagapāla mentions this place as *Sarāhāgādha*. No. 88, l. 10.

⁵ See, e.g., the Pātan inscription of the time of Yādava Singhana (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 343), which mentions *āsu*, *dāma* and *visōvā*. These appear to be coins of gold, silver and copper respectively.

⁶ See *Līlācharitra* (Marathi) ed. by H. N. Nene, part III, pp. 50-51.

⁷ *Visōvā* mentioned in the aforementioned Pātan inscription is derived from Sanskrit *vimśōpaka*. The *vimśōpakas* were so called because they were equal in value to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. This appears quite clear from l. 20 of the Siyadōnī inscription which first mentions in words a monthly tax of half a *Vīgrahatungīya-dramma* and then states the same as *vi 10 (i.e., 10 vimśōpakas)*. One *dramma* was, therefore, equal to 20 *vimśōpakas*. Similarly, it may have been equal to 16 *sōdasīkās*. It is noteworthy that Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvatī* (I, 2) states that sixteen *panas* make one *dramma*. Perhaps *sōdasīkā* was another name of the copper *pana*. According to the *Sārṅgadbara-samhitā*, it was so called because it weighed sixteen *māshas*.

⁸ Similar taxes are laid down in other inscriptions of the period. See, e.g., the Bayānā stone inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 122 ff.), which in line 23 mentions the gift of one *dramma* per horse (sold locally) in favour of a god, installed at Bayānā.

⁹ *Arthasāstra*, II, 12.

¹⁰ *Līlāvatī*, I, 2.

¹¹ It is perhaps identical with the smallest copper coin *arḍha-kākinī* mentioned in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, II, 12.

¹² The smallest of them may be *māshas*. According to Nārada cited in the *Mitākesharā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 159), a *māsha* was one-twentieth of a copper *pana*.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES¹

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|
Bhulūṇḍa
K 107
|
Rudradāsa
K 117

II The Traikūṭakas

Indradatta (415-440 A.C.)
|
Dahrasēna (440-465 A.C.)
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K. 241.

III The Early Gurjaras

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|
Jayabhata I—Vitarāga (595-620 A.C.)
|
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|
Jayabhata II (645-665 A.C.)
|
Dadda III—Bāhusahāya (665-690 A.C.)
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|
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|
Ahitōla (715-720 A.C.)
|
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K. 486.

IV The Sēndrakas

Bhānuśakti *alias* Nikumbha (620-625 A.C.)
|
Ādityaśakti (625-650 A.C.)
|
Allaśakti (650-675 A.C.)
K 404; K 406; S 577
|
Jayaśakti (675-700 A.C.)
S. 602

¹ Where possible, approximate reign-periods are given in brackets. The known dates are given under the respective names of kings.

Dharāśraya-Jayasīmha (670-695 A C)
K 436 |

I
Avanījanāśraya-Pulakēśin
K. 490

Bhōgaśakti (700-715 A C)
K 461.

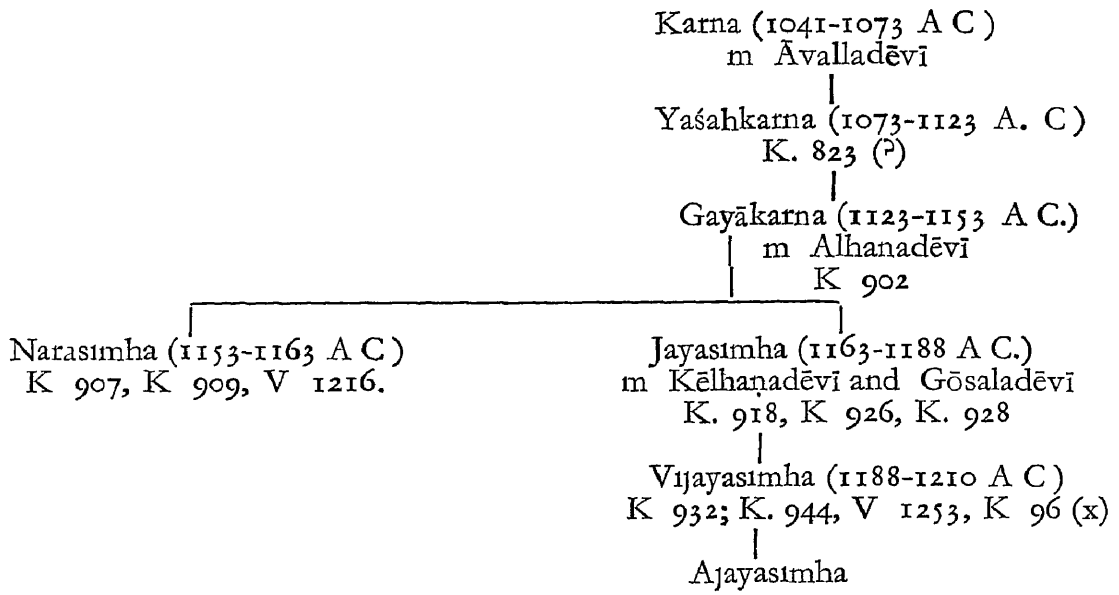
Buddharāja (600-620 A.C)
K. 360; K. 361.

Kōkalla I (850-890 A C)

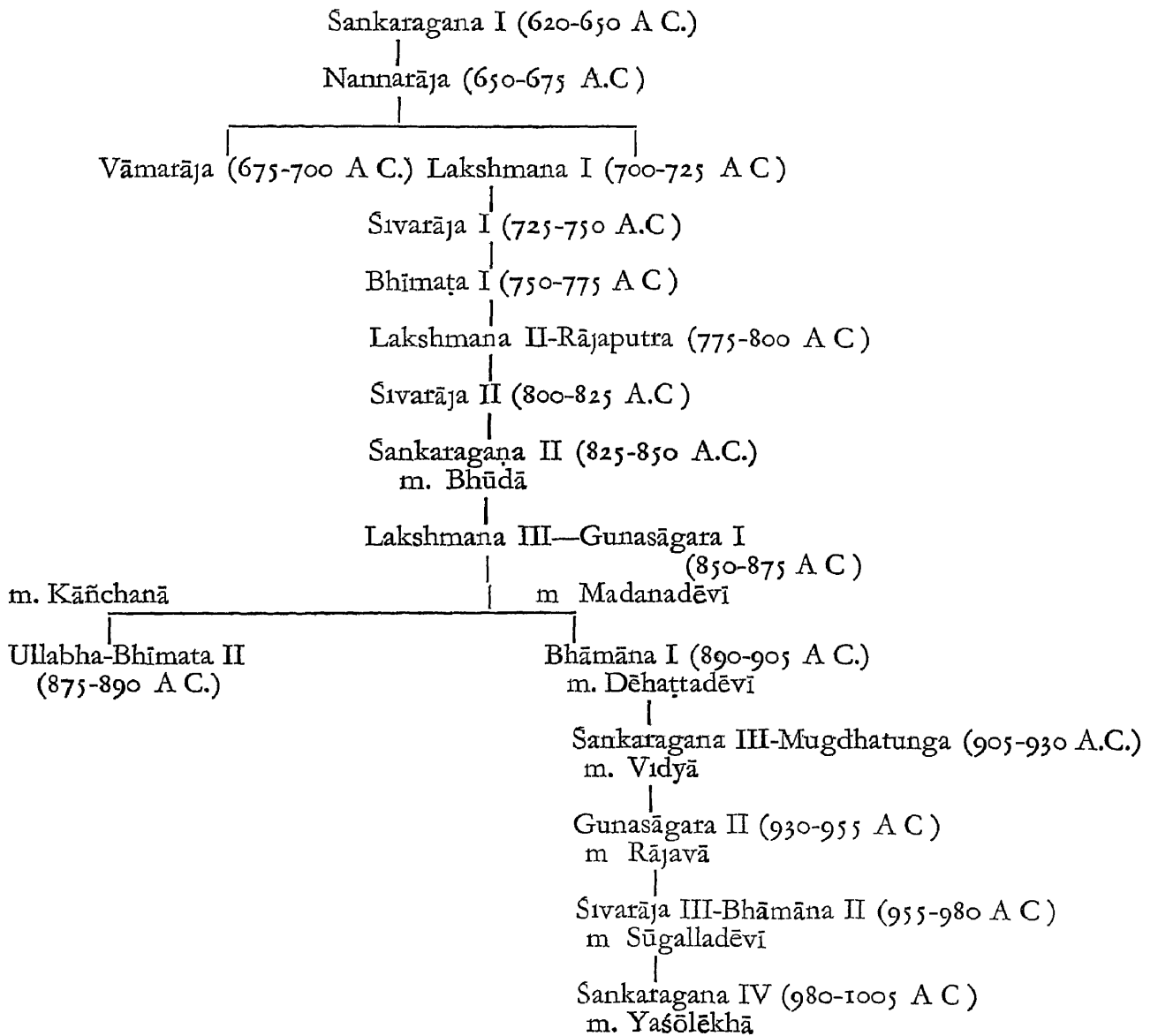
Arjuna
Āmanadēva

Lakshmanarāja II (945-970 A.C.)
m. Rāhadā

Karna (1041-1073 A.C.)
in Āvalladēvī
K. 793, K 800; K 810, K. 812.



IX The Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra



Sankaragana IV (980-1005 A C)

|
Bhīma (or Bhīmata III) (1005-1031 A C)
m Lāvanyavatī

|
Vyāsa (1031-1055 A C)
V 1087

|
Sōdhadēva (1055-1080 A C)
V 1134, V 1135

X The Kalachuris of Ratanpur (Ratnapura)

Kalingarāja (1000-1020 A C)

|
Kamalarāja (1020-1045 A C)

|
Ratnadēva I (1045-1065 A C)
m Nōnallā

|
Prithvidēva I (1065-1090 A C)
K 821, K 831

|
Jājalladēva I (1090-1120 A C)
m Lāchchhalladēvi
K 866

|
Ratnadēva II (1120-1135 A C)
K 878, K. 880, K 885

|
Prithvidēva II (1135-1165 A C)
K 890, K 893, K 896, K 897, K 900, K 905, K 910, K 915

|
Jagaddēva (1170-1175 A C)
m Sōmaladēvi

|
Jājalladēva II (1165-1170 A C)
K 919

|
Ratnadēva III (1175-1200 A C)
K. 933

|
Pratāpamallā (1200-1225 A C)
K 965, K 969

|
Lakshmīdēva (1325-1355 A C.)

|
Simhana (1355-1375 A C.)

|
(Ratanpur Branch)

Danghīra (1375-1400 A C)

|
Madanabrahman (1400-1425 A C)

|
Rāmachandra (1425-1450 A C)

|
Ratnasēna (1450-1480 A C.)
m Gundāyī

|
Vāhara (1480-1525 A C.)
V 1552, V. 1570

|
(Raipur Branch)

Rāmachandra (1375-1400 A C)

|
Brahmadēva (1400-1425 A C.)
V. 1458; V. 1470.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTION OF THE ABHIRAS

No 1, PLATE I

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 9

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Messrs Edward W. West and Arthur A West in their article entitled 'Nasik Cave Inscriptions' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII (1864), pp 37 ff They published a fairly correct eye-copy of the record and, though they gave no transcript of it, they noticed correctly the date which occurs in lines 2-3 The record was first transcribed, with notes and an English translation, by Dr R G Bhandarkar in his *Notices* published in the *Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1874, pp 341 ff It was next copied by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indragi Though the Pandit did the work with his wonted skill, his facsimile published in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV, Plate LIII, No. 12, is considerably worked up by hand In 1883 Pandit Bhagvanlal published a transcript of the inscription together with a Sanskrit rendering and an English translation in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol XVI (Nasik District), pp. 579 ff In the same year Dr Buhler also, working on Pandit Bhagvanlal's facsimile, published a transcript and an English translation of the epigraph in the aforementioned volume of the *Archæological Survey of Western India*. The inscription was finally edited with a purely mechanical facsimile by Prof E. Senart in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VIII, pp 88 ff and Plate VII (15) Prof Senart's edition has remained the standard one to the present day. The record is edited here from the Plate accompanying Prof Senart's article as well as a fresh estampage supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle.

The epigraph is incised on the left wall of the court in Cave No X on the so-called Pāndu-lēṇa hill, 5 miles south-west from Nasik, the head-quarters of the Nasik District in the Bombay State It seems to have originally consisted of 15 lines, but only the first thirteen of them can now be read Even in this part, the record has suffered considerably on the right-hand side by exposure to weather, and three or four *akṣharas* at the end of almost every line have now become almost illegible In several cases they can, however, be read from the traces left behind, or restored conjecturally The average size of the letters is 1.2".

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of a slightly later age than in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas In some respects, however, as in the subscript tripartite *y*, they show archaic forms, see *Mādharīputrasya*, l 1, *-vāstavyasya*, l 7, etc. Notice also *p* in *ganapaka-*, l. 4, which has a long vertical on the left As Dr Buhler has already noticed,¹ some of the letters are cursive; see, *e g*, the forms of *t* and *n*, derived from looped types, in *parvata-*, l. 7 and *Īśvarasēnasya*, l 2, as well as the form of *jña* in *nājñah*, l. 1. Some of the other peculiarities worthy of notice are as follows — *u* in *upāsikāyā*, l 6, has a horizontal stroke at the top, the rare *ō* occurs in *ōdayamtrika-*, l 10, the medial *u* in *dubitrā*, l. 4, is formed by a curve open on the right, like the medial *r* of later times. *Kh* has a loop on the right, see *sukh-ārtham*, l 7, *y* is generally flat as in Kushāna records, but the

¹ *I.P.*, p. 43.

round form also occurs sporadically; see *upāsikāyā*-, l. 6 and *odayamtrika*-, l. 10; *l* is bent towards the left, see *tilapishaka*-, l. 11. Finally, the palatal *ś* has two forms, the earlier one with a vertical middle stroke occurs in *viśvavarmasya*, l. 5, while the later one in which the stroke is placed horizontally is noticed in other places, see e.g. *Sak-Agnivarmanab*, l. 4. The numerical symbol for 1000 occurs in l. 10, that for 500 in l. 11, those for 10, 4 and 3 in l. 3 and that for 2 in l. 10. A symbol denoting 9 seems to have occurred at the end of line 2, but it is now rather indistinct.

The language is Sanskrit with some admixture of Prakrit forms. See, e.g., *Gimha-pakehe* and *chothe* in l. 3, [*eta*] *yā purvayā* in ll. 3-4, *gilāna*-, l. 8, etc. As for orthography, the only point which calls for notice is the reduplication of *m* after *r* in *Sak-Agnivarmanab*, l. 4.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king (Rājan) Īśvarasēna, the son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta and Mādharī. The object of it is to record the foundation, by an *upāsikā* or lay devotee named Viśṇudattā, of a perpetual endowment to provide medicines for the sick among the community of Buddhist monks from the four quarters, dwelling in the monastery on the Triraśmi mountain. Viśṇudattā belonged to the Śaka race. She was the daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the Ganapaka (Accountant) Rēbhīla and mother of the Ganapaka Viśvavarman. For the aforementioned perpetual endowment, the following amounts in *kārshāpanas*¹ were invested with the various guilds evidently of Gōvardhana, viz., a thousand *kārshāpanas* with the guild of *kulankas* (potters), two thousand with the guild of manufacturers of hydraulic machines, five hundred with another guild whose name is lost, and some more with the guild of oil-millers.

The record is dated on the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the season Grīshma in the ninth (regnal) year of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. As shown in the Introduction, Īśvarasēna was probably the founder of the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdī era. This date must, therefore, be referred to that era. Later dates of the era cite some lunar month, fortnight, *tithi* and week-day, but this first known date of the reckoning is recorded in season, fortnight and day in accordance with the prevailing custom of the time.² According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. with the year commencing on Kārttika śukla 1, the thirteenth day of the fourth fortnight of Grīshma would fall in 258 A. C. if the year 9 was current, and in 259 A. C. if it was expired. The date does not admit of verification.

Of the geographical names which occur in the present record, Triraśmi-parvata (or the three-rayed hill) is plainly identical with the Pāndu-lēna hill where the epigraph is incised. Pandit Bhagvanlal has suggested that its pyramidal or triple fire-tongue shape was the origin of its name Triraśmi.³ Gōvardhana which was probably mentioned in line 8 is identical with the modern village Gōvardhan-Gangāpur⁴ on the right bank of the Gōdāvarī, about 6 miles west of Nasik. It is mentioned in four other inscriptions on the cave-hill and was, in ancient times, the head-quarters of a territorial division (*ābhāra*) named after it.

¹ *Kārshāpana* was a silver coin weighing about 34 grains. The *kārshāpanas* mentioned here were probably those of the Western Kshatrapas which appear to have circulated in Maharashtra during the time of the Ābhīras.

² Most of the Kshatrapa and Sātavāhana inscriptions in the Nasik caves contain similar season dates, but two records, viz., Nos. 12 and 14, mention the lunar months Vaiśākha, Kārttika and Chaitra. Season dates survived down to the time of the Vākātakas. See the date of the Dudia plates of the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 258 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 541.

⁴ The village is in two parts, Gōvardhan or Gōrdhan above and Gangāpur below, *loc. cit.*, p. 538.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिध [1*] राज्ञ [मा]ठरीपुत्रस्य² शिवदत्ताभीरपुत्रस्य
 2 आभीरस्येश्वरसेनस्य³ सवत्सरे नव[मे]⁴ [९] [गि*]-
 3 म्हपखे⁵ चोथे ४ दिवस त्रयोदश १० ३ [एत*]⁶-
 4 या पुर्वया⁷ शकाग्निवर्मण दुहित्रा⁸ गणपक[स्य*]⁹
 5 रेभिलस्य [भा]र्यया गणपकस्य विश्ववर्मस्य [मा*]-
 6 त्रा शकनिकया¹⁰ उपासिका(क)या विष्णुदत्ता(त्त)या सर्वसत्व(त्त्व)हि-
 7 [त]सुखार्थं त्रिरश्मिपर्वतविहारवास्तव्यस्य [चातुर्दिश]¹¹[स्य]
 8 भि[क्षु]सघस्य गिलानभेषजार्थमक्षयनीवी प्रयुक्ता .व [वास्त-]¹²
 9 व्यासु आगता[नागता]सु¹³ श्रेणिषु यत कुलरिकश्रेण्या हस्ते क(का)र्षणि-
 10 सहस्र १००० ओदयत्रिकश्रेण्या¹⁴ सहस्राणि द्वे २¹⁵
 11 [ण्या] शतानि पच ५०० तिलपिषकश्रे[ण्या]¹⁶
 12 एते च क(का)र्षणिणा चतालो[पि]¹⁷
 13 . [त]स्य [मास]वृद्धि[तो]¹⁸

¹ From 'Nasik Inscriptions'—Plate VII (15), facing p 88 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol VIII, and a fresh estampage

² Pandit Bhagvanlal was the first to read this name, but he admitted that the first two letters of it were doubtful. The facsimile shows clear traces of *dha Mā* appears to be very much cramped for want of space and may have been added subsequently

³ Dr Bhandarkar read आभीरस्य वीरसेनस्य. Here, again, Bhagvanlal first read the name which appears to be quite certain

⁴ The last character मे of नवमे is somewhat indistinct. Bhagvanlal and Senart read नवम्, but the Plate shows a slanting stroke to the left on the top, denoting medial ष. This word seems to have been followed by a symbol denoting 9 (cf. *chothe* 4 in l 3, below), but it is now rather indistinct. The last character in this line may have been *ga*. Buhler read *ga* in the beginning of the next line

⁵ Here and in some places below, Prakrit forms have been used. As they are easily intelligible, they have not been rendered into Sanskrit

⁶ These two *aksharas*, though now completely gone, can be conjecturally restored from the context

⁷ The superscript *r* of *rva* in *purvayā*, though not noticed before, is as clear here as in *parvata* in line 7, below

⁸ This *akshara*, though indistinct, appears like *tr* in *Trirāsmi*, l 7

⁹ Here and in the next line, Buhler read *ganāpaka*, but the *ā* stroke is clear in neither case. *Sya* is partially seen on the right border.

¹⁰ Bhandarkar read *bhrātrī-kam(ṇya)kayā*. Bhagvanlal's reading *[mā]trā Śakanikayā* accepted by Senart is, however, supported by both the facsimile and the context

¹¹ These four *aksharas* are rather indistinct. There appears one more *akshara*, viz *sya*, at the end of the line

¹² The *aksharas* lost here were conjecturally restored by Buhler as *Gōvardhanavāsta*-. *Vāsta* is faintly seen at the end of this line

¹³ Buhler read *Sugatāgatāsu*, but it gives no good sense. Besides, the Plate shows the *akshara nā* between *iā* and *ga*. Like Senart, I have adopted the above reading, first proposed by Bhandarkar

¹⁴ Bhagvanlal read *odayamtrika*, but as Senart has already observed, the letters *da* and *da* can hardly be distinguished in so defaced an inscription. The *anusvāra* on *nyā* is clear in the estampage

¹⁵ The facsimile in *ASWI* as well as the fresh estampage shows the figure 2. One would rather expect here the symbol for a thousand with a horizontal stroke added on the right. The name of the *śrēṇ* which must have occurred at the end of this line is now illegible

¹⁶ The facsimile in *ASWI* shows two more *aksharas* *śatā* which are omitted in the Plate in *Ep. Ind.*

¹⁷ See below, p 4, n 6.

¹⁸ The facsimile in *ASWI* has traces of seven more *aksharas* which can be read as सर्व रक्षति विद्या, but they are omitted in the Plate in *Ep. Ind.* The *aksharas* in the next two lines are completely effaced.

TRANSLATION

Success! In the ninth—9—year of the king, the Ābhīra Īśvarasēna, son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta (and) son of Mādharī, on the thirteenth—10 (and) 3—day in the fourth—4—fortnight of summer, on this aforementioned (day) the lay devotee Vishnudattā of the Śaka race¹, mother of the *Ganapaka*² Viśvavarman, wife of the *Ganapaka* Rēbhīla (and) daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, has invested the (following) perpetual endowment in the present and future guilds,³ dwelling at **Gōvardhana**, in order to provide medicines for the sick among the community of monks from the four quarters dwelling in (this) monastery on Mount Triraśmi, for the well-being and happiness of all creatures, viz., a thousand—1000—*kārshāpanas* in the hands of the guild of *Kularikas*⁴, two thousand—2000—*kārshāpanas* in the guild of the manufacturers of hydraulic machines⁵, five hundred—500—in the guild of (and) in the guild of oil-millers

(Line 12) All these four⁶ (investments of) *kārshāpanas* by the monthly interest of⁷

¹ *Śakanikā* seems to be used here in the sense of a woman of the Śaka race. *Nikā* was added as a suffix in the sense of a woman, like the later *ambā*. Cf. *Vyayā* and *Vyayanikā* in inscriptions Nos 1, 9 and 19 at Kudā. *ICTWI*, pp 4 ff

² Buhler took *Ganapaka* to mean 'the protector or leader of a *gana*'. A *gana*, according to him, consists of three *gulmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of 'a colonel' or 'a brigadier-general.' Senart derived the word from *ganāpayati* (irregular for *ganayati*) and understood it to mean 'an accountant' or 'an astrologer'. Mr. Bakhle, on the other hand, thinks that it means the President of a *gana* or republican state. *JBRBAS (NS)*, Vol. IV, p 78.

³ Buhler, who read *Sugatāgatāsu*, translated, 'with the Buddha (?) companies dwelling in (*Gōvardhana*)'. The expression *āgatānāgatāsu* is intended to commit the specified guilds existing at the time and their successors to the payment of the perpetual interest.

⁴ *Kularika* may be identical with *kulāla*, a potter, as conjectured by Buhler, or with *kaulika*, a weaver, as suggested by Bhandarkar. The guild of the *kaulikas* (*kōlika-nikāya*) is mentioned in l 2 of the Nasik cave inscription No 12.

⁵ *Ōdayantrika* is properly *audayantrika*. It probably signified 'a worker fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others' (Senart).

⁶ Previous editors, who read *chatālāpa* or *chatālepa*, failed to understand it and omitted it in their translations. The correct reading appears to be *chatālo-pa* and signifies 'all the four'. *Chatālo* is plainly to be equated with *chattāro* meaning 'four'. Cf. *SHC*, VIII, 3, 122. The reference is evidently to the investment of the four amounts of *kārshāpanas* in the four guilds named in the epigraph.

⁷ The last two lines of the record, now completely effaced, may have stated how the interest was to be utilised. Compare ll 3 ff of Nāsik cave inscription No 12. *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p. 82.

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF ISVARASENA (KALACHURI) YEAR 9



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAHARAJAS OF VALKHA

No. 2, PLATE II A

INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 67

THIS was one of the two **copper-plates** obtained by Dr D R. Bhandarkar from Pandit Vamanasastrī Islampurkar of Indore¹ Dr. Bhandarkar handed them over to Dr R C Majumdar, who edited them together in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp 286 f and plates Their contents and dates were discussed by me in an article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol XXV, pp 159 f The inscription on the present plate is edited here from the facsimile accompanying Dr Majumdar's article

The inscription is incised on one side only of a single **copper-plate** measuring 7 6" broad and 4 1" high It has no ring-hole and shows no sign of a seal having ever been attached to it The plate has nine lines of writing, of which the last, containing a sign-manual of the reigning king, is incised in the margin on the left The work is in an excellent state of preservation The size of the letters varies from 2" to 1" with knobs

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern **abugida** cave inscription at the top They show considerable development over those of the letters *a, k, ñ* and *r*, for instance, have developed curves at the lower end to the right, see *-pathakē*, and *r*, for instance, have developed curves at the lower end to the left, see *-pād-ānuddhyātō*, of the southern alphabet, *th* is shown by a curling *a* bipartite form; see *Āryya*, l 4 l 3, *n* has developed a loop, while the vertical *ve*, its long form is indicated by a curl- l 1 and *Sāndilya*, l 3, the subscript *y* has *ai* and *ō* appear in some cases above the As regards medial vowels, *i* now forms *ai*, l 5 The **symbols** for 60, 7 and 5 occur in l 8 ing curve turned to the left, the *m* is now little admixture of Prakrit forms, the only line, and the medial *au* is bipartite *santaka*, l 2 and *krishāpayata*, l 7, which however

The **language** is **Sanskrit** regards **orthography**, the only peculiarity which calls for cases occurring in the consonant before *y* and after *r*, see *pād-ānuddhyātō*, l 1 and persisted for a long time

notice is the **reference** itself to the reign of **Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa**. The object of it is the confirmation, by Svāmīdāsa, of the gift of a field in the village **Dakṣiṇa-sarvāṇa-tallavātaka** (South Valmika-tallavātaka) which was situated in the territorial division **Nagarikā-pathaka**. The plate was issued from **Valkha**, which was evidently the royal capital The **Dūtaka** was Nannabhatta The record is dated on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of **Jyēṣṭha** in the year 67 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era. It may be noted that the year in this case is introduced with the

¹ See *Ep Ind*, Vols XV, p 286 and XXIV, p 52 The other copper-plate was issued by Bhulunda See below, No 3

² Above, No 1

³ The use of the words *samanujānīyō(mō)* in ll 2-3 and *krīṭ-ānuyāsya* in l 6 as well as the absence of any statement that it was a royal grant indicate that **Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa** only confirmed the gift Who the donor was is not known The plate of Bhulunda (No 3, below), which bears close resemblance to the present record, mentions a person named Āśhādhanandin at whose request the gift was confirmed,

word *varsha* in stead of the usual *samvat* The plate is signed by the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Svāmīdāsa.

Svāmīdāsa who issued the present plate was only a feudatory chief, for he describes himself as *parama-bhattāraka-pād-ānudyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', though he does not name his suzerain. The latter probably belonged to the Imperial family which started the era in which the date of the present inscription is recorded. The date does not admit of verification in the absence of such details as a week-day or a *nakshatra*. We must therefore identify the era to which it refers, on other evidence. Unfortunately, the provenance of the plate has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which affords a clue. The present grant bears close resemblance to the Śirpur grant¹ of Rudradāsa, dated in the year 107, in several respects, viz., (i) the names of the princes in both the cases end in *dāsa*, (ii) both the princes bear the title *Mahārāja* and acknowledge their feudatory status in the same words, (iii) the characters and phraseology of the two grants are strikingly similar, (iv) the date is similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word *varsha* in both the grants. These similarities² leave no doubt that the two coins belong to the same royal family and came originally from the same part of the desh. As the grant of Rudradāsa is known to have been found at Śirpur in the Khandesh, the same of Svāmīdāsa also must, in all probability, have originally belonged to the same part of Northern Maharashtra. Pandit Islampurkar, who was engaged in collecting coins and ancient historical records in different parts of the country, seems

Dr Majumdar recovered it somewhere in Khandesh and taken it to Indore that its characters resemble the date of the present plate to the Gupta era on the ground view cannot now be upheld, for the Sāñchī inscription of Chandragupta II. This Northern Maharashtra where, as we see, the Sāñchī inscription of Chandragupta II. This of the word *varsha* in recording the year, no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era to Śaka era⁴, but that era is out of the question. The plate was probably found³. The use are far more developed than those current in the Gupta era. The characters of the present grant era to which the date can be referred is the so-called Gupta era. The only other by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna. Accordingly, the date is 117 A. C. The only other period year 67, to the 2nd May 317 A. C.⁵ It does not admit of being founded in 249 A. C. As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, **Valkha**, found, for the ex-

¹ No. 4, below.

² The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Śirpur grant, but it must be mentioned in the beginning of the first line where two or three letters have been lost owing to the loss of a piece of the plate on the left. The sign-manual of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, which must have been incised in the margin on the left, is also lost.

³ In fact there is no evidence of the spread of the Gupta era south of the Narmadā except the solitary grant of Bhīmasēna II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff and Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff). That grant, however, belongs to Kōsalā or modern Chhattisgarh, the ruler of which had submitted to Samudragupta. Khandesh, on the other hand, was never under the direct or indirect rule of the Guptas. The old identification of Ērandapalli mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Ērandōl in Khandesh, proposed by Fleet, is now held to be untenable. See Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 59 f.

⁴ Dr Kielhorn has shown that the word *varsha* is characteristic of the Śaka era. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 150. The use of that word in the present grant seems to be in imitation of the older grants dated in the Śaka era which was previously current in Maharashtra.

⁵ In the case of early records of the Kalachuri era (Nos. 1-34), the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 249-50 A. C. for an expired year.

royal capital at the time, may be identical with Vāghlī, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in the East Khandesh District, on the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G I P Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions.¹ One of these inscriptions² in three parts, edited by Dr Kielhorn, shows that Vāghlī became afterwards the capital of a feudatory royal family which originally hailed from Valabhī in Kathiawad, and later on owed allegiance to the Yādavas of Khandesh.³ **Nagarikā**, the head-quarters of the territorial division (*pathaka*) named after it, may be identical with Nagar Dēvlā, about 10 miles north-east of Vāghlī, which also contains an old *Hēmādpanti* temple of Mahādēva.⁴ Finally, **Valmika-tallavātaka** may be Talwād khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Dēvlā.⁵

TEXT⁶

- 1 वल्खा[त्*] परमभट्टारकपादानुद्धातो महाराजश्रीस्वामिदास समाज्ञा—
- 2 पयति सव्वनिवास्मत्सन्तकाना⁷युक्तकाद्विज्ञातमस्तु व[*] समनुजा—
- 3 नीयोस्मि⁸ शाण्डिल्यसगोत्रमुण्डब्राह्मण(ण)स्य नगरिकापथके दक्षिणव—
- 4 लिमकतल्लवाटके आर्य्यवानि(णि)जकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपद ब्रह्मदेयमाचन्द्रा—
- 5 कर्तारककालीय पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य¹⁰ भोगायैव¹¹मिदानि(नी)मस्य(स्या)स्मा—
- 6 भिक्कृत नञस्यो¹²चितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[*] कृषत कृषा—
- 7 पयतश्च¹³ सर्व्वरेवा[स्म]पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभि¹⁴स्समनुमन्तव्य(व्यम् ।)
- 8 नल्लभट्टि दूतक¹⁵ [1*] वर्षे ६० ७ ज्येष्ठ शु ५ [1*]
- 9 (*In the margin*) महाराजश्रीस्वामिदासस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From **Valkha**—the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Svāmīdāsa**, who meditates on the fee of the *Paramabhattāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his¹⁶ officers—

“Be it known to you that We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, belonging to the merchant Ārya and situated in the southern **Valmika-tallavātaka** in the *pathaka* of **Nagarikā**, to this Brāhmaṇa Munda of the Sāndilya *gōtra*, to be enjoyed

¹ K D G, p 478.

² *Ep Ind*, Vol II, pp 221 ff

³ Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit suggested that Valkha might be identical with Bāhal in the Chalisgaon tālukā, where a large hoard of punch-marked coins was recently found

⁴ K D G, p 457

⁵ The place-name seems to have dropped *Valmika* in course of time. Dr Majumdar's identification of Nagarikā with Nagar which lies 75 miles from the borders of the former Indore State, and of Tallavātaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nagar, or with Talōrā, 50 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be accepted as the plate did not come from North India

⁶ From the facsimile facing p 289, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV

⁷ This should properly be स्वसन्तका—

⁸ Read —नायुक्तकान्विज्ञात—

⁹ Read समनुजानीमोस्य as in the plate of Bhulunda (No. 3)

¹⁰ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य

¹¹ Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी—

¹² Read —स्माभि कृतानुज्ञस्यो—

¹³ Read कर्षयतश्च

¹⁴ Read —स्मत्पक्षतक्तुल्यादिभि—,

¹⁵ Read नल्लभट्टिदूतक.

¹⁶ *Lat*, Our,

(by him) (and) by a succession of his sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure

(Line 5) (Wherefore) all persons connected with Us, those born in their families and others should consent to this grant, (since) he has now been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys (the field), cultivates it and causes it to be cultivated according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadēya* (land) "

(L 8) The *Dūtaka*¹ is **Nannabhṭṭi**. In the year 60 (and) 7, (in the month of) **Jyēshṭha** (and) the bright fortnight, (on the lunar day) 5.

(In the margin) Of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Svāmīdāsa**.

NO. 3; PLATE II B

INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 107

THIS copper-plate, like the preceding one of Svāmīdāsa,² was in the possession of Pandit Vamanasastrī Islampurkar of Indore, from whom it was obtained by Dr. D R Bhandarkar. The two plates were edited together by Dr R. C. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XV, pp 286 ff and plates I edit the record here from the facsimile accompanying Dr Majumdar's article

The present record also is on a single copper-plate and is incised only on one side of it, measuring 8 25" broad and 3 75" high. The plate has no ring-hole and does not appear to have ever had a seal attached to it. It has 9 lines of writing, of which the last one containing the royal sign-manual is incised in the margin on the left as in the case of Svāmīdāsa's plate. The size of the letters varies from 2" to 5".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, generally resembling those of the preceding plate, though more cursive in form. The only peculiarities worth noting are—(i) medial *ī* (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions as also by a curve curling to the left, see *samanujānīmō*, l 2, *-kālīnam*, l. 5 etc.; (ii) *d* and *ḍ* are not clearly distinguished, see *Bhulunda*, l 11 and *Skandō*, l. 8, (iii) the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l 6 and numerical symbols for 100, 10, 7 and 2, in l. 8.

The language is Sanskrit. The wording of the grant closely resembles that of the grant of Svāmīdāsa. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

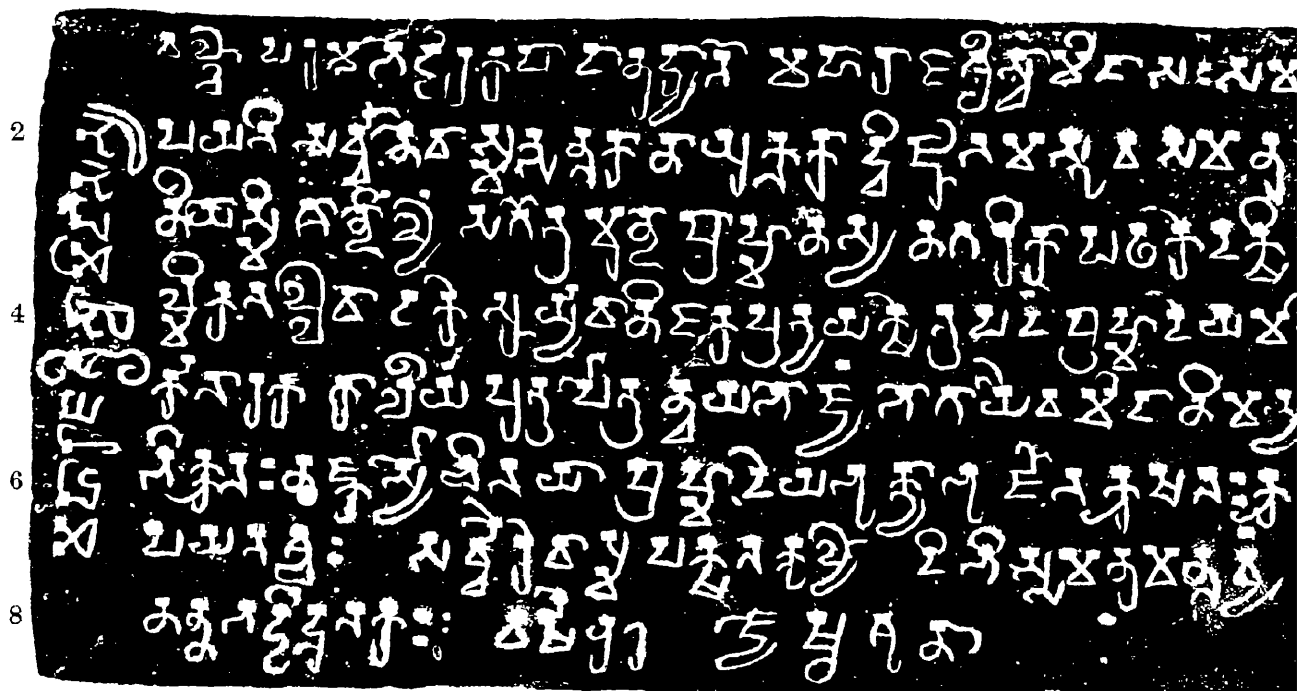
The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Bhulunda*. Like Svāmīdāsa, he also describes himself as *paramabhṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta* and therefore seems to have owed allegiance to some lord paramount.³ The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja Bhulunda*, to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field belonging to one Khuddatāka together with the surrounding *kachchha* (bank), to a Brāhmana named Kusāraka, at the request of Āshādhanandin. The field was situated on the boundary of a place named Ulladana. Āshādhanandin seems to have purchased the field from the owner, donated it to the Brāhmana, and applied to the king for the confirmation of the gift. The royal order was issued from **Valkha**. The record is dated in the year (*varsha*) 107 (expressed in numerical symbols only) on the 12th tithi of the dark fortnight of **Phālguna**. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the *Pratibhāra* Skanda. The plate is signed by the *Mahārāja Bhulunda* in the margin on the left.

¹ *Dūtaka*, also called *Ājñapti* in some grants, mentioned generally at the end of early copper-plate charters, was an officer charged with the execution of the royal order. Compare *kārāvaka* used in the same sense in a grant of the Vākāṭakas. *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, p 87

² No 2, above.

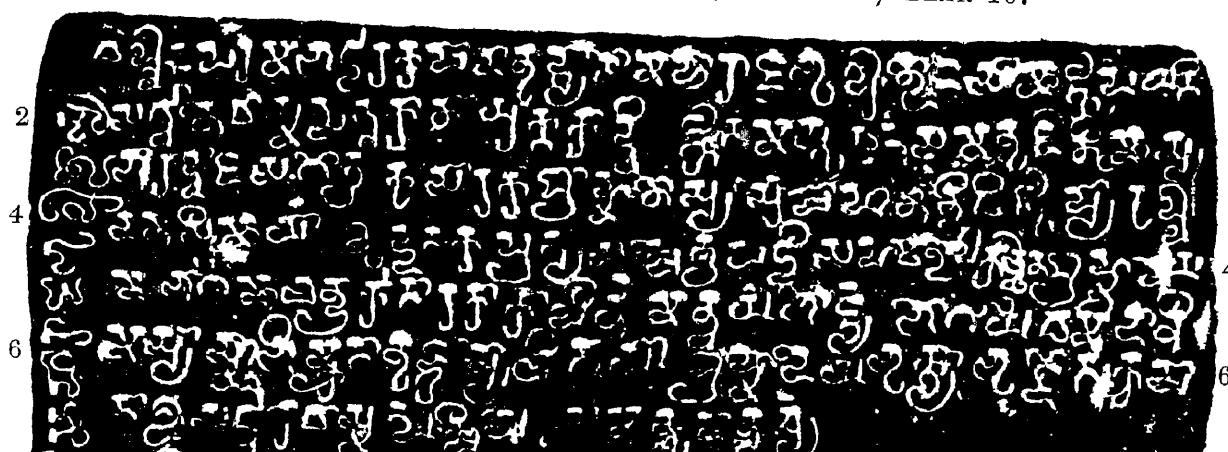
³ See above, p 6,

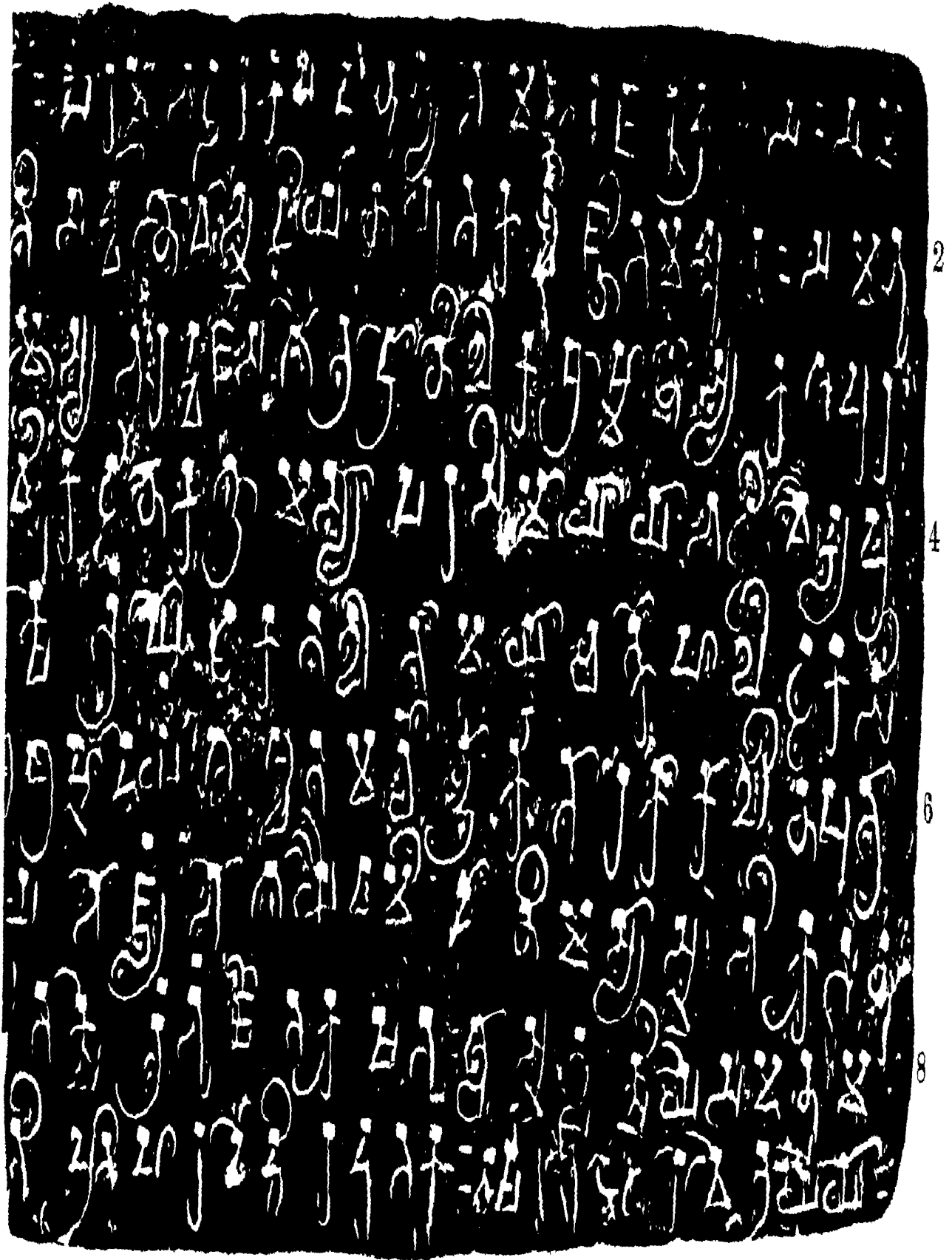
A.—INDORE PLATE OF SVAMIDASA (KALACHURI) YEAR 67



ACTUAL SIZE

B.—INDORE PLATE OF BHULUNDA (KALACHURI) YEAR 107





The close similarity in the characters, phraseology, royal sign-manual and mode of dating of the plates of the *Mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa and Bhulunda leaves no doubt that they originally came from the same part of the country, which, as already stated, was probably the Khandesh District. The **date** of the present plate must therefore be referred to the same reckoning, *viz.*, the **Kalachuri era**. According to the epoch of 248-49 A C, it corresponds, for the *amānta* Phālguna in the expired year 107, to the 4th March 357 A C. The date does not admit of verification.

As for the **places** mentioned in the present record, **Valkha**, as shown before,¹ is probably identical with Vāghlī near Chaliṣgaon in the East Khandesh District. **Ulladana** may be the same as Udhli, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal. The description in the present plate that the field in Ulladana was granted together with the surrounding *kachchha* suits Udhli very well, for it is situated on the bank of the Tāpi.

TEXT²

- 1 वल्खा (ल्खात् ।) परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो महाराजभुलुण्ड समाज्ञापयति
- 2 सर्वनिवास्मत्सन्तका³नायुक्तकाद्वि⁴ज्ञातमस्तु व समनुजानीमोस्य
- 3 भारद्वाजसगोत्रकुसारकब्राह्मणस्य आषाढण(न)न्दिविज्ञाप्या⁵ उत्तर-
- 4 दन⁶सीमाया खुदतकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रपट्टि(ट्टि) सह मण्डलकच्छेन ब्रह्मदेय-
- 5 मभागमाचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनमन्वयभोज्य⁷ भोगायै⁸वमिदानी-
- 6 मस्यास्माभिः⁹कृतानुज्ञस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुञ्जत[*] कृषा-
- 7 ताश्च⁹ स[र्वै]रेवास्मत्पक्षीयै¹⁰ समनुमन्तव्य (व्यम्) [1*]
- 8 प्रतिहारस्कन्दो दूतक [1*] वर्षे १०० ७ फल्गु¹¹ व १० २ [1*]
- 9 (In the margin) मा(म)हाराजभुलुण्डस्य [1*]

TRANSLATION

From **Valkha**—*Mahārāja Bhulunda*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhāttāraka* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) command to all his¹² officers —

(Line 2) "Be it known to you that at the request of Āshādhānandin, We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the entire *brahmadēya* gift of a strip of land consisting of the field belonging to Khuddataka, together with the surrounding *kachchha* (*bank*), on the boundary of **Ulladana**, to the Brāhmana Kusāraka of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, to be enjoyed by (*him and*) his descendants as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure

(L 5) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to this grant, now

¹ Above, p 6

² From the facsimile facing page 289, *Ep Ind*, Vol XV.

³ This should properly be सर्वनिव स्वसन्तका-

⁴ Read -नायुक्तकान्वि-

⁵ Read आषाढनन्दिविज्ञाप्या

⁶ Dr Majumdar read रुल्लदन, but the first *akshara* is clearly *u*. In *ru*, the curve should have been turned to the left, and another, turned downwards, added to the vertical stroke

⁷ Read -कालीनमन्वयभोज्य

⁸ Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी-

⁹ Read कृषत-

¹⁰ Read -स्मत्पक्षीयै

¹¹ Read फाल्गुन

¹² *Lat.*, Our.

that he has thus been permitted by Us, so long as he enjoys and cultivates the field according to the conditions for enjoying *brahmadēya* (land) ”

The *Dūtaka* is *Pratibāra Skanda*.

(L 8) In the year 100 (and) 7, in the month Phālguna (and) the dark fortnight, (on the lunar day) 10 (and) 2.

(In the margin) Of the *Mahārāja Bhulunda*.

NO 4, PLATE II C

SIRPUR PLATE OF RUDRADASA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 117

THIS copper-plate was discovered in 1884, in the possession of one Motiram Patil of Sirpur¹ in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI (1887), pp. 98 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is a fragmentary plate, the extant piece measuring 7" broad and 4 5" high. It is intact at the top, the bottom and the right side, but from the left side a narrow piece, about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down, so that about three *akṣaras* have been lost at the beginning of each line. There is no hole in the extant piece, and from the close resemblance which the record on this plate bears to the last two grants, it does not seem likely that there was any hole in the lost piece also. In any case no ring or seal was discovered with the plate. The present inscription is incised only on one side of it, but on the other side, Pandit Bhagvanlal found seven faintly cut shell-characters.

The inscription consists of nine lines. The writing is in a state of good preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is 3". The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the plate of *Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa*,² though they are somewhat more angular. Like the latter, they have knobs at the top of the letters. They include, in line 9, the symbols for 100, 10 and 7. In some cases we see an admixture of different forms, *v*, for instance, has generally the triangular form as in the inscriptions of *Svāmīdāsa* and *Bhulunda*, see *sarvān-ēva* in line 2 and *bhōgāy-ama* in line 7; but in *yāvat*, l. 5, it has the same shape as in the copper-plate inscriptions of the *Vākātaka Pravaraśēna II*. Pandit Bhagvanlal referred the present record to the beginning of the sixth century A. C., but in view of the earlier forms of some letters like *d* and *m*, I would date it about the middle or end of the fourth century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription is in prose throughout. The wording of the grant resembles, *mutatis mutandis*, that of the preceding grants of *Svāmīdāsa* and *Bhulunda*, but it is written very carelessly. The orthography also shows the same peculiarities.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Rudradāsa*. He describes himself as *paramabhattāraka-pād-ānudyāta* 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord', which clearly indicates his feudatory status. The object of the inscription is to record the assent, by *Mahārāja Rudradāsa*, to the gift of a field named *Ghōṭakatala* situated on the western boundary of the village *Vikattānaka*. This village seems to have been included in the *Kaśāpura* sub-division(?). The boundary of the field extended as far as *Kōhalattaka*, which may have been the name of a field or a village. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*. The place of issue is not named in the extant portion. It must

¹ This place-name is spelt as Shirpur in the Degree Map No. 46 K.

² Above, No. 2.

have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece on the left, and was, in all probability, Valkha. It is noteworthy that the two dots which followed the name of the place of issue are still seen in the beginning of the first line, as on the plate of Bhulunda. The signature of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa, which must have occurred in the margin on the left as on the plates of Svāmīdāsa and Bhulunda, is also lost.

The inscription is **dated** in line 9 in numerical symbols which are carelessly incised. The intended **date** appears to be the **third tithi of the month Vaiśākha in the year 117.**¹ The fortnight has not been specified, but it may have been the bright one, as the *tithi* was probably *akṣhaya-tritīyā* (Vaiśākha śukla tritīyā). The date is introduced with the word *varsha* as in the preceding two grants. In view of the close resemblance which the present grant bears to those of Svāmīdāsa and Bhulunda, this date must be referred to the **Kalachuri era.**² According to the epoch of 248-49 A C which suits early dates of the era, the present date would correspond, for the expired year 117, to the 18th April 367 A C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present record, **Vikattānaka** may be Vitnērā, about 20 miles south by east of Sirpur. The other places cannot be traced in the vicinity of Sirpur.

TEXT³

- 1 [वल्खा*⁴] परमभट्टारकपदानुद्ध्यातो⁵ महरजरुद्रदास⁶ समा—
- 2 [ज्ञापय*⁷]ति सर्व्वणिवा⁸स्मदीयानयुतक⁹[न्वि]ज्ञातमस्तु व समनु—
- 3 [जानी*]मोस्य भरद्वज¹⁰सगोत्रद्रोणिलकब्राह्मणस्य कशपुरा—
- 4 [न्तर्गत*]विकट्टाणवग्रामस्यापरसीमाया(या) या¹¹ भट्टिवैद्यप्र—
- 5 [त्यय*] क्षेत्र घोटकतलत्ताम¹² यावत्कोहलट्टकसी—
- 6 [मासन्धि¹³*] ब्रह्मदेय शाश्वतमचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीन¹⁴ पुत्रा¹⁵—

¹ Pandit Bhagvanlal read the date as 118, but the unit figure is 7, not 8. See the figure in No 12, line 34, below.

² It may be noted here that Dr Fleet also has, though doubtfully, referred to the Kalachuri era the date of this record, which he, following Pandit Bhagvanlal, read as 118. See *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, Part 11, p 294.

³ From the photo-lithograph accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, pp 98 f.

⁴ As the beginning of the second line shows, two or three letters are lost here and at the commencement of each subsequent line. The initial *akṣharas* may have been *Valkhā* (for *Valkhāt*) as in the previous two grants. The horizontal stroke at the top of the second *akṣhara* can be marked in the upper left corner.

⁵ Read परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो

⁶ Read महाराजरुद्रदास

⁷ The *akṣharas* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets in the beginning of 9 are supplied conjecturally on the analogy of the previous two grants.

सर्व्वणिवा—

¹⁴ नुयुक्तकान्वि—

¹⁵ Read पु
ndant

- 7 [पौत्रान्व*]यभोज्यं¹ भोगायैवमिदानी²मस्यास्माभि[*] कृतनु³—
 8 [ज्ञस्यै*]तक्षेत्र भुञ्जत[*] कृषतश्चा⁴स्मत्पक्षीयै[*] समनुम—
 9 [न्तव्यमि*]ति [1*] प्रतिहरदोद्धिरदुतक⁵ ॥ वर्ष⁶ १०० १० ७⁷ वै तृयाया⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

[From Valkha]⁹—*Mahārāja Rudradāsa*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaddārika* (Great Lord), issues the (*following*) order to all his¹⁰ officers—

“Be it known to you that We (*hereby*) give Our assent to the *brahmadēya* gift of a field, called Ghōtakatala, which belonged (*formerly*) to Bhatti Vaidya, which is situated on the western boundary of the village *Vikaṭṭāṇaka* included in the *Kaśapura* (sub-division?), extending as far as the boundary of *Kōhalatṭaka*, to the Brāhmaṇa Drōṇilaka of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, to be enjoyed (*by him*) (*and*) by a succession of his sons and sons’ sons for all time as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would endure.

(Line 8) (*Wherefore*), all persons connected with Us should consent to it while he is enjoying and cultivating that field, (*since*) he has now been permitted by Us

(*This charter has been issued*), the *Pratihāra Dōddhira* being the *Dūtaka*, in the year 100 (*and*) 10 (*and*) 7, (*in the month of*) *Vaiśākha*, on the third (*lunar day*)

¹ Read —भोग्य

² Read भोगाय । एवमिदानी—

³ Read कृतानुज्ञस्यैतत्क्षेत्र

⁴ Read कृषतश्चा—

⁵ Read प्रतिहारदोद्धिरदुतक Some words like लिखितमिद are required to be supplied here See the concluding portion of Nos 9, 11, 12, etc

⁶ Read वर्ष The following *danda* is superfluous

⁷ The unit symbol denotes 7, not 8 as supposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal, for it is exactly like the one used in l 34 of the Ābhōṇa plates of Śankaragana (No 12)

⁸ Read वैशाखतृतीयायाम् Bhagvanlal suggested the reading द्वितीयाया which he thought was supported by the two dots at the end But the latter may be a sign of punctuation like those after दूतक

⁹ See above, pp 10 ff

¹⁰ *Lst.* Our

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KINGS OF MAHISHMATI

No 5, PLATE III A

KANAKHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN: (KALACHURI) YEAR 102

THE inscription was discovered by one of the Assistants of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India at Kānākhērā, a village near Sāñchī in the Bhopal State, Central India ¹ It is now preserved in the Sāñchī Museum The inscribed stone was found built into a well. The record was first briefly noticed by Mr R. D. Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year 1917-18, p. 37, and later edited by him in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVI, pp 230 ff. It was re-edited by Mr N.G. Majumdar, first in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol XIX (1923), pp 337 ff, and later in the *Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol I, pp 392 ff and Vol III, Pl CXXXIX Mr Majumdar corrected some mistakes in the transcript of Mr. Banerji and gave a different reading of the date at the end The record is edited here from an excellent ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of six lines of writing, and covers a space, 6.75" broad and 2.5" high It is in an imperfect state of preservation Several *akṣharas* towards the end of the first line have either become illegible or have been completely lost owing to the breaking off of the upper right edge of the stone Besides, many more have been damaged in the middle of lines 4 and 5 by the flaking off of the surface of the stone The size of the letters varies between 1.25" and .4"

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets Their striking features are the elongated verticals of *k*, *r* and *l*, the beautiful superscript curves denoting medial *i* (short and long) and rarely medial *ā*, and the ornamental forms of the subscript *y* and *r* The following peculiarities may be noted:—*n* and *ṇ* have a loop in the lower part, see *tridaśa-gana-* and *senāpatēr-*, both in l 1, *dh* has generally an oval shape, see *dharmma-vyaymā*, l 2, but its archaic form is also noticed, see *Śrīdhavaravarmmaṇā* in the same line, *y*, though still tripartite, has a hook for its left limb, see *-nāyaka-* l. 2, and *ś* has generally a short horizontal bar, but in ligatures it assumes a tripartite form, see *śrāddhayā*, l 3 and *śāśvatē*, l 4 On the evidence of palaeography, the inscription may be referred to the 4th century A. C.

The language is Sanskrit The record begins in prose, but is rounded off with a verse in the *Sāṇḍilavikrīḍita* metre, composed in a good *kāvya* style The influence of Prakrit is seen in the forms *trayōdaśamē* and *kbhānāpita* The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*; see *Śrīdhavaravarmmanā*, l 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahādandanāyaka Śaka Śrīdhavarman* who was the son of the *Śaka Nanda*. Though Śrīdhavarman belonged to the Śaka race, he was a follower of the Hindu religion, for he was apparently described in the mutilated line 1 as a worshipper of Svāmī-Mahāsēna (Skanda or Kārttikēya), the commander of the celestial army. The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well by Śrīdhavarman for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the acquisition of religious merit and fame, and the everlasting attainment of heaven

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 230.

The inscription contains in lines 2 and 3 the following date, viz, the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the victorious thirteenth year. This date is mentioned in close connection with the name of the *Mahādandanāyaka* Śrīdharavarman to whose reign it apparently refers, but Banerji thought that as Śrīdharavarman did not claim any royal title, it was extremely improbable that the year 13 was of his reign. He therefore referred the date to the reign of Jivadāman, the father of Rudrasimha II and the founder of the third dynasty of the Satraps of Saurāshtra, whose name, he thought, he could read in line 1.¹ But, as Majumdar has shown, this view is untenable,² for (i) the existing traces of letters in line 1 show that the correct reading of the passage where Banerji read the name of the Kshatrapa ruler is *vījy-āryjita-vījya*³, (ii) no title like *Svāmin* is prefixed to the name of Jivadāman even according to the reading of Banerji, and (iii) the victorious thirteenth year mentioned in line 2 is described as augmenting the reign evidently of Śrīdharavarman who is named immediately before in that line. It seems therefore that Śrīdharavarman, though he held only the military title of *Mahādandanāyaka*, was, to all intents and purposes, an independent ruler, since he does not mention any overlord in this epigraph⁴.

There is another date towards the close of the record which has been differently read by Banerji and Majumdar. The former called attention to the two symbols which immediately follow the aforementioned verse in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first of these, he thought, was 'the Western Kshatrapa symbol for 200 written at one stroke', while the second signified the unit. The date was thus 201 which Banerji referred to the Śaka era and took as equivalent to 279 A.C. Mr. Majumdar, on the other hand, thought that the first sign had no resemblance to a 200 figure and that it was unlikely to be a numerical symbol since it was not introduced by a word like *varsha* or *samvatsara*. He, therefore, took it to be a sign of interpunction indicating the end of the verse. Mr. Majumdar, however, drew attention to the letter *sa* which occurs at some distance from this sign followed by 'apparently three numerical symbols'. He was not certain about the reading of the first of these, but took it tentatively as signifying 200. The other two signs he read as 40 and 1. The date of the epigraph was thus, according to Majumdar, 241. He referred this year to the Śaka era and took it as equivalent to 319 A.C.⁵

Whatever may be the correct reading of this date, the attribution of it to the Śaka era is not plausible,⁶ for there is no other early date of that era coming from either Eastern or Western Malwa. The Śaka era was, no doubt, used by the Kshatrapas in Kathiawad, but no records of their rule have been found in Malwa. In fact Kshatrapa supremacy in Malwa seems to have terminated about the middle of the third century A.C.⁷ It seems therefore better to refer the date to the so-called Kalachuri-Chedi era which was undoubtedly current in the adjoining Anūpa country as evidenced by the inscriptions of Subandhu.⁸

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, 231.

² *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX (1923), pp. 340 ff.

³ Banerji read here *s-āditya-vīryya-jivadāma*.

⁴ An analogous instance is that of the Śunga Emperor Pushyamitra, who retained his military title of *Sēnāpati* to the last. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 57; Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V.

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XIX, p. 342.

⁶ Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar also gives this date doubtfully under the Śaka era. See *INI*, p. 144. The earliest date of the Śaka era found in Central India is the year 784 in a Jain inscription from Deogad in the Jhansi District. *INI*, No. 1085.

⁷ Kshatrapa copper coinage of the Malwa fabric ceases about 240 A.C. Rapson, *C.A.D.*, Introd., p. cxxxiii.

⁸ Nos. 6 and 7, below.

The first of the two signs, which immediately follows the completion of the verse in line 6, is definitely *not* a sign of interpunction as supposed by Majumdar, for, so far as I know, such a sign is not used for this purpose anywhere else. Banerji seems to be right in taking it to be a numerical symbol,¹ notwithstanding the unusual omission of an introductory word like *varsha* or *samvat*. The symbol, however, signifies 100, not 200; for the horizontal stroke which is generally attached to the top of its vertical in order to convert it into a symbol for 200² is not noticed in this case. This symbol is followed by two horizontal strokes, one below the other,³ signifying the unit figure 2. This is followed by some *aksharas* which are indistinct. The first appears to be *sa* and the last *stu*. They may be remnants of *Siddham=astu*.⁴

The date of the record is thus the year 102, which, being referred to the Kalachuri era, becomes equivalent to 351-52 A. C. The tenth *tithi* of *amānta* Svāvaṇa va di 10 in the expired year 102 fell on the 22nd July 352 A. C. The date does not admit of verification, but it is supported by the palæographical evidence stated above.

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] भगवत्स्त्रिदशगणसेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामिमहासेनमहा [कुमारस्य*⁷] [दिव्य]—
वीर्यार्जितविज[य*]
- 2 धर्म्मविजयिना शकनन्दपुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरवर्म्मणा व[र्ष*सह]स्राय स्वरा—
ज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके सवत्सरे त्रयोदश[मे*]⁹
- 3 श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वकमेतद्विषय¹⁰ कल्याणाभ्युदयवृ[द्धचर्त्तम]क्षयस्वर्गावाप्तिहेतोर्द्धर्म्म—
यशोर्त्थं धर्म्मसिखद्वया श्रा(श्र)द्ध[या*]
- 4 शाश्वते¹¹ चन्द्रा[दित्य¹²][कालि]कोयं (1*)— — — ०० —¹³
प्रसन्नसलिल सव्वर्धिगम्य सदा

¹ Majumdar's statement that this sign is not used as a numerical symbol is incorrect. As a matter of fact, it is the usual symbol denoting a hundred and is used in several records edited here. See, e.g. the dates of Nos. 3, 6, etc.

² See e.g. the symbol denoting hundreds in the plates of Dahrasēna (No. 8).

³ These strokes are rather indistinct in the plate accompanying Banerji's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, but they appear clear in Pl. cxxxix of the *Monuments of Sāñchi*, Vol. III, and also in the fresh estampage supplied to me.

⁴ D. C. Sircar has suggested the reading *svasty=astu*. *SI*, Vol. I, p. 181. It has, however, to be admitted that the first *akshara* shows no trace of the subscript *v*, and the second does not look like *stya*. Mr. Majumdar takes the last *akshara* *stu* as a numerical symbol denoting 40. But see the forms of the symbol for 40 in Plate IX in Buhler's *Indische Palæographie*. The shape of that symbol is clearly different.

⁵ From an inked estampage.

⁶ This word is incised in the margin on the left, between lines 3 and 4.

⁷ These four *aksharas* are damaged but can be read from the traces left. The following two *aksharas* *divya* are fairly clear. Banerji reads तेजसादित्य which yields no good sense. Majumdar first read *s-āditiya-* and subsequently *-tījab-prasādāt*. See *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XIX and *MS*, Vol. I, p. 393.

⁸ Majumdar read [rshsha], but as the *akshara* is much defaced, it is difficult to say whether the consonant *sh* was reduplicated.

⁹ There are some traces of an *akshara* after *sa*, which may be of *mē* as supposed by Banerji and Majumdar. Read त्रयोदशे.

¹⁰ Read दशम्यामेतद्विषये.

¹¹ Read शाश्वत.

¹² Banerji read चतु.सत्य— and Majumdar चन्द्रसूर्य—. But the reading चन्द्रा— is quite clear. Besides, there is no trace of the medial *ñ* of *sñ*. The correct reading appears to be चन्द्रादित्य—, which was later adopted by Majumdar.

¹³ These six *aksharas* are illegible. I would restore आकारेऽप्रतिम. The upper part of *kā*, the medial *i* of *ti* and the *visarga* are clearly seen.

- 5 सत्वा(त्वा)नां प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धम्म[भृतः¹] शाश्वतः (1*) — — — [प्रणम्य मनसा
द्रव्यस्य²] [कृत्वा व्ययम्*]
6 [कृ]प श्रीधरवर्म्मणा गुणवता खानापितो[य] शुभ³ (11*) १०० २⁴[1*] [स] स्तु⁵ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! [This well], lasting for ever as long as the sun (*and*) the moon would endure, [has been excavated] by the *Mahādandanāyaka Śaka Śrīdharavarman*, the son of the *Śaka Nanda*, the righteous conqueror, [who meditates on the feet of] the Great [Kumāra], the divine Lord Mahāsēna (*Kārttikēya*), the Commander of the celestial hosts, whose army has never been vanquished and who, by his celestial prowess, attained victories . . . on this day (*namely*) the **tenth day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa** in the victorious **thirteenth year** augmenting his dominion for a thousand years, [being actuated] by religious faith awakened by the sword of righteousness, for the increase of welfare and prosperity, the eternal attainment of heaven (*and*) the acquisition of religious merit and fame

(Line 4) This excellent well containing clear water, [matchless in shape], which is always accessible to all, has an appearance pleasing to all living beings, and is a perennial store of water, has been caused to be excavated, for the acquisition of religious merit, by the meritorious Śrīdharavarman, having mentally paid obeisance to (*and*) spent (*a large sum of*) money

(L. 6) (*The year*) 100 (*and*) 2. May there be success!

¹ Baneji and, following him, Majumdar read -द्धम्मसिल, but the third *akshara* appears more like *bb* than *m*, and the following one has no resemblance to *l*. Besides, *dharmāmala* has a queer comparison

² These nine *aksharas*, read here for the first time, appear to be quite certain from the traces still-extant

³ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁴ For the reading of these symbols, see above, pp. 14 ff

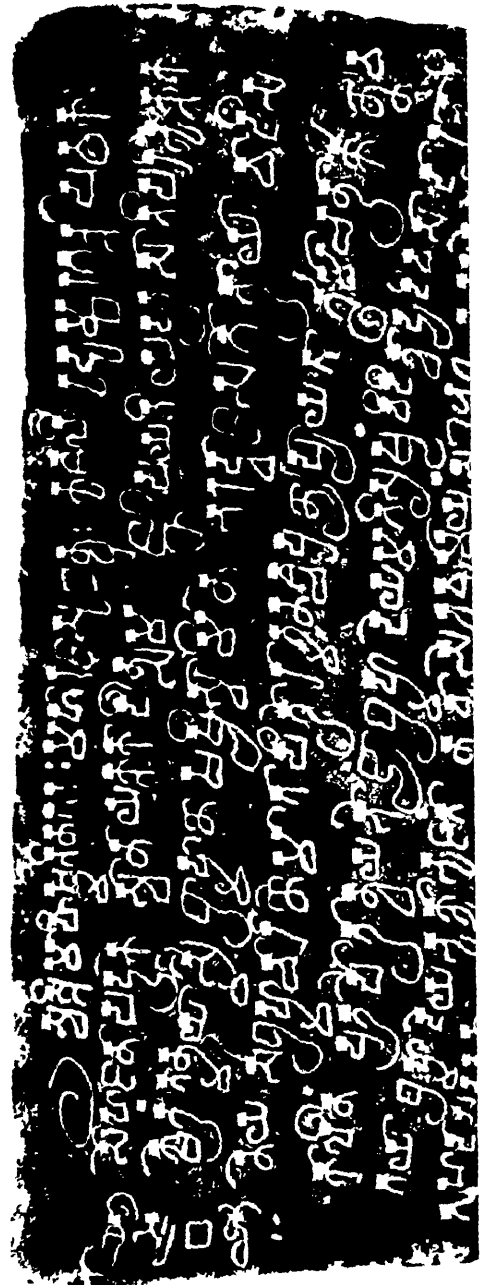
⁵ Read सिद्धमस्तु.

A — KANKHERA STONE INSCRIPTION OF SRIDHARAVARMAN (KALACHURI) YEAR 102



SCALE ONE-THIRD

B — BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU (KALACHURI) YEAR 167



2 4 6 8 10 12

2 4 6 8 10 12

No. 6, PLATE III B

BARWANI PLATE OF SUBANDHU (KALACHURI) YEAR 167

THIS Copper-plate was found in the Barwani District in Madhya Bhārat. Its exact findspot has not been recorded. The inscription on it was first noticed very briefly in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum* for 1924-25, and was later on edited, without any facsimile or translation, by Mr R R Haldar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XIX, pp 261 f. Its contents and date were discussed by me in an article entitled 'The Age of the Bāgh Caves' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XXI, pp 79 f. The record is edited here from an excellent facsimile which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a single copper-plate and on one side of it, measuring 8" broad by 3 2" high. The plate has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of eight lines, of which the last, containing the sign manual of Subandhu, is incised in the margin on the left.

The characters resemble those of the so-called Indoic plate of Svāmīdāsa and have knobs or boxes at the top. The numerical symbols for 100, 60 and 7 occur in line 6. The language is Sanskrit. There is no admixture of Prakrit forms in the wording of the grant. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *r*, see *garttā-pathakā*, 1 1 and *-padhrakē*, 1 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Subandhu*. Unlike Svāmīdāsa and other princes of Khandesh, he gives no indication that he acknowledged the suzerainty of any other ruler, though, as shown below, his grant is probably dated in the same reckoning as theirs. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by *Mahārāja Subandhu*, of a field owned by a person named Sāti in the village (*padhaka*) Sōhajanā which was included in the *pathaka* of Udumbaragartā. The donee was the Brāhmana Shashthisvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The order was issued from the city of *Māhishmatī*. As no word like *vāsaka* is attached to the place-name, *Māhishmatī* was probably the royal capital at the time. The *Dūtaka* was Guhadāsa. The royal sign manual *Srī-Subandhōb* occurs in the margin on the left as in the case of the Khandesh plates.¹ The record is dated in the year 167 (expressed by numerical symbols) of an unspecified era, on the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. The date does not admit of verification.

Mr Haldar, who first edited the present inscription, referred its date to the Gupta era and took it as equivalent to 486 A C.² He thought that *Mahārāja Subandhu* was a subordinate of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta whose Eran Stone inscription is dated in the Gupta year 165 (484-85 A C), i.e., just two years before the date of the Barwani grant.

This view, however, presents several difficulties. If *Mahārāja Subandhu* was a feudatory of the Guptas, it looks strange that he does not name his liege-lord or even generally refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas as in the grants of the so-called Parivrājaka *Mahārājas*. As a matter of fact, Gupta suzerainty seems to have received a setback in Central India in the second half of the fifth century A C, for we have several records from Mandasor and the adjoining places in the ancient Daśārṇa country, which are dated not in the Gupta era, but in the Mālava *samvat*. Further, we learn from the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivīshēna II (*circa* 470-90 A C) that the king of Mālava was one of the vassals of his father Narēndrasēna. If Daśārṇa and Mālava had broken away from the Gupta

¹ Above, Nos 2 and 3

² *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 262

Empire, it is not likely that Anūpa which lay further to the west continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy¹ The year 167 is not, therefore, likely to be of the Gupta era

The general resemblance that the present grant bears to the three preceding grants from Khandesh in respect of characters, phraseology, royal sign manual etc., indicates that it belongs to the same period as the latter. The era in which these four grants are dated must therefore be identical. As shown above, the three grants from Khandesh are dated in the so-called **Kalachuri-Chēdi** era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasēna in 249 A.C. The date of the present grant, if referred to the same era, would correspond to the 5th August 417 A.C. As stated above, it does not admit of verification

Māhishmatī, from which the plate was issued, is generally identified with the holy place Onkāra Māndhātā on the Narmadā, in the Nēmād District of the Madhya Pradēsh. The description of the city given by the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* (VI, 43), namely, that it was surrounded by the river Narmadā like a girdle, suits Onkāra Māndhātā very well. **Udumbaragartā**, which was the chief town of a *pathaka* named after it, may be Umarbār, now a small village on the western border of the Barwani District. It lies on the Jharkhal, a small tributary of the Narmadā. **Sohajanā** may be Sejawānik, about 4 miles south-east of Barwani.

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] माहिष्मतिनगर⁴ महार(रा)जसुबन्धुः कुशली उदुम्बर-
गत्तपिथकः (के)
- 2 सोहजनापट्टके स्वानायक्तकादीन्समाज्ञापयति यदत्र सातिपरिभुक्तक-
- 3 क्षेत्रं तन्मयास्मै ब्राह्मणषष्टिस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राय⁵ वा[जि]स-
- 4 नेय⁶सब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायता(ना)र्त्थमाचन्द्राकर्ण्णा(र्ण्ण)व-
- 5 कालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य⁷ ब्रह्मदेयमतिसृष्ट(ष्टम्) [1*]विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्योपि(चि)-
- 6 तथा ब्रह्मदेयभुक्त्या भुज(ञ्ज)ता न व्यासेधव्य⁸काय्य⁸(1*)स १०० ६०७ भ(भा)द्रपदे [शु]दि
स[प्त] [1*]
- 7 गुहदासदूतक. [1*]
(In the margin) श्रीसुबन्धो [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the city of **Māhishmatī**—*Mahārāja Subandhu*, being in good health, issues the (following) order to his (officers), *Ayuktakas* and others, at the village (*padraka*) of **Sohajanā** in the *pathaka* (district) of **Udumbaragartā** —

The field, which is at present enjoyed by Sāti here (i.e., at the village **Sohajanā**), has been granted by me as a *brahmadēya* gift to this Brāhmana Shashthīsvāmin of the Bhara-

¹ For a detailed discussion of this matter, see my aforementioned article on the age of the Bāgh Caves in *I H Q*, Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f

² From an excellent photograph of an inked estampage of the plate supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read माहिष्मतीनगरात्

⁵ Read सगोत्राय

⁶ Read वाजसनेय

⁷ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य

⁸ Read व्यासेधव्यकाय्य ।

dvāja gōtra who is a religious student of the Vājasanēya śākhā, (to be enjoyed by him) as long as the moon, the sun and the ocean would endure, for the increase of religious merit of my parents and myself

(Line 5)—Having known (*thus*), you should not cause from this day, (*any*) obstruction while he is enjoying it according to the condition of enjoying *brahmadēya* land

(L 6) (*In*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 7, in (*the month*) Bhādrapada (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day seven The Dūtaka is Guhadāsa

(*In the margin*) Of the illustrious Subandhu.

No 7, PLATE III C

BAGH CAVE PLATE OF SUBANDHU

THIS copper-plate was found in the debris of Cave No II at Bāgh in Madhya Bhārat. The inscription on it was first brought to notice in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State* for 1928-29, pp 15 and 28. Its date was discussed by me in an article on the age of the Bāgh Caves published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XXI, pp 79 f. It is edited here from an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of the Archaeological Department of Madhya Bhārat.

The record is on a single copper-plate and, like the preceding inscription of Subandhu, it is incised on only one face of it, measuring 8 3" broad by 4 5" high. It has no ring-hole and there is no indication of a seal having ever been attached to it. The inscription consists of fourteen lines, of which the last containing the royal sign manual is incised in the margin on the left. The record is in a good state of preservation except in the first three lines where a few *akṣharas* in the upper left corner have now become illegible. Again, the plate has lost a small triangular piece with its two arms measuring 1 5" each in the lower right corner which has resulted in the unfortunate loss of an important portion of the grant mentioning its date. The size of letters varies from .15" to 3".

The characters are of the western variety of the South Indian alphabets resembling those of Svāmīdāsa's plate¹ except that most of the letters have nail-heads instead of knob-heads. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the length of the medial *ī* is shown by a double curve as in the Vākātaka grants, see *chīvara*, l 8, and that *t*, which is generally unlooped, shows a loop in *āchchhettā* l. 12. The orthography shows the usual reduplication of the consonant following *r*, see *chandr-ārkk-ārnnava*, ll 5-6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Mahārāja Subandhu. The object of it is to register the grant, by Subandhu, of a village situated in the *pathaka* of Dāsīlakapalli². The grant was made for providing materials for the worship of the Buddha and maintaining an alms-house in the *vihāra* called Kalāyana,³ for repairing the broken and dilapidated portions of the *vihāra* and for supplying clothing, food, medicine, beds and

¹ Above, No 2

² The name of this *pathaka* was read at first as *Dasīthakapalli*. See *A R A D G S* for 1928-29, p 28

³ Kalāyana "the Abode of Art is a fitting name for the caves at Bāgh which, like those at Ajantā, are well known for their beautiful paintings. See *Bāgh Caves* published by the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State

seats to the Community of Venerable Monks hailing from all the four directions The order was issued by the king personally from **Māhishmatī** which was evidently his capital at the time His sign manual *Mahārāja-Subandhōb* occurs in the margin on the left as on the preceding Barwanī plate

The plate bore a date at the end of lines 12 and 13, but owing to the breaking off of a piece of it, only the name of the month **Śrāvana** now remains All other details are now lost. The date of the Barwanī grant made by the same *Mahārāja* Subandhu shows, however, that the inscription can be referred to the early decades of the fifth century A C **Māhishmatī**, as stated before, is probably identical with Onkār Māndhātā in the Nēmād District of the Madhya Pradesh **Dāsīlakapallī** may be identical with Dēswālīā which lies about 14 miles almost due south of the Bāgh Caves

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² (1*) [स्वस्ति] (1*) माहिष्मतीनगरान्महाराजसुबन्धु³ कुशली दासिलकपल्लीप—
 - 2 [थके*] .³ प्रकाश्च (स्थान?) लकदित्योद्ग्राहकायुक्तकविनियुक्तक—
 - 3 चाटभट[गो]ष्ठिकगमागमिकदूतप्रेषणिकादीन्ग्रामप्रतिवा—
 - 4 सिनश्च समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु व यथैष ग्रामो मया दत्तट—
 - 5 ककारितकला⁴ यनविहारे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायनार्थमाचन्द्रा—
 - 6 कर्कार्णवग्रहन्क्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन⁵ भगवतो⁶ बुद्धाय गन्धधूप—
 - 7 माल्यबलिसत्रोपयोज्य⁷ भगवत्पु (स्फु) टितसस्का (स्क) रणार्थमार्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य
 - 8 चातुर्दिशाभ्यागतकस्य चीवरपिण्डपातग्लानप्रत्ययशेय्यासनभै—
 - 9 षज्यहेतोराग्रहार⁸ स्सोद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकर⁹ भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाग्रहारो¹⁰
 - 10 तिसृष्ट¹¹ विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्यास्मदीयैरप्य (न्य) विषयपतिभिश्च¹²
 - 11 त्रि(प्री)त्यास्मत्प्रीत्या च भिक्षवो भुञ्जन्तो न व्यासेद्व्या [1*] पष्टिवर्षसह¹³
 - 12 स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद (1*) आच्छत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के) वसत(वसेत्) ॥ स्वय—
[माज्ञा] [1*] . .¹⁴
 - 13 श्रावण .¹⁵
- (In the margin) महाराजसुबन्धो [1*]

¹ From an ink impression kindly supplied by the Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bhārat

² Expressed by a symbol

³ About four *aksharas* are illegible here They must have contained the name of the village granted

⁴ The stroke denoting medial *ā* of /*ā* is rather faintly seen in the impression, but it is there

⁵ Read कालीनो.

⁶ Read भगवते

⁷ Read —त्रोपयोज्यो.

⁸ Read —रग्रहार

⁹ Read —स्सोपरिकरो

¹⁰ This word is redundant

¹¹ Read अतिसृष्ट इति विदित्वा

¹² Two *aksharas* are lost here They may have been धर्म—

¹³ Two *aksharas* are lost here also Read सहस्राणि

¹⁴ Three or four *aksharas* appear to have been lost here They must have been *Sam* followed by two or three numerical symbols denoting the year

¹⁵ About four or five *aksharas* have been lost here They must have contained the name of the fort night followed by symbols denoting the *tithi*

TRANSLATION

Om ! Hail ! From the city of Māhushmatī—*Mahārāja Subandhu*, being in good health issues the (*following*) order to *Sthānalakas*¹ (?), *Dityōdgrāhakas*,² *Āyuktakas*, *Vim-yuktakas*, *Chātas*, *Bhātas*, *Gōshthikas*³, *Gamāgamikas*⁴, *Dūtāpreshanikas*,⁵ and others as well as villagers at in the *pathaka* of *Dāsīlakapallī*.

(Line 4) Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of my parents and myself, this village has been granted by me together with *udranga*⁶ and *uparikara*,⁷ as an *agrahāra* according to the maxim of waste land,⁸ in order that it may be used for (*defraying the expenses of*) perfume, frankincense, flowers and offerings as well as for maintaining an alms-house, for repairing broken and rent portions (of the *vihāra*) and for providing the Community of Venerable Monks coming from (*all*) the four quarters, with clothing, food, nursing of the sick, beds, seats as well as medicine in the Monastery called *Kalāyana* (the Abode of Art) caused to be constructed by Dattataka, as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, planets, constellations and the earth would endure

(L. 10) Having known this, our officers and rulers of other countries should not cause obstruction out of their love [for religion] and regard for us, while the monks (*of this Vihāra*) are enjoying (*the village*)

(*Here occurs a benedictive and imprecatory verse*)

(L. 12) My own command in (*the month*) *Śrāvana*

(*In the margin*) Of the *Mahārāja Subandhu*

¹ I have not come across the name of this officer elsewhere. His name appears like that of the officer *Purillaka* mentioned in the recently discovered plates of the Rāshtrakūta Nannaiāja.

² *Dityōdgrāhaka* was the collector of the royal cess called *ditya* which is mentioned in the records of the Gurjaras. For *chāta* and *bhāta* see below, p. 43, n. 12.

³ *Gōshthikas* were members of the Managing Committee. See *Ep Ind*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 332 f.

⁴ *Gamāgamikas* were officers who issued passports for egress and ingress. See also No. 25, l. 19.

⁵ *Dūtāpreshanikas* were officers who despatched *dūtas*.

⁶ The meaning of *Udranga* is still uncertain. Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *inter alia* the following meanings—the place where anything is kept, a store-room or receptacle. *S-ōdranga* in this sense would correspond to *sa-sibaram* in l. 12 of No. 20, below, but it is noteworthy that it is mentioned there in addition to the latter. *S-ōdranga* and *s-ōparikara* are generally used together to qualify the village or the land granted. They correspond to *sa-klipta* and *s-ōpaklipta* which occur in a similar context in other records. In line 17 of the Hyderabad plates of the Western Chālukya king Pulakēsin II (*Ind Ant*, Vol. VI, p. 73) the expression *sa-kliptah s-ōparikarah* is used in place of *s-ōdrangah s-ōparikarah* which shows that *udranga* has the same meaning as *klipta*. Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) mentions *klipta* as one of the sources of royal income. Its derivation from *kliṣ* to *fix* seems to point to the meaning of 'fixed assessment'. *Udranga* which, as shown above, is a synonym of *klipta*, has therefore probably the meaning of a land-tax.

⁷ *Uparikara* is the counterpart of *antah-kara* or *antar-āya*, which is mentioned in some southern records. See *Ep Ind*, Vol. XXIII, p. 27. It seems therefore to denote an external or additional tax, probably levied in kind such as is mentioned in the *MSM*, *adhyāya* VII, vv. 130-32. It corresponds to *bhōga* mentioned in some early records. Cf. *Ep Ind*, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8.

⁸ *Bhūmi-chchhidra* is explained in the lexicon *Vajayantī* as *krishy-ayōgyā bhūmī* i. e., land unfit for cultivation. The person, who brought such land under cultivation by cutting down trees etc., became the owner of it. Cf. *sthānu-chchhēdasya kēdāram* in *MSM*, *adh* IX, v. 44. *Bhūmī-chchhidra-nyāyēna* therefore means 'with full proprietary rights'.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS

No. 8, PLATE IVA

PARDI PLATE OF DAHRASENA . (KALACHURI) YEAR 207

PĀRDĪ is the headquarters of a *tāluka* of the same name, 50 miles south of Surat, in the Surat District of the Bombay State. The present plates, which were found in 1884 in the course of digging a tank at Pārdī, were first brought to notice by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji who edited them with a translation, but without a lithograph, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XVI, pp. 346 ff. They were subsequently published, with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol X, pp 51 ff. I edit them here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr Hultzsch's article.

"The plates are two in number, each measuring about $9\frac{3}{8}$ " by 3". They are quite smooth, the edges of them being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but, as may be seen from the facsimile, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. They are somewhat thin, so that the letters, though not very deep, show through on the backs of them, to such an extent that some of them can be read there. The interiors of the letters show the marks of the working of the engraver's tool.

"There is no ring of the ordinary kind, with a seal on it. But at each of the two ring-holes the plates were held together by a long copper wire, $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick in the thickest part, which, after being passed through the ring-holes, had its ends twisted over and round and round so as to form a kind of complicated tie, without the ends being soldered together. As the ring-holes are not much larger than the wires, and as the plates appear to have been secured as soon as they were discovered, it would seem that these wires are the means by which the plates were fastened together *ab initio*.

"The weight of the two plates is 31 tolas, and of the two wires $1\frac{1}{2}$ tolas, total, $32\frac{1}{2}$ tolas = $12\frac{3}{4}$ oz ¹

The record consists of nine lines only, of which four are inscribed on the first and the remaining five on the second plate. The outer sides of the plates are blank. The engraver seems to have found the metal somewhat hard to work upon, his tool seems to have slipped occasionally (see e.g., *kh* of *Vaiśākha* l 9) and his strokes and curves are not properly formed. The average size of letters is 2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. Most of the letters have knobs at the top. The *mātrās* for the medial *ā*, *ē* and *ai* generally appear above the line (see e.g., *skandhāvārād-* and *Traikṛtakānām* both in l 1), while those for the medial *ō* appear as a horizontal stroke on either side, see *karmmakarō*, l 2, *pitrōr-*, l 4, *jaśō-*, l 5 etc. Medial *au*, which occurs only once, is bipartite as in *Vākātaka* records, see *pauṭr-*, l 6. No distinction is made between the short and the long medial *u*. The signs for medial short and long *u* are added to the right of the vertical stroke in some cases and to its left in others. As instances of the former, see *śuddha*, l 9 and *bhūmīdab*, l 8 and for those of the latter, notice *pād-ānuddhyātō*, l.1 and *dūtakam-*, l.8. The curve for medial *ri* is curled in *pitri* l 1, but in other cases (as e.g. in *bhuvriddhayē*, l 5, *samatisriṣṭō* and *krishatō* in l 6), it is exactly like that for *r*. The right hand hook of *ñ* is added to its subscript *ch* which is open on the left, see *uketañ=cha*, l 7. The subscript

¹ From Dr Fleet's description of the plates in *Ep Ind*, Vol X, p 51.

n appears in two forms, see *Nanna*, l 3 and *-ārnnava-*, l 5. The superscript *n* is unlooped in *-antarggata*, l 4. The sign for *b* has a round top in *brāhmaṇa-*, l 3. *śh* generally appears with a notch in its left limb, see *śhastri-*, l 7, but notice its subscript form in *keśhtri*, l 5. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in ll. 6 and 7, and the numerical symbols for 200, 10, 7 and 3 in l 9.

The language is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse towards the close, the record is in prose throughout. Attention may be drawn to the word *santaka* in l 2 which is used here as in Vākātaka records in the sense of an official, and *bhōjya*, l. 6 which, contrary to Pāṇini VII, 3, 69, is employed in the sense of what is to be enjoyed¹. The expression *Buddhagupta-dūtakam* in l 8, which is evidently copied from an earlier record where it must have qualified some word like *lekhitam*, is here wrongly connected with *ājñā*. As regards orthography we may note that a consonant following *r*, with the exception of *śh*, is doubled in several cases, see *karmmakar* ō, l 2, *-ārnnava*, l. 5, etc. Similarly *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuddhyāta*, l 1. Rules of *sandhi* have either not been observed, or violated in a few cases, see *svāmīna atr-*, l 3, *-bhuvriddhayē ā-*, l 5, and *krishatō praviśata-*, ll 6-7.

The plates were issued from the victorious camp at Āmrakā by Mahārāja Dahrasēna (of the dynasty) of the Traikūṭakas. The object of the inscription is to record the donation, by Dahrasēna, of the village Kanīyas-Taḍākāsārikā in the Antar-Maṇḍalī *viśhaya* to the Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura. The grant was made for the increase of religious merit and glory of the king and his parents. The *dūtaka* was **Buddhagupta**.

The date of the grant is given in line 9 as the thirteenth tithi (expressed both in words and in numerical symbols) of the bright (fortnight) of Vaiśākha in the year 207 (expressed in numerical symbols only). The palaeography of the present inscription leaves no doubt that this date refers to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A C, it would correspond, for the expired year² 207, to the 23rd April 457 A C. It does not admit of verification.

Dahrasēna calls himself *Bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'a servant of the feet of Bhagavat'. He was, therefore, a worshipper of Vishnu. He is identical with Dahrasēna, the son of Indradatta, 'the most devout worshipper of Vishnu', whose silver coins were discovered at Daman in the Surat District, Kāzād in the Indāpur *tāluka* of the Poona District, Karād near Sātārā and some other places³. He was apparently an independent king, as he is said, in the present grant, to have performed an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

The localities mentioned here were identified by Dr Fleet⁴. According to him the Antar-Maṇḍalī *viśhaya* denotes 'the district of the territory between' the rivers Mindhōlā on the north and the Pūrṇā on the south. I would rather take the expression to mean the district on both the banks of the Maṇḍalī (modern Mindhōlā) river on the

¹ *Santaka* and *bhōjya* occur in the earlier records also. See *eg* Nos. 2 and 3, l 2.

² The date was first calculated by Dr Fleet. It would correspond to the 4th April 456 A C if the year is taken to be current. In the case of the early records of the Kalachuri era, Nos. 1-34, the dates are calculated according to the epoch of 248-49 A C.

³ Rapson, *CAD* Introd., p. clx, f. n. 2. On some coins the name appears as *Dabragana*, from which Rev. K. Scott conjectured that the king altered the termination of his name from *ēna* to *gana* at an early period of his reign. But even in the later Surat plates of his son Vyāghrasēna his name appears as Dahrasēna. As Rapson has pointed out, some letters of the coin legends have assumed conventional forms, which has caused the confusion. See Rapson, *CAD* Introd., pp. clxii f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 53.

analogy of Antar- Narmadā *vishaya* mentioned in the Sunao Kalā plates of Sangamasimha.¹ **Kāpura**² is a village of the same name, three miles south-south-west from Vyārā the head-quarters of the Vyārā subdivision of the Suvat District **Kaniyas-Tadākāsārikā** means Smaller Tadākāsārikā and may be represented by 'Tarsārī, fifteen miles almost due west of Kāpura and about half way between the Mīdhōlā and the Pūrnā' **Āmrakā**, where the king's camp was fixed, cannot be definitely identified as there are several villages of the name Ambachh or Āmbāchh in the neighbourhood, but of them the nearest to Kāpura is Ambachh, about 2 miles towards the south-west

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [1^{*}] विजयस्कन्धावारादाम्प्रकावासकात्त्रैकुटकाना⁴ मातापितृपादानुद्धृतातो भग-
- 2 वत्पादकर्मकरोश्वमेधाहर्ता श्रीमहाराजदहसेन सव्वनिवास्मत्सन्तकानन्त-
- 3 र्मण्डलि⁵विषयवासिनस्समाज्ञापयति यथा कापुरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणनणस्वामिन⁶
- 4 अत्रैव विषयान्तर्गतकनि⁷यस्तडाकासारिकाग्रामो मा[ता]पि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुण्य-

Second Plate

- 5 यशोभिवृद्धये आचन्द्र(न्द्रा)वर्काण्व[क्षि]तिस्थितिकालिका⁸श्चोरराजापत्थ्यकारिवर्ज⁹
- 6 सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहारेण पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य¹⁰स्समत्तिसृष्टो यतोस्य भुञ्जतः¹¹कृतो¹²
- 7 प्रविशतश्च न कनचि¹³प्रतिषेधकार्य्य इत्युक्तञ्च¹⁴ भगवता व्यासेन [1^{*}] पण्डितवर्षसहस्रानि¹⁵
- 8 स्वर्गो वसति भूमिद [1^{*}] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति¹⁶[11⁺] बुद्धगुप्त-
- 9 स २०० ७ वैशाखशुद्धत्रयोदश्या¹⁷ १० ३ [11⁺]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at **Āmrakā**, the illustrious *Maharaja Dahrasēna* (of the family) of the **Traikūtakas**, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat and who has performed an *Āramādhā*, issues the following order to all his¹⁸ officials residing in the *vishaya* (district) of **Antar-Maṇḍalī**.

¹ Below, No 11

² As Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out (*J B B R A S*, p 346), this is identical with Kāpura mentioned as the chief town of an *ābhāra* in two Nāsik cave inscriptions

³ From the facsimile facing p 53 in *Ep Ind*, Vol X

⁴ Read त्रैकुटकाना

⁵ Read -नन्तर्मण्डली-

⁶ Read स्वामिनेत्रैव

⁷ Read कनीय-

⁸ Read कालिक-

⁹ Some expression like अचाटभटप्रावेश्य is omitted after चोरराजापत्थ्य- See text of No 9, lines 10-11, p 27, below

¹⁰ Read भोग्यस्समत्तिसृष्ट । यतो-

¹¹ Read कृत

¹² Read प्रविशतश्च न केनचित्

¹³ Read कार्य्य इति । उक्तञ्च

¹⁴ Read महस्राणि

¹⁵ Read वसेत् । इति । Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁶ Read बुद्धगुप्तदूतकाज्ञा

¹⁷ Read त्रयोदश्या

¹⁸ *Let our*

A — PARDI PLATES OF DAHRASENA (KALACHURI) YEAR 207

1
 2
 4

22
 6
 8

(Line 5) For increasing the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourselves, the village **Kaniyas-Taḍākāsārikā** (Smaller Taḍākāsārikā), situated in this very *vishaya*, has been conferred (*by Us*) on the Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin, a resident of Kāpura, for as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*not to be entered by chātas and bhatas*¹) except (*to punish*) thieves and rebels, to be exempt from all taxes (*dhṛya*) and forced labour (*and*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons

(L. 6) Wherefore, none shall cause obstruction while he enjoys, cultivates and assigns (*this village*)

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*)

(L. 8) (*This*) order (*is issued*), **Buddhagupta** being the *dātaka*, (*in*) the year 200 (*and*) 7, on the thirteenth, (*in figures*) 10 (*and*) 3, (*lunar day*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha.

No 9, PLATE IV B

SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA (KALACHURI) YEAR 241

THE plates were first brought to notice by Mr A M T. Jackson, I C S, in a note which he added to Rev H R Scott's article entitled 'Traikūṭaka coins from the Poona District' published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XXIII, pp 1 ff They were subsequently edited with a translation and collotype plates, by Dr E Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XI, pp 219 ff I edit the inscription here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr Hultzsch's article.

The **copper-plates** were found at **Surat** 'They are two in number, each measuring between $9\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates As in the case of the Pārdī plates there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas² The record consists of eighteen lines, nine being inscribed on the inner side of each plate The average size of letters is about .2"

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Pārdī plates³ Attention may be drawn here to the following additional peculiarities The medial *ā* which is generally denoted by a horizontal stroke to the right is brought down like a vertical stroke in *-āṛāti-*, l 5, while in the case of *m* and *l* it is shown by a curve attached to the bottom of the letter, see *pramānī-*, l 14, *Hālāhala*, l 18 Notice also the curve denoting the *mātrā* for medial *ē* and *ō* in the case of *m* and *n* in *śarmmarē*, l 10 and *mōdati*, l 16 The length of medial *ī* is in some cases (*e g*, in *śrī-Mahārāja*, l 7) indicated by a dot and in others (*e g*, in *pallikā-*, l 14), it is indicated by two curves turned in opposite directions The medial *ri* is generally denoted by curled curve, but in one case (*in pramānīkṛitya*, l 14) the vowel is shown by a curve

¹ See above, p 24, n 9 *Chātas* and *bhatas* were charged with the maintenance of peace and order in the kingdom They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers See below, p 43, n 12

² *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, p 219

³ Above, No 8

turned downwards and added to the left of the vertical. The subscript *th* is shown by a double curve open on the left, see *sthura*, l 6 and *sthit*, l 12. The sign for the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l 1, and that for the *upadhmāñīya* occurs in ll 4, 5, 6 and 14. The numerical symbols for 200, 40, 10, 5 and 1 occur in l 18.

The language is Sanskrit and except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. In copying the formal part of the grant from previous records, the official draftsman has forgotten to change the genders of some adjectival expressions to make them conform to the feminine name of the donated village. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that the *anusvāra* is in most cases correctly replaced by a class nasal, but in *vanśā*, l 5 and *vanśya*, l 12 it is wrongly changed to the guttural nasal. The consonant following *r* is doubled in such cases as *katmma-*, l 1, *sarvva-*, l 3 *dirgha*, l 13 and that preceding *y* is doubled in *-anuddhyātō*, l 1 and *rāj-āpatthya*, l 10.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* (of the dynasty) of the **Traikūṭakas** from the victorious **Aniruddhapura**. The king is described as the servant of the feet of Bhagavat (*i.e.*, Vishnu) and the lord of the **Aparānta** and other countries. **Aparānta** is North Konkan, the strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghats. It is, therefore, interesting to read in line 6 that the king had stationed an army of many great warriors to guard the sea as well as forts and towns.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Vyāghrasēna, of the village **Purōhitapallikā** in the **Iksharakī āhāra** to the Brāhmana Nāgasatman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents. The writer of the grant was the *Mahāsāndhvirgrahika* **Karka** and the *dūtaka*, **Hālāhala**.

The **date** is expressed in numerical symbols only in l 18 as the **fifteenth tithi** of the bright (fortnight) of **Kārttika** of the year 241. *Mahārāja* Vyāghrasēna of the present plates who was a devotee of Vishnu is clearly identical with the *Paramavarshnuva* Vyāghrasēna whose **silver coins** have been found at Kāzad in the Indāpur Taluka of the Poona District¹ and other places² in Western India. From these coins which resemble those of Dahrasēna, we learn that he was the son of *Mahārāja* Dahrasēna. The date of the present plates, therefore, must, like that of the Pārdī plates, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the expired³ year 249, to the 14th October 490 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present plates, **Aparānta**, Ariake of Ptolemy and the *Periplus*, is, as already remarked, identical with North Konkan. As the Traikūṭakas were ruling over Aparānta, **Trikūṭa**, their home land, must have been situated in the west. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kālidāsa places Trikūṭa in Aparānta and the lexicographer Kēśava gives Sahyādri as a synonym for Trikūṭa⁴. The victorious **Aniruddhapura** was probably the Traikūṭaka capital as no word like *vāsaka* (camp) is attached to it. As Dr Hultzsch has pointed out, it is probably identical with

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIII, p. 2. For the latter part of the name which Rev. R. Scott read as *gana*, see above, p. 23, n. 4.

² J. R. A. S. (1905), pp. 801 ff.

³ If the year 249 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 25th October 489 A.C. As the Kalachuri year began on Kartika sudi 1, the date of the present plates (Kārttika sudi 15) cannot in any case fall in 491 A.C., as supposed by Hultzsch.

⁴ Cf. *Sahyāchala=tri Mūṛdhbādris=Triakūṭas=Triakūṭach=cha sab Kalpadrukōśa* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Vol. I, p. 342. For the exact location of Trikūṭa, see below, No. 31, l. 38.

the victorious Aniruddhapurī mentioned in the Bagumrā plates¹ of the Sēndraka Allaśakti. He identified it with Sūrpāraka, Sopārā in the Thāṇā District, on the authority of the lexicon *Vajjantī*.² But the statement in the lexicon only places Sūrpāraka in the Aparānta country. It does not state that it was the capital of Aparānta at any time, much less at the time of the Traikūtakas. Besides, the mention of Aniruddhapurī as the place of residence of the Brāhmana donee of the Bagumrā grant indicates that it should be looked for not very far from the donated village which was near Bagumrā. It was, therefore, probably situated in South Gujarāt. I have not, however, been able to trace any place-name similar to it in that part of the country. **Purōhitapallikā**, the donated village, is probably identical with Pāl, two miles to the west of Surat.³ **Iksharakī**, the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which it was situated, is probably represented by Achchhāran, about 9 miles north of Surat.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [1*] विजयानिरुद्धपुरात्रैकूटका[ना] [म]तापितृपादानुद्धयातो भग[व]त्पादकर्मकर-
xकरगतक्रमागत-
- 2 स्फीतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितनृपतिनतचरणकम [लस्स्व]भुजपरिपालन[प्र]ता-
- 3 पाधिगतप्रचुरद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तसर्व्वदिग्व्यापिशुक्लयशाशा[रद]रजनिकरु[चिरवपु]-
- 4 रनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारचरितस्सुचरितनिदर्शना[त्थमि]व [निर्मितप्रति]-
- 5 हृतसामन्तारातिरन्यनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्स्ववड् शा⁵लङ्कारभूत[प्रभूतप्रवी]रसाधना-
- 6 धिष्ठितदुर्गना (न) गर⁶सागरस्सागरगम्भीरगिरिगुरुस्थिरप्रकृतिप्रकृ[तिजन]मनोहरप्राज्ञ-
- 7 सश्रितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृशयन्त्रणोपगृहीतस्पृहणीयश्रीश्चीमहा-
- 8 राजव्याघ्रसेन सर्व्वानिवे⁷क्षरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपल्लीकाप्रतिवासीनो⁸-
- 9 स्समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिर्म्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 10 [भरद्वाज]सगोत्रब्राह्मणनागशर्मणे⁹ इय पल्लिका चोरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज¹⁰ अचाटभट-
- 11 प्रा[वे]श्या सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिपरिहीणो¹¹ग्राहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या ¹²आचन्द्रावर्कणिं व-
- 12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनो¹³तिसृष्टा [1*] तदस्मद्दृश्य¹⁴राजभिरन्यैश्च विभवानभावानुबद्धा-
नायुर्व्वि-

¹ Below, No 26, line 25

² Cf *Aparāntās-tu pāschātyās=tē cha Sūrpārak=ādayah* cited by Mallinātha on *Raghuvarṃśa*, Canto IV, v 53

³ From the name *Purōhitapallikā* of the donated village, Dr Hultsch inferred that the donee Nāgaśarman was the king's family priest (*purōhita*). But the conjecture appears improbable, as the village bore the name even before the grant

⁴ From the facsimiles facing page 221 of *Ep Ind*, Vol XI

⁵ Read वशा-

⁶ Dr Hultsch reads नगर but the sign of the medial ā is clean in his lithograph

⁷ Read सर्व्वानिवेक्ष-

⁸ Read पल्लिकाप्रतिवासिन- The length of *i* in *pallikā* is quite clear in the lithograph.

⁹ Read शर्मणे इय

¹⁰ Read वर्जमचाट-

¹¹ Read परिहीणाग्राहार-

¹² Read भोग्याचन्द्रा-

¹³ Read कालीनाति-

¹⁴ Read -दृश्य-

- 13 योगानुगतङ्गुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान—
 14 मिति प्रमाणीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिरञ्चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरिय¹ पल्ली (लिल) कादायो-
 नुमन्तव्यः पा—
 15 लयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्मादुक्तम्भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] पूर्वदत्तान्द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]—
 द्रक्ष युधि—
 16 [ष्टिर][1*] महीम्महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन(नम्)² [॥१॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गो मोदति
 17 [भूमिद] [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति (वसेत् ॥२॥ इति) प्रतिपृच्छच
 लिखित मया महासान्विविग्र—
 18 [हिककक्को]ण हालाहलदूतक स २०० ४० १ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION

Hail! From the victorious **Aniruddhapura**,—the illustrious **Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna** (of the family) of the **Traikūṭakas**—who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat, who is the lord of the **Aparānta** and other prosperous countries acquired by his arms and (of those) inherited (by him), whose lotus-like feet are bowed to by countless kings, whose bright fame, acquired by bestowing (in charity) abundant wealth obtained by the protection (of his subjects) with his arm (as well as) by his prowess, has pervaded all quarters, whose body is lovely like the autumnal moon, whose noble actions resemble those of distinguished men of bygone times, who has been created as if to show an example of good conduct, who has overcome neighbouring foes, who is more distinguished than other kings, who is an ornament of his family, who, by his armies of many great warriors, has occupied forts, cities and seas, who by nature is as grave as the sea (is deep), and as firm as (Himālaya,) the chief of mountains, who is naturally attractive to people, whose wealth is shared by learned men, refugees, elders, relatives and good persons, whose enviable fortune is allied with self-restraint worthy of his noble birth—issues this order to all residents of **Purōhita-pallikā** included in the **Iksharakī āhāra**

(Line 9)—“Be it known to you, that for augmenting the religious merit of (Our) mother and father and Ourselves, We have given this village, (which is) not to be entered by policemen and soldiers except for (arresting) thieves and rebels, which is exempt from all taxes and forced labour, (and is) to be enjoyed as an *agrahāra* by his descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, to the Brāhmana Nāgaśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*

(L 12) “Therefore, considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (alone) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are noble deeds, kings born in our family and others, (who are) desirous of accumulating, for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this gift of the village”

(L 15) For, the holy Vyāsa, who arranged the *Vēdas*, has said—

(Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses)

¹ Read —रय

² Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*

(L 17) Having inquired again (*about the details of the grant*) I, the *Mahāsāndhivigrahaka* Karka, have written (*this charter*), Hālāhala being the *dūtaka*

The year 200, 40 (*and*) 1, (*the month*) Kāittika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5

NO 10, PLATE V A

KANHERI PLATE OF THE TRAIKUTAKAS : (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

KANHERI is situated on the island of Salsette, about twenty miles from Bombay. It is well-known for its numerous Buddhist caves. The place was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian who has left us a description of a five-storeyed cave temple there. The present plate was discovered in 1839 by Dr James Bird. He gives the following account of its discovery in his article entitled 'the opening of the Topes at the caves of Kānari and the relics found in them', which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol X, pp 94 ff. 'Immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small Thopas or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat, built of cut stone at the base. They were once of a pyramidal shape, but are now much dilapidated, and appear like a heap of stones. Several years ago I thought of opening some of them, in expectation of obtaining coins or other relics, but found no favourable opportunity until lately, when several lengthened visits in company with Dr Heddle gave me the desired means of doing so.

'The largest of the topes selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve and sixteen feet in height. It was much dilapidated, and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone. After digging to the level of the ground and clearing away the materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were small ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth, in the other a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper-plates containing legible inscriptions in the Lath or cave character, accompanied the urns and these, as far as I have yet been able to decipher them, inform us that the persons buried here were of the Buddhist faith. The smaller of the copper-plates bears an inscription in two lines, the last part of which contains the Buddhist creed.'

Dr Bird kept the plates with himself and published a small lithograph in his *Historical Researches*. He subsequently wrote the aforementioned article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* which was accompanied by an eye-copy of the record with an interlinear transcription in Dēvanāgarī and an English translation. Later on Rev. J Stevenson, D D, attempted a transcript and a translation from the same eye-copy, as the plate could not be traced after Dr Bird's death. His article was published in July 1853 in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, pp. 10 ff. The work of both Dr Bird and Dr Stevenson was very imperfect, though the former recognised that it was a Buddhist inscription and the latter gave a correct reading of its date. The record was first correctly read by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrapuri with his wonted ingenuity, from the eye-copy published in the *J A S B*. His transcript, which was accompanied by an English translation and an enlarged facsimile of Dr Bird's lithograph, was published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, pp 56 ff. The plate is edited here from the same facsimile. It will be seen that the transcript given here differs from Pandit Bhagvanlal's text in very few places.

The record consists of nine lines written breadthwise on one side of the plate.¹ The latter does not seem to have been properly cleaned before Dr Bird's facsimile was prepared, for several curves, *mātiās* and *anusvāras*, which were probably filled with verdigris on the original plate, do not appear at all in the lithograph. In making the transcript given below I have, however, taken the lithograph to be an accurate copy of the original plate, as it is now impossible to say which of the mistakes in the lithograph are due to the fault of the copyist.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other Traikūṭaka plates. The only points worth noticing are that the length of the medial *ī* is denoted by a cuive curling to the right in *keśhīrōḍah*, l 7 and to the left in *keśhīra-tōyō* in the same line, the medial *ū* is shown in a peculiar way in *ghūrnnat*-, l 7, the sign for the *upadhmānīya* occurs in l 2 and that for the *jihvāmūliya* in l 7. The **language** is Sanskrit and except for a verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The only **orthographical** peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is reduplicated in many cases, see e.g., *pravarddhamāna*-, l 1, *-antarggata*- l 2, etc., and that *v* is doubled seemingly after an *anusvāra* in *sa[m*]vvatsara*, l 1.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous regime of the Traikūṭakas and records that in the year two hundred and forty-five (expressed in words only) **Buddharuchi**, the son of **Buddhaśrī** and **Pushyavarman** and a devoted servant of the holy Śākya Sage (Buddha) and the venerable monk who heard his law, who hailed from the village **Kāṇaka** included in the **Sindhu vishaya**, erected at **Krishnagiri** the Chaitya, in which the plate was found, and which he dedicated to the venerable **Śāradvatīputra**, the foremost disciple of the great sage (Buddha). After invoking the blessings of gods, Yakshas, Siddhas, Vidyādhara, Mānibhadras, Pūrṇabhadra, Pañchika, Vajrapāṇi, etc., the record closes with the hope that the fame of Pushyamitra's son (i.e., Buddharuchi) would last as long as the milky ocean, the Mēru mountain and rivers would endure. The last line contains only two letters which seem to read *dādḥā* and perhaps refer to the **tooth relic** of Śāradvatīputra on which the *stūpa* was erected.

Pandit Bhagvanlal, who first read correctly the dynastic name Traikūṭaka, connected it with the expression containing the date, and understood it to mean the two hundred and forty-fifth year of the sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas. He, therefore, thought that he had found in the present plate a clear statement that the era known as the Kalachuri or Chēdi era was founded by the Traikūṭakas, who, in later times, assumed the dynastic name of Halhaya or Kalachuri.² This view was at first accepted by Fleet³, but later on⁴ he pointed out in his article on the era that the real meaning of the expression, in accordance with an early Hindu method of expressing dates, may just as well be 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 (of an unspecified era)'. As a matter of fact, we find no dynastic or regional name associated with the era till the eleventh century A.C. The date of the present inscription would correspond to 493-94 A.C. or 494-95 A.C., according as the year 245 was current or expired. It does not contain any details for calculation.

¹ No details about the plate, e.g., its breadth, height and weight, have been recorded.

² See his article 'Two new grants of the Traikūṭaka dynasty' in the *P.V.O.C.*, pp. 222 ff.

³ *D.K.D. (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II)*, pp. 294-95.

⁴ See his article 'Triakūṭa and the so-called Kalachuri or Chēdi Era', *J.R.A.S.* (1905), pp. 566 ff.

As for the **localities** mentioned in this inscription, **Kṛishṇagiri** is evidently Kanhēri, and **Sindhu vishaya** the district of Sindh in North India. The village **Kānaka**, from which Buddharuchi hailed, I am unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- 1 नमस्सर्व्व[ज्ञ]ाय ॥ तत्र(त्रै)²कूटकाना(ना) प्रवर्द्धमानराज्य(ज्ये) स³वत्सरशतद्वये पञ्चचत्वारि(रि)शदुत्तरे कृ[ष्ण]गिरिमहाविहारे
- 2 सि[न्धु]⁴विषया[न्तर्ग]तग्रा⁵मिकाणकवास्तव्य[*] सुप्रभाया बुद्धश्रियापुण्यवर्मणश्च [पु⁷]त्रो दशबलबल(लि)–
- 3 नो भगवत्शक्यमुनेस्सम्यक्सम्बु[द्ध]स्य तद्धर्म[श्च]ावकार्य्य⁶भ(भि)[क्षो⁷][*] च[र]णपरिचरणकुश[लो] बुद्धरुचिरि–
- 4 द तस्यैव परममुनेरग्र्यश्रावकस्यार्य्यशार[द्व⁸]तीपुत्रस्य चैत्य(त्य) घटितपाषाणेष्टकाभिराच–
- 5 [न्द्र⁹]ावर्कार्णवप्रि(क्षि)तिस्थितिसमकालीन(न) प्रतिष्ठापितवा(वा)स्तदस्य देवय[क्ष]–
- 6 ण्णभद्रपञ्चिकार्य्यवज्रपाणिवाङ्मण[का[?]]दय¹⁰ स्वास्ति दिशन्त्वपि च[*] [य]ा[व]द्वीचि(ची)सहस्रप्रचलि[त]मकरा–
- 7 धूर्ण(णिर्ण)तावर्ततोय[*] क्षीरोद क्षीरतोयो बृहदुपलचितः^xकर्कशो वापि मेरु [*] यावद्–
- 8 स्सुविमलसलिल(ला)स्सागर तोयवत्य तावत्कीर्त्ति¹¹ स्थिरेय(य) भजतु शुभकरी सत्सुत पुण्यनाम्न[*]॥१॥¹²
- 9 दाढा¹³(?)[*]

¹ From the lithograph in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India, A S W I*

² Neither of the two *mātrās* on *ttra* can be seen, but there is no uncertainty about the dynastic name which occurs in the two other records (Nos 8 and 9) Pandit Bhagvanlal read त्रिकूटकाना.

³ There was evidently an *anusvāra* on *sa* which is responsible for the reduplication (wrong, of course,) of *v* Pandit Bhagvanlal took the upper sign for *m* Read सवत्सर–

⁴ The vertical stroke joining what now looks like an *anusvāra* to the horizontal stroke of the superscript *n* has not come out in the lithograph

⁵ Perhaps ग्रामिकाणक was intended Bhagvanlal read ग्रामे काणक

⁶ The superscript *r* has been wrongly written like the medial *r* The sign for the medial *r* on *bb* has not come out in the lithograph

⁷ The superscript *k* of *ksh* is cursive like that in *kshiti*, in line 5 of the Pārdi plates of Dahiasēna (No 8) Pandit Bhagvanlal proposed to read गण्यो, but the first *akshara* is probably *bha* See *Suprabhāyāb*

⁸ The subscript letter appears like *śa*, but there is no uncertainty about the name

⁹ The subscript curve appears like that of medial *ṛ*, but it is clearly a mistake of the scribe

¹⁰ Pandit Bhagvanlal read वङ्गणकादय, but the first *akshara* has clearly the sign of medial *ā* *Vāṅkanaka* may be a follower of Vankana The latter is, perhaps, the presiding deity of the Vanka mountain mentioned in some *Jātakas* See, for instance, the Vessantaia *Jātaka* (Eng T1 by Cowell and Rouse, Vol VI, p 266) The *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions the Vankataka mountain

¹¹ The *visarga* is dropped here by the *Vāittika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36

¹² Metre *Sragdharā*

¹³ *D* is generally acute-angled in this record, but its rectangular form occurs in *pravarddhamāna*, l 1 The second *akshara* of this word has the same form as *dh* which occurs twice in l 24 of the Sunao Kalā plates of Sangamasimha (No 11) It can also be read as *phā* (See *spḥ* in l 2 of the Surat plates of Vyāghiasēna, No 9, above), but *dāphā* gives no sense

TRANSLATION

Obeisance to the Omniscient (Buddha)! In the augmenting kingdom of the Traikūtakas, in the year two hundred increased by forty-five, in the Great Monastery at Krīṣṇagiri, Buddharuchi, a resident of the village Kāṇaka included in the Sindhu *viśhaya* (district), the son of the glorious Buddhaśrī and Pushyavarman, skilful in serving the feet of the holy Śākyā sage who was mighty by the possession of the ten powers *and* attained complete enlightenment, (*and*) of the venerable monk who heard his law, has erected this *Chaitya* with dressed stones and bricks to last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth will endure, (*which is*) dedicated to the venerable Śāradvatīputra the chief disciple of the same great sage (*i.e.*, Buddha)

(Line 5) Therefore, may gods, *yakshas*,¹ *siddhas*,² *vidyādharas*,³ *ganas*, Mānibhadras,⁴ Pūrnabhadra,⁵ Pañchika,⁶ the venerable Vajrapāni,⁷ Vāṅkanaka⁸ and others bless it!

(L 6) Moreover, as long as the milky ocean, the waters of the whirl-pools of which are whirled by the alligators tossed about by thousands of (*its*) waves, is an ocean of milk, as long as the rugged Mēru is piled with huge rocks, as long as rivers of very clear water flow with (*their*) water into the ocean — even so long may this lasting and auspicious fame resort to the excellent son of him (*who is*) named Pushya!

(L 9) A canine tooth (?)

¹ A *Yaksha* is a semi-divine being who is described as an attendant of Kubēra in Hindu mythology

² A *Siddha* is a person possessed of eight supernatural powers, *amṃā* and others.

³ A *Vidyādharā* is a supernatural being dwelling in the Himālayas

⁴ A *Mānibhadra* is a follower of Mañibhadra, the brother of Kubēra, the prince of *yakshas* Perhaps the intended reading in the text is *Mañibhadra* Cf *Purnabhadra*

⁵ *Purnabhadra* is the name of a *yaksha*, the father of Haṃkēśa

⁶ *Pañchika* is the chief of the generals of Kubēra or Vaiśiavana For his form, see the *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, pp 156 ff

⁷ *Vajrapāni* (Thunderbolt-bearer) is in Buddhist records sometimes identified with and sometimes differentiated from Śakra, the lord of gods *Ibid*, pp 50 ff

⁸ He is perhaps a follower of Vankana (the deity of the Vanka mountain?)

A — KANHERI PLATE OF TRAIKUTAKAS (KALACHURI) YEAR 245

Copper Plate Inscription from Kanheri
(Copied from D^r J Bird's "Historical Researches")

1 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 3 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 4 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 5 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 6 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 7 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 8 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

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INSCRIPTION OF SANGAMASIMHA

NO 11, PLATE V B

SUNAO KALA PLATES OF SANGAMASIMHA · (KALACHURI) YEAR 292

THESE plates were discovered in November 1898. They were first published, with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Mr A M T Jackson, I C S, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XX, pp 211 ff, and subsequently with a translation and photo-lithographs by Prof. Sten Konow in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol X, pp. 72 ff. I edit the inscription here from the lithographs accompanying Prof Sten Konow's article.

The copper-plates are two in number. They were found buried about two feet below the surface of a cart track in the village of Sunev Kulla in the Hansot Mahāl of the Broach District. The first plate is entire. The second has suffered damage (1) by the wrenching of the seal, which has destroyed a few *aksharas* in the first line and (2) by the breaking off of a piece of the left-hand edge, which has destroyed one *akshara* in line 4, two in line 5, two in line 6 and one in line 7. The lower edge of the first plate was formerly attached to the upper edge of the second by two copper rings, one of which remains attached to each of the plates. The seal which was probably carried by the left-hand ring has been wrenched off and is lost. The letters are deeply cut and in many places show through on the back of the plates.¹ Each plate measures 12½" broad and 6½" high. The record consists of twenty-five lines, of which twelve are inscribed on the first, and the remaining thirteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is ¼".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Traikūṭaka grants. There is a triangular wedge at the top of letters except in the case of *b*, *n*, *ñ* and sometimes of *l* and *r*. The initial *ē* which occurs in l. 12 shows a closed hook on the left. The medial *ō* and *au* are not clearly distinguished, compare *e g* *ō* in *yaśō-vāptayē* l 11 and *au* in *Laukāṅkshī* l 6. *L* occurs in two forms (1) with a short vertical as in *kulaputraka* and *kuśala*, l 3 and (2) with the vertical bent to the left as in *Gālava*, l 5 and *phalam*, l 21. *Th* has the same form, whether it is independent or subscript, see *e g*, *yathā*, l 4 and *sthitī*, l 9. A final consonant is indicated by a short horizontal stroke which takes the place of the wedge at the top, see *vasēt*, l. 20. The sign of the *Jihvāmūliya* occurs in l 15 and the symbols for 200, 90, 10, 5 and 2 in l 25.

The language is Sanskrit and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 19-23, the record is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases, see *sarvvān*, l 2, *Antar-Nnarmadā*, l 4, etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y*, see *pād-ānuddhyāto*, l 1. *Samgamasīha* for *Samgamasimha* and *karishayatām* for *karshayatām* are evidently due to the influence of the Prakrits.

The plates were issued by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, *Saṅgamasimha* from *Bharukachcha*. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Śoṇavvā* in the *Antar-Narmadā vishaya* to five Brāhmanas, who were residents of *Bharukachchha*, on the occasion of the *Mahākārttikī*, i.e., the full-moon day of *Kārttika*. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices, viz., *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *havana*. The grant was written by

¹ J B B R A S, Vol XX, p 211

Vishṇushēna according to the order conveyed by the *Mahāpratihāra Gōpādhyaka*. The *dūtaka*, was the *Sāndhuvgrahaka Rēvaḍhyaka*.

The inscription is dated, in the last line, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 292 of an unspecified era. The tithi and the year are expressed in numerical symbols only. As the characters of the present record resemble those of Traikūtaka grants, its date must likewise be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the date would correspond, for the expired year¹ 292, to the 20th October 541 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

Sangamasimha calls himself *Mahāsāmanta*, which indicates his feudatory rank. Prof. Sten Konow called attention to the fact that 'the wording of our grant sometimes recalls the phraseology of the Sarsavā plates, compare ll. 18-19 with ll. 26-27 of the latter, and, especially, the end of the two grants, where we have, in both cases, first an instrumental (*-prāpit-ājñayā* and *-vijñāpanayā*, respectively), then a *bahuvrīhi* ending in *-dūtakam*, and followed by *likhitam* and finally the date expressed in the same way in numerical figures.'² From this he conjectured that Sangamasimha was a feudatory of the Kalachuris, who, down to the time of Buddharāja (609 or 610 A.C.), retained the command of the country round Broach. He thought that either Krishnarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, or his predecessor, must have been the overlord of Sangamasimha. A comparison of the wording of the present record with the phraseology of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna would, however, show that the former inscription bears a closer resemblance to the latter than to any record of the Kalachuris, for, besides the peculiarities noticed by Prof. Sten Konow, all of which are also found in the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna, our inscription has copied lines 16-19 *verbatim* from earlier records of the Traikūtakas (see, e.g., lines 12-15 of the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna), the only difference being the omission (evidently inadvertent) of *apadānam* after *avadātam*. Sangamasimha's present inscription was, therefore, drafted by a clerk, who had before him the earlier records of the Traikūtakas. And this is not at all surprising, for Sōnavvā, the village granted by the present charter, is only two miles to the north of the Kīm which probably formed the northern boundary of the Traikūtaka kingdom. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Sangamasimha had under his sway some territory which was previously ruled over by the Traikūtakas. The similarity in the wording of the grants of Sangamasimha and Buddharāja is, therefore, due to the draftsmen of both having drawn upon earlier Traikūtaka records.

The successors of Sangamasimha do not seem to have retained their hold over the Broach District for a long time, for within fifty years from the date of the present plates we find that the neighbouring country came under the rule of another feudatory, Nirihulaka, of the Kalachuri Emperor, Sankaragana and soon after, we find Sankaragana's son Buddharāja himself, donating a village in the Bharukachchha *visaya*.

As for the localities named in the present grant Bharukachchha, which was probably the capital of Sangamasimha, is modern Broach. The donees also were residents of this place. Sōnavvā, the village granted, is probably Sunao Kalā, 18 m. west by south of Broach, where the plates were found. The Antar-Narmadā *visaya*, in which it was situated, was, as its name indicates,³ a district comprising territory on both the sides of the Narmadā.

¹ If the year is taken to be current, the date would correspond to the 31st October 540 A.C.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 73.

³ The name *Antar-Narmadā* of the *visaya* must be taken, as Dr. Fleet has shown (*Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, p. 56), to be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, though the correct form in that case should be *Antar-Narmada*. It may be noted that the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*adhyāya* 45, *śl.* 130) speaks of *Āntara-Narmada visayas*. Cf. *Nāṣikyādyāś=cha yē ch=ānyē yē ch=antara-Narmadāḥ* | *Bhānukachchhāḥ* (*Bhārukachchhāḥ*?) *samābhāḥ* *sahasā śāsvatair=aḥ* ||.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [स्वस्ति] [॥*] भरुकच्छान्मातापितृपादानु[द्ध्या]तो म[हासामन्तश्री]महाराज-
सगमसीह³
2 सव्वनिव स्वान्राजस्थानीयोपरिकुमारामात्यविषयपत्यारक्षिकद्रागिक-
3 कुलपुत्रकचाटभटादीस्तदादेशकारिणश्च कुशलमनुवर्ण्य समनुदर्श-
4 यति [॥*] अस्तु वो विदित यथास्माभिरन्तर्गमर्मादाविषयान्तर्गतशोणव्वाग्रामो भारु-
5 कच्छकछन्दोगिसगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणानन्तदत्त⁴ तथा गालव-
6 सगोत्रछन्दोगसब्रह्मचारिप्रजापतिशर्म⁵ तथा लौकाक्षि⁶सगोत्राध्वर्युसब्रह्म-
7 चारिशिवदेव⁷ तथा लोहायनसगोत्राध्वर्युसब्रह्मचारिभाणुदेव⁸ तथा पौ[र्ण]⁹स-
8 गोत्रबहुचसब्रह्मचारिभवरुचिभ्यो¹⁰ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवन[प]ञ्च-
9 महायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्राकर्णवग्रहनक्षत्रक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन
10 सोद्रगस्सोपरिकरस्सभूतवातप्रत्यायोचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन
11 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोवाप्तयेद्य पुण्यतमा
12 महाकार्तिकीतिथिमगीकृत्य¹¹ उदकार्तिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितो (त ।) यत एषा ब्राह्मणाना

Second Plate

- 13 उचितय[॥] ब्रह्म[देयाग्रहा*]रस्थित्या भुज[ता] कृषता करिषयता¹² प्रदिशता च न केनचित¹³
14 निषेधे वर्तितव्य[मिति । एत*]द्ग[॥][म]निवासिभिरप्यमीषा विधैयैर्भूत्वा समुचित-
15 मेयहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायोपनय^xकार्य [॥*] भविष्यद्राजभिश्चास्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सा-
16 [मा*]न्य भूमिदानपुण्यफलमभिवाञ्छद्भिर्व्विभवानभावानुबद्धानायुर्व्वियोगा-
17 [नुग*]त गुणाश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दान च गुणवतामवदात्¹⁴मिति
18 [प्रमा*]णीकृत्य शशिकरशुचिरुचिर चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य
19 [पा*]लयितव्यश्चेति ॥ उक्त च भगवता व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति
20 [भू]मिद [॥*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁵ ॥ [१*॥] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
राजभिस्स-

¹ From the lithograph facing p 74 in *Ep Ind*, Vol X

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read सगमसीह

⁴ Read दत्तस्तथा

⁵ Read -शर्म

⁶ Prof Sten Konow proposes to read लौगाक्षि [*Ep Ind*, X, p 75], but the *Gōtrapravarānibandha-kadamba* gives the *Laukāksu gōtra* under the *Āngirāsa*s

⁷ Read शिवदेवस्तथा

⁸ Read भानुदेवस्तथा

⁹ Mr Jackson doubtfully read धोण्डि, and Prof Konow पौण्डि, but the aforementioned work on *gōtras* and *pravara*s does not give any *gōtras* of these names Perhaps पौर्ण was intended for which see *ibid*, p 31

¹⁰ Read भवरुचिरित्येतेभ्यो

¹¹ Read -मगीकृत्योदका- Prof Konow suggested-मधिकृत्यो-

¹² Read कर्षयता.

¹³ Read केनचित्

¹⁴ Some word like अपदान is omitted here Compare 1 13 of the Surat Plates of Vyāghrasēna (No 9, above)

¹⁵ Metre of this and the following three verses: *Anushtubh*

- 21 गरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥ [२॥*] पूर्वदत्ता द्विजा-
तिभ्यो य-
22 त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन(नम्) ॥ [३*॥] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतो-
23 यासु [शु]ष्ककोटरवासिन. [1*] कृष्णाहयोभिजायन्ते पूर्वदायान्हरन्ति ये ॥ [४*]
24 महाप्रतीहारगोपाढ्यकप्रापिताज्ञया सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवाढ्यकद्रुतक
25 लि[खि]त विष्ण(ष्णु)षेणेनेति ॥ स २०० ९० २ कार्तिक शु १० ५ [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From **Bharukachchha**—the *Mahāsāmanta*, the illustrious *Mahārāja*, **Sangamasimha**, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, having stated his good health,¹ informs all (his *subordinates, such as*) *Rājasthānīyas*,² *Uparīkas*,³ *Kumārāmātyas*,⁴ heads of *viśhayas*, *Arakshikas*,⁵ *Drāṅgikas*,⁶ *Kulaputrakas*,⁷ *chātas*, *bhātas* and others, as well as those who execute their orders (*as follows*) —

(Line 4) “Be it known to you that for obtaining religious merit and fame for Our mother and father and for Ourselves, We, availing Ourselves of the holiest Mahākārttikī⁸ *tithi* today, have granted with a libation of water, the village **Śōnavvā** situated in the **Antar-Narmadā viśhaya** together with the *udranga*⁹ and the *uparīkara*,¹⁰ as well as excise and octroi duties, (*which is*) not to be entered by *Chātas* and *bhātas*, (*and is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons, according to the maxim of uncultivated land—to the (*following*) residents of **Bharukachchha**, (*viz.*) the Brāhmana **Alantadatta** of the *Chhandōgi gōtra* (*who is*) a student of the *Chhandōga* (*i.e.*, *Sāmaveda*) (*and*) **Prajāpatiśarman** of the *Gālava gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the *Chhandōga*, and **Śivadēva** of the *Laukāksī gōtra*,

¹ Prof Sten Konow translates *kusālam* = *anuvarṇya* as ‘having greeted’ In the Rāshtrakūta and other records, the word *kusālī* occurs in the same context, which shows that here also the king refers to his own good health

² *Rājasthānīya*, lit, one who occupies the position of a king, probably in the administration of justice Buhler calls attention to the definition of the term in Kshēmendra’s *Lōkaprakāśa*, *viz.*, *prajāpālan-ārtham* = *udvāhati rakshayati cha sa Rājasthānīyah*, ‘he who carries out the object of protecting subjects and shelters them is a *Rājasthānīya*’ In line 17 of the Mandasor stone inscription of Yaśōvarman (C II, Vol III, p 154) Abhayadatta is said to have protected some territory after the manner of a *Rājasthānīya* So the term seems to indicate also the governor of a province Kalhana also mentions the office *rājasthāna* or *rājasthānādhikāra*. Stein, and following him, Vogel hold that the *Rājasthānīya* was an officer of justice (See *ACS* Part I, p 122) Fleet was inclined to think that ‘Viceroy’ was too exalted a title to be a suitable equivalent, because the *Rājasthānīya* is, in some records, mentioned ‘rather low down in the list of officials’ (C II, Vol III, p 157) It is noteworthy that in the present record the *Rājasthānīya* heads the list of officials

³ *Uparīka* is mentioned in some Gupta records as the head of a *bhukti* or Commissioner The title *Mahārāja* is sometimes added to the term The *Uparīka Mahārājas* recommended the appointment of *Viśhayapatis* (heads of districts) who were subordinate to them (*Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 133) According to the definition given by Bṛhaspati, *Uparīka* appears to have been a Magistrate *Ibid* XXIV, p 134

⁴ *Kumārāmātya*, lit the councillor of a prince, was a title borne by several grades of officials such as ministers, provincial governors and heads of districts (See, e.g., *Ep Ind*, Vol X, p 71)

⁵ *Arakshika*, lit a protector, was probably a police-officer

⁶ *Drāṅgika*, derived from *dranga* a town, is probably identical with the *Nāgarīka* (the Mayor of a town) mentioned in Kautilya’s *Arthasāstra*, pp 143 ff

⁷ *I.e.* noblemen

⁸ *I.e.* the full-moon day in Kārttika

⁹ See above p 21, n 1

¹⁰ See above, p 21, n 2

(*who is*) a student of the *Adhvaryu (vēda i e, Yajurveda)* and Bhānudēva of the Lōhāyana *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the *Adhvaryu (vēda)*, (*and*) Bhavaruchi of the Paurṇa *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the *Rigvēda*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* (*and*) offerings to fire

(L 12) “Wherefore, none should cause any obstruction while these Brāhmanas are enjoying, cultivating, getting cultivated and directing (*others to cultivate the land in the donated village*) according to the customary rules of *agrahāras* granted to Brāhmanas. The residents of this village also, submitting to these (*Brāhmanas*), should make over to them the customary (*share*) of measurable (*things*), gold and other taxes. And kings of the future whether born in our family or others, desiring to share in the reward of the religious merit of (*this gift of*) land and considering that wealth is liable to be lost, that life is followed by separation, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and believing that gifts made to meritorious persons are excellent, and wishing to accumulate for a long time, fame as bright and splendid as moon-beams, should consent to and preserve this our gift.”

(L 19) Moreover, the holy Vyāsa has said—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L 24) (*This charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Sāndhuvigrahika Rēvādhyaka*, has been written by Viṣṇuśhēna according to the (*royal*) order communicated by the *Mahāpratīhāra Gōpādhyaka*.

The year 200 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 2, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY KALACHURIS

NO. 12, PLATE VI

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 347

THESE plates were found in the possession of a Rajput family of Ābhōṇa, a village in Kalvan *tālukā* of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof K B Pathak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IX, pp 296 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on one side only, each one measuring 9 7" broad and 7" high. Except for a mistake here and there, the writing on them has been well executed and is in a state of good preservation. Each plate has two holes, about 5" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally connected it with the other plate of the set, but no ring or seal was apparently discovered. The weight of the plates is 132 *tolas*¹. The record consists of thirty-four lines, seventeen being inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of letters is 25."

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets². The letters have, in most cases, a knob at the top, and show, as usual, some admixture of northern peculiarities. The *mātrās*, for instance, for the medial *ē*, *ai* and *au* are placed above the line, see *-vipulē*, l 1, *gunair-*, l. 6, *Kṛṣṇnarājō*, l 5. The medial *au* is indicated by three *mātrās*, only the middle one of which rises above the line, see *paṇtr-*, l. 20 and *Gautama-*, l 21; *kh* in *likhitam-*, l. 34 has a loop larger than its hook; *n* appears with a loop, while *t* is without it; see *gagana-tala*, l. 1; *n* generally appears in its southern form, its upper portion being undivided, see *e g*, *guna-*, l. 2, but the northern form also occurs in a few places, see *kṛy-ōtsarppanāya*, and *punya*, l. 22, the vertical stroke of *l* is either shortened as in *tala*, l. 1, or is sharply turned to the left as in *vimala*, l 1. Besides these northern characteristics, the following peculiarities of other individual letters may also be noticed:—the initial *ṛ* is indicated by a curve with a notch in the centre over two dots, see *va*, l 5, the sign for initial *ē* in *ēva*, l 4, is open on the left, the stroke for medial *ā* is generally bent down, and in some cases it is brought down lower than in the Traikūṭaka inscriptions,³ thus showing a later palaeographic stage, see *vicharatā-*, l 8, *par-ābhumāna*, and *vinayāya*, l. 9, in a few cases (*e g*, *nā* and *jñā*) it is turned upwards, see *e g*, *Katachchurī-nām-*, l 3, *-ājñāna-*, l 26, while in the case of *jā* it encircles the letter on the left, see *jāyantē*, l. 29, in medial *ī*, the length is denoted by a curve in the circle for short *ī*, see *Ujjayanī-*, l. 1, the medial *u* is marked in three ways (1) by lengthening the vertical stroke to end in a small curve as in *vipulē* l 1, (2) in the case of letters whose vertical stroke already ends in a curve (*e g* *k*, *r*, etc) by adding another curve to the vertical and turning it downwards, see *kumuda-*, l. 4, and (3) by turning the vertical stroke of the letter upwards to the right, see *pād-ānuddhyātāb*, l 16, the medial *ū* also appears in two ways as in *bhūri-*, l 13, and *yūthapa*, l 7, *d* is distinguished from *ḍ* by its tail, see *-āpīḍita* l 12, the subscript *n* consists only of a loop cf *-ārnnava* l 20, *th* is shown either with a notch in the base as in *yūthapēna*, l. 7, or with a ringlet as in *-apratiratha-*, l 10, in its subscript form, it is indicated by a curve curling to the right, see *sthitī*, l 20

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XLII, p 270

² See *I P*, pp 62 ff

³ Nos 8-10, above.

and *sthēyasaś-*, ll 24-25, *b* shows a notch on the left, see *vibōdhana-*, l 5, and *y* is tripartite, see *Ujjayanī*, l. 1. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke on the top in ll 19 and 30 and by its small size, in l 28. Punctuation is indicated by double vertical strokes in ll 29-31, 33 and 34. The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice in l 4 and that of the *upadhmāniya* thrice, in ll 8, 11 and 26. The numerical symbols for 300, 40, 10, 7 and 5 occur in l 34. Of these the symbol for 7 deserves special notice, its upper curve being here separated from the vertical by a knob as in the Sirpur plate of the *Mahārāja Rudrasēna* ¹

The language is Sanskrit. Except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. Its eulogistic portion is composed in an ornate style which recalls that of Valabhī grants ². Again, as stated below, the present plates were issued from Ujjayanī, which was for some time, a second capital of the Gupta Empire. The draftsman who composed the present record was probably well acquainted with Gupta inscriptions, from which he has evidently borrowed certain epithets which are employed here to eulogize the donor Sankaragana ³. It may, again, be noted that both in its eulogistic and formal parts, this record has several expressions which are either imitated or copied *verbatim* from the earlier Traikūtaka grants ⁴. This shows that the Katachchuri empire comprised some provinces which were previously under the rule of the Traikūtakas. As regards orthography, the only peculiarities that call for notice are that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many places, see, e g, *durlāṅghē* l 2, and *dharm-ārthā-*, l 12, and that a class-nasal is often used instead of *anusvāra*, as in *kalanka*, l 4.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Śankaragana of the Katachchuri (Early Kalachuri) dynasty from his camp at Ujjayanī. He was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and was the son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja 'who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati'. Sankaragana is described as the lord of the country extending from the eastern to the western ocean and of other lands.

¹ Line 9 of No 4 above. Pandit Bhagvanlal read this symbol doubtfully as 8, but in view of the clear mention of the date in words in l 34 of the present record, it will have to be taken as a sign of 7.

² Compare, for instance, the *utprēksā* in *yas=samśraya-viśēsha-lōbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itarais=cha gunair=upētib* in lines 5-6 with that in *rūp-lōbhād=iv=āśritāḥ sahasam=ābhigāmikair=ggunair* which occurs in connection with the description of Dharasēna I in many Valabhī grants.

³ In his translation of the Saisavī plates (*Ep Ind*, Vol VI, p 300), Dr. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the epithets *prithivyām=apratirāṭhaḥ*, *chatur-udadhi-salī-lāsvādita-yasāḥ* and *Dhanada-Varun-Endr-Āntaka-sama-prabhāvah* which closely resemble (the last with a slightly different reading) those in Gupta records, see *C I I*, Vol III, Text, pp 8 and 53. Again, the expressions *pranati-mātra-superitōsha-gambhīr-ōmata-hridayah* and *chit-ōtsannānām nripati-vamsānām pratishthāpayitā* in this and other early Kalachuri grants recall *bhakti-avanati-mātra-gāhya-mridu-hridayasya* and *anēka-bhrashta-ījy-ōtsanna-ījya-vamsa-pratishthāpana-* in the Allahabad stone inscription of Samudragupta (*Ibid*, p 8).

⁴ Thus the epithet *samyak-pīajā-pālalan-ādhibhāgata-bhūri-darvina-viśrānan-āvāpta-dharma-kriyāḥ* and *pūv-āpara-samudr-ānt-ādi-dēśa-svāmī* in lines 13 and 15 respectively of the present record are obviously suggested by *sva-bhūja-paīpālana-pratāp-ādhibhāgata-prachura-darvina-viśrānan-āvāpta-sarvva-dig-vyāpi-sukla-yasāḥ-* and *Aparant-ādi-dēśa-pati* in the earlier Traikūtaka records like the Surat grant of Vyāghrasēna (See lines 2-3 of No 9 above). The expression *sarva-ditya-vishiti-paribīnah* in line 11 of the latter record was adopted by the official draftsman of the Early Kalachuris, who only inserted *prātibhēdika* in it. Again, the expressions *ā-chandr-ārke-ārnnava-kṣhiti-sthiti-sama-kālīnam* (l 20), *abhāv- ānugatān=asārān=vibhāvān=duṅgba-kāla-sthēyasaś=cha gunān=ākalayya* and *sasī-kara-ruchiram churāya yasas=chichir(chī)shubhīr ayam=asmad-dāyō= numantavyah pālayitavyas=cha* in lines 24-6 of the present grant are plainly borrowed, with some changes like the inversion of the order of words, from Traikūtaka records (See e g, lines 11-14 of No 9 above). The same can be said of the manner of inserting the name of the *Dūtaka* in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying the word *likhitam*.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Śankaragana, of a hundred *nvartanas* of land, measuring forty *nvartanas* on either side, in the village **Vallisikā** which was situated in the *visaya* (district) of **Bhōgavardhana**. The donee was a Brāhmana¹ of the Taittirīya *sākhā* and Gautama *gōtra* residing at **Kallivana**. The purpose of the grant, which was made at the request of **Gōggā**,² is stated to be to provide for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaisvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites.

The grant is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the **fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa of the year 347**. Though no era is specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details, but according to the epoch of 248-49 A. C. which suits other verifiable early dates of the era, the date of the present grant would correspond, for the expired year³ 347, to the 3rd August 597 A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, **Ujjayanī** is, of course, modern Ujjain in Central India. **Kallivana**, where the donee was residing is modern Kalvan, the chief town of the Kalvan *tālukā* of the Nāsik District. It may be noted in this connection that the present plates were found at Ābhōṇa which lies only seven miles west of Kalvan. **Bhōgavardhana**, the headquarters of the district in which the donated village was situated, is probably Bhōkardhan (20° 16' N and 75° 46' 56" E) in the Hyderabad State, where a large Brahmanical cave temple of about 8th century A.D. has been recently excavated.⁴ **Vallisikā** is modern Valsā, 7 miles south of Bhōkardhan.⁵

¹ Prof. Pathak read the name of the Brāhmana in line 21 as *Āhmanasvāmin*. The first *akṣara* of this word is certainly not *ā*, the form of which may be seen in *āchchhettā*, l. 28. I read it as *prā* which, I think, is incorrectly written for *brā*. The scribe has confused *p* and *b* in another place also, see *pratāb-ātī-saya* for *pratāp-ātī-saya* in line 11. Strange as it may appear, the proper name of the donee, which ought to have been inserted between *brāhmana* and *svāmin*, has been inadvertently omitted here. Compare the names of the donees *Brāhmana-Bōdhasvāmin* and *Brāhmana-Bappasvāmin* in other Kalachuri grants (Nos. 14 and 16, below). Similar names of donees with the prefix *Brāhmana* occur in the records of the Traikūtakas and Maṭrakas also.

² This lady may have been the queen of Śankaragana. As for the absence of any title like *Mahārājñī* in connection with her name, it may be pointed out that neither Krishnarāja, nor Śankaragana is called *Mahārāja* in this or any other grant of the Early Kalachuris.

³ The usual practice is to cite expired years. Current years are cited only exceptionally. If the year 347 is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 15th July 596 A. C. Prof. Pathak gives the 27th July 595 A. C. as the corresponding Christian date, evidently taking the year 347 as current and applying the epoch A. D. 247-48 which Dr. Kielhorn finally fixed on the evidence of later Kalachuri dates. But this epoch does not suit early dates of the Kalachuri era as admitted by Kielhorn himself. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, n. 6 and 7.

⁴ *A. B. I. A.*, (1935), pp. 31-32. Bhōgavardhana is mentioned in several inscriptions at Sānchī. See e.g. Nos. 156, 162, 163, etc. *M. S.* Vol. I, pp. 315 ff.

⁵ Mr. Gupte has suggested the identification of Vallisikā with Vārasī, about 8 miles south of Kalvan (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 270), but as the Vadnēr grant of Buddharāja (No. 14 below) shows, the country round Vadnēr, which is only about 16 miles south of Kalvan, was included in the *bhōga* of Vatanagara. So the country round Kalvan is not likely to have been included in a different *visaya* like Bhōgavardhana. Mr. Gupte's alternative identifications of Vallisikā with Bālhēgāon near Ujjain and of Bhōgavardhana with Bōgtē near Bālhēgāon are also unlikely, for, the plates were found in the Nāsik District, and as shown above, better identifications of the localities with places not far from the eastern limit of that District can be proposed. Kallivana is also mentioned in the Mundkhēde plates of the Śēndraka king Jayaśakti. See *Q. B. I. S. M.*, Vol. XVII, p. 52 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [11*] विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुले
 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा(त्वा)पाश्र्वदुर्लभे गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्य—
 3 नुपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटच्चुरीणामन्वये³ सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिक[ये]⁴व कीर्त्या
 4 भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरः⁵कलङ्कदोषरहितः⁶कुलकुमुद—
 5 वनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्सश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकै—
 6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्येन च रुचिरव—
 7 शशोभिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि—
 8 शङ्ख विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रहः⁷परा—
 9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षित विनयाय विभवाज्जर्ज्जन् प्रदानाय प्रदान धर्माय धर्म श्रेयोवा—
 10 प्तये [1*] तस्य पुत्र पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुर्दधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तक—
 11 समप्रभाव स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्ज्जितराजश्रीः⁸प्रतापा(पा)तिशयोपनतसमग्रसामान्त⁹—
 12 मण्डल परस्परापीडितधर्मार्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत—
 13 हृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावान्तधर्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना—
 14 ना नृपतिवशाना प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्धकु(कृ)पणसमभिल—
 15 षितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रद पूर्वपरिसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ—
 16 पादानुद्ध्यात परममाहेश्वर श्रीशङ्करगण सर्वाणव⁶ राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय—
 17 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी⁷त्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभि⁸

Second Plate

- 18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्गतवल्लिसिकाग्रामे⁹ उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना
 19 भूर्मेन्नवर्त्तनशतम्(त) सर्व्वदानसग्राह्य सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीण भूमि—
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावर्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयो[प*]भोग्य
 21 कल्लिवनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसब्रह्मचारिप्रा¹⁰ह्मणस्वामिण बलिचरुवैश्वदेवा—
 22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोम्गाविज्ञापनया¹¹
 23 उदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्ट(ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा नृपतिभोगपतिभि प्रबलपवन—
 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चल जि(जी)वलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस—
 25 श्च गुणानाकलय्य भोगसामान्यभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभि शशिकररुचिर चिराय यशश्चिचिर्षुभि¹²—
 26 रयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः⁸पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्य—

¹ From the lithographs facing pages 296-97 of *Ep Ind*, Vol IX

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Prof Pathak read कटच्चुरीणा, but what looks like a dot after the vertical stroke of *chchu* is not joined to it and appears to be due to a fault in the copper.

⁴ The engraver seems to have first incised *chandrikay-āva* and then corrected it into *chandrikay-ēva*

⁵ Read सामन्त—

⁶ Read सर्व्वनिव

⁷ Read —धिकारिकादीन्समाज्ञापयति[1*] अस्तु

⁸ Read —मस्माभिर्भोग

⁹ Read ग्राम उभय—

¹⁰ Read ब्राह्मण-स्वामिने The name of the Brāhmana has been omitted inadvertently

¹¹ Read विज्ञापनयोदका—.

¹² Read चिचिर्षुभि—.

- 27 मानवानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तस्यादित्यु¹क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन[1*]
 28 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः[1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥²
 [१॥*] विन्ध्याट—
 29 दीष्कतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदाय हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*]
 बहुभिर्व्व—
 30 सुधा भुक्ता³ राजभिस्सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ [३॥*]
 पूर्व्वदत्ता
 31 द्विजानिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन⁴मपि च ॥ यानीह
 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्वा(र्द्वा)नानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*]निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
 साधु
 33 पुनराददीत⁵ ॥ [५॥*] सवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारि[श]दुत्तरके श्रावणशुद्धपञ्चदश्या महा-
 पीलु⁶—
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतक लिखितमिद महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाटचलिनेति ॥ स ३०० ४० ७
 श्रावण शु १० ५ [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ujjayanī—

In the family of the **Katachchuris**, which, resembling the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn, which is made resplendent by the multitude of the manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*) as the ocean is by the mass of the rays of its gems, which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals, which is endowed with serenity (*and*) is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds,—(*there was*) the illustrious **Krishnarāja**, who brightened the world with his fame which, like moonlight, attracted the minds of all people, who, from his very birth, was devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), revived the prosperity of his family, (*and therefore, though*) free from (*all*) defects, resembled the moon, (*which has spots*), which rests on Śiva and revives the beauty of clusters of night-lotuses. He⁷ was resorted to by all attractive royal qualities and other excellences as if out of a desire to find a choice resting place, was possessed of all the constituents of royalty⁸ (*and*) had properly acquired royal powers⁹ and attained successes. Shining with his illustrious lineage, with the flow of his charity always unchecked, and the greatness of his prowess well known, he conquered the regions marching about fearlessly, even as the leader of a herd of

¹ Read —स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च

² Metre of this and the next three verses *Anuṣṭubh*

³ The sign for *t* is affixed to the right of the vertical of *k*, like that for medial *n*

⁴ Read पालनम् ॥ [४॥*] अपिच

⁵ Metre, *Indravajrā*

⁶ Prof Pathak reads महापिलु—, but as pointed out by the Editor (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, Additions and Corrections, p viii), the medial *l* is long

⁷ In the original, this and the succeeding sentences are relative clauses qualifying *śrī-Krishnarājā* in 15

⁸ These are usually enumerated as seven, *var*, the king, ministers, allies, treasury, territory, fortresses and army. See *AK*, II, 8, 18

⁹ These are three, *var prabhasakti* (power derived from the control of treasury and army), *utsāhasakti* (power of personal energy) and *mantrasakti* (power of good counsel)

ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA (KALACHURI) YEAR 347

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wild elephants, who looks splendid with his excellent back-bone, has an ever unceasing flow of rut and well-known might of strength, brings down rows of forest-trees, moving about fearlessly. He wielded his weapon (*only*) for the protection of the distressed, fought (*only*) for humbling the arrogance of his enemies, was engaged in study (*only*) for humility, acquired wealth (*only*) to spend it in charity, made gifts (*only*) for the sake of religious merit, and accumulated religious merit (*only*) to secure final liberation.

(Line 10) His son, the illustrious Śaṅkaragana — who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who is the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western oceans and of other lands, who has, on the earth, no adversary (*worthy of him*), whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans, whose prowess equals that of Dhanada (*ie*, Kubēra), Varuna, Indra and Antaka (*ie*, Yama)¹, who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings, to whom the circle of neighbouring princes has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess, who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another, whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission, who has performed religious rites by spending, in charity, plenty of wealth which he had obtained by properly protecting his subjects, who has reinstated royal families, which had long been dethroned, who has exterminated such as had risen too high, who bestows, on the distressed, blind and poor people, abundant gifts which exceed their desires — issues this order to kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*², heads of *vishayas*³, *Mahattaras*⁴ of *rāshtras*⁵ and villages, officials and others —

(L 17)—Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted, with a libation of water, at the request of Gōggā, land measuring a hundred *nivartanas*⁶ by a land measure (*nivartanam*) of forty (*dandas*) on either side, in the village Vallisikā, situated in the *vishaya* of Bhōgavardhana —together with all receipts⁷ and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,⁸ (*which is*) not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhātas*⁹ according to the maxim of waste land¹⁰

¹ These are the guardians of the North, West, East and South

² *Bhōgika* is the head of a *bhōga* which was a sub-division of a *vishaya*

³ *Vishaya* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern district

⁴ *Mahattara*, (a comparative form of *mahat*, great), occurs in Sanskrit literature in the sense of a chief person, see e.g. *Uttaraiāmacharita*, Act IV, *Naishadhyacharita*, canto III, verse 19. It is perhaps used here and other similar passages in the sense of the head of a province or a village.

⁵ *Rāshtra* was a territorial division corresponding to the modern Commissioner's Division. The Añjanērī plates (l 26) of Bhōgasakti (No 31, below) mention the *Gōpa-rāshtra*.

⁶ It seems that there were several *nivartanas* in vogue. The *Līlāvatī* (I, 6) mentions *nivartana* as a measure of land equal to 400 square rods, *ie*, 20 rods in length and in breadth. Kautilya (II, 20) mentions a *nivartana* measuring 30 *dandas* (in length and in breadth) *ie*, 900 square *dandas*, and Brihaspati follows him. The measure (*nivartanam*) intended here seems to be 40 (*dandas*) on either (*side*) (*vishaya-chatvārimśaka-nivartanam*) *ie*, equal to 1600 square *dandas*.

⁷ *Ādāna* (lit, receiving) probably has here the meaning of a tax.

⁸ Kings had prerogatives in respect of these. They are waived in the case of *agrahāra* villages and lands. Compare *sarva-vishṭi-parihāra-paribhṛtā* and other expressions which occur in Vākātaka grants.

⁹ Compare *a-bhāda-papēsam* in the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (*Ep Ind*, Vol VI, p 87) and *a-bhāda-chchhātra-prāvēśya* in Vākātaka grants. In the Surat plates of Vyāghrasēna (above, No 9, l 10) the qualifying expression *chōra-rāj-āpatthya-kāri-vajja(m)* is added to *a-chāta-bhāta-prāvēśya*. The *bhātas* and *chātas* were forbidden to enter the *agrahāra* villages except when they had to apprehend thieves and persons accused of high treason. They were evidently royal servants whose duty it was to maintain peace and order in the kingdom. They correspond to modern policemen and soldiers.

¹⁰ *ie*, with full proprietary rights. He who brought waste land under cultivation became the absolute owner of it. Cf. *MSM*, *adh IX*, v 44.

and (*is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and son's sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmana —svāmin¹ of the Gautama *gōtra* (*who is*) a student of the Taittirīya (*sākhā*) and a resident of Kallivana, for the performance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other religious rites.

(L 23)—Wherefore, (*future*) kings and heads of *bhōgas*, whether born in our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost (*and, therefore,*) worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time, and desiring to share in the reward of this donation of land which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely as moon-beams, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L 27)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *U'ēdas* —

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L 33)—In the year three hundred increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth (*lunar, day*) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, this (*charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupatī* Pāsupata, was written by Vāṭyali, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War. The year 300 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 7, (*the month*), Śrāvaṇa, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

NO 13; PLATE VII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA

THIS plate was apparently discovered at Sankhēḍā, the chief town of the Sankhēḍa *prānt* of the Barodā District in the Bombay State. It was edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Mr H H Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, pp. 21 ff. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

The plate measures 8.3" broad and 3.9" high, and is inscribed on one side only. It is the first plate of a set which originally consisted of two plates. They were held together by two rings passing through holes about .3" in diameter at the top of each plate, but neither the rings nor the seal, if there was any, was apparently found. The weight of the plate is not recorded. The plate has lost small pieces at the top and both the sides of the bottom. This has caused the partial or total loss of about twenty-two *aksharas*, which can, however, be restored conjecturally. The extant portion of the inscription, which consists of twelve lines, is in a good state of preservation. The writing was very carelessly executed. As will be seen from the subjoined transcript, the record contains numerous mistakes due to careless writing or engraving, especially in ll 9-12. The average size of letters is 2"

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, with the usual admixture of northern peculiarities. They resemble in a general way, the characters of the Ābhōna plates of Sankaragana. The only peculiarity that need be noticed here is the form of the medial *ū* in *vadhū* in l 3. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion of the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any notice except that the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *kirtti*, l. 4 and *ri* is used for the medial vowel *ri* in several places; see *Krishnarājap* l 2, *Balādhikṛita* l. 5, etc.

¹ See above p. 40, n. 1.

The plate was issued from the victorious camp fixed at **Nirguṇḍīpadraka** by **Śāntilla**, the *Balādhikṛta* (Military Officer) of **Nirihullaka** who bore the titles *Bhōgīkapālaka*¹ and *Mahāpīlupatī*² Nirihullaka is described as meditating on the feet of the illustrious **Śaṅkaragaṇa** who had obtained victory in many battles and who was the son of the illustrious **Kriṣṇarāja**. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a field, requiring one *pitaka* of paddy as seed, which was made by Śāntilla on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the increase of religious merit and fame of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, i.e., probably Sankaragana. The field was situated on the western boundary of **Śrī-Paṇakā** which was included in (the territorial division of) **Taṇḍulapadraka**. The donee was *Bhattika* Anantsvāmin of the Kautsa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Vājasaneyā or White Yajurveda and a resident of **Pāshāṇīhrada**. The gift was intended to provide for the performance of the religious rites of the five great sacrifices.

Dr Buhler first suggested that Sankaragana, whose name has been wrongly written as Sankarana in l. 3, was identical with the **Kaṭachchurī** (or **Kalachurī**) **Śaṅkaragaṇa** Śāntilla, who issued the present plate, was only a military officer. He seems to have obtained a great victory, to commemorate which he made this grant on the occasion of a solar eclipse; for he did it not for his own religious merit and fame, but for those of his great lord (*Paramabhattachāraka*) who was probably Sankaragaṇa. He was obviously acting in anticipation of the latter's sanction, so he communicates his order not only to the officers serving under him, but to those directly appointed by the king. He mentions here his immediate superior, the *Bhōgīkapālaka* and *Mahāpīlupatī* Nirihullaka, probably because he was governing the territory in which the donated village was situated.

The plate does not contain any date, but the mention of Sankaragana as the reigning sovereign shows that the inscription must be referred to the last quarter of the sixth century A. C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, Mr. Dhruva identified **Pāshāṇīhrada** with Saniādarī, about 14 miles north by east of Sankhēdā, for 'hrada would be masculine *dharō* and feminine *dharī* in Gujerātī and *Pāshāṇī* would drop its *Pā*, as Bagumrā has done with its *Bā* in having Gumrā, and give Saniā and thus we get Saniādarī³. His further suggestion that **Taṇḍulapadraka** is Tāndaljā is also acceptable, as the latter is only two miles west of Saniādarī. But his identifications of **Nirguṇḍīpadraka** with Nāgarvādā, 6 *kos* from Dabhoī and **Śrī-Paṇakā** with Paniu, now desolate, 5 *kos* from Dabhoī, are doubtful, as the places are not in the vicinity of Saniādarī and Tāndaljā. I am, however, unable to suggest any other identifications.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ स्व[स्ति][।*] नि[र्गु]ण्डिप[द्र]कावस्थितविजयकटकात् [स][कल*][क्षि][तिपत्य*]
- 2 च्चित्तचरणकमल. श्रीक्रि(कु)ष्णराज तसू(त्सू)नुरनेकस[म]रविजय[प्राप्तकी*]—
- 3 त्तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजम्लानिकर श्रीशकरणस्तत्पादानुद्ध्या⁶स्सकल—

¹ The present grant shows that the *Bhōgīkapālaka* was not an altogether petty officer, for Nirihullaka who bore that title had a military officer under him. The *Bhōgīkapālaka* seems to have been the chief of the *Bhōgīkas* who were probably identical with *Bhōgapatis* or heads of subdivisions to whom royal orders are often addressed.

² *Mahāpīlupatī*, the great commander of the elephant force, is a technical official title.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 23

⁴ From the lithograph facing p 22 of *Ep Ind*, Vol. II

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Read श्रीशकरणस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात्—

- 4 महीमण्डलतलप्रथी(थि)तकिर्त्तिभोगिक¹पालकमहा[प]लुपति²निरिहुल्ल—
 5 कस्तहव(द्व)लाधिक्रि(कृ)तशान्तिल्ल[*] सव्वानेव परमपादीयात्स्वाश्चा³वेदयति [*]
 6 [य]था पाषाणिहृद⁴वास्तव्यकौत्ससगोत्रवाजिसनेय⁵सब्रह्मचारिणे
 7 भट्टिक⁶नन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्म⁷त्रियोत्प(त्स)र्पणाय परमभट्टा—
 8 रकपादाना पुण्ययशोभिन्नि(वृ)द्धये तण्डुलपद्रकान्त[र्ग]केत⁸श्रीपण्णका—
 9 [या] पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेश्य⁹पत्रपौत्रान्वयाभोज्य¹⁰आदि—
 10 [त्यो*]परागकाल¹¹मुदकातिसर्गणे ब्रीहिपिटकवापक्षेत्र आज्चम्य¹²
 11 . वषिति[रि]तिसमकालीन¹²प्रतिपादिशू¹³ह असस्या¹⁴
 12 . ररानुव्याथा¹⁴भन्ननिपतिभि¹⁵

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at **Nirgundīpadraka**—

(*There was*) the illustrious **Kṛishṇarāja** whose lotus-like feet were worshipped by all kings His son (*is*) the illustrious **Śankara[ga]na** who has obtained glory by his victories in many battles, who has made the lotuses, namely, the faces of the enemies' wives, fade Meditating on his feet (*there is*) the *Bhōgikapālaka* and *Mahāpīlupati Nirihullaka*, whose fame is well known on the globe of the whole earth His *Balādhikṛita* (Military Officer) **Śāntilla** informs (*the officers*) of the Great Lord (Sankaragana) and his own as follows —

(Line 6) To *Bhattika* Anantasvāmin of the Kautsa *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Vājasaneyī (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Pāshānīhrada**, there has been granted, with (*a libation of*) water, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, for the performance of the religious rites, (*viz.*) the five great sacrifices, for augmenting the religious merit and glory of the Great Lord, a field requiring one *pitaka*¹⁶ of paddy as seed, situated on the western boundary of **Śrī-Parnakā** which is included in (*the sub-division of*) **Tandulapadraka**, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, (*and which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as [the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure]

¹ Read कीर्त्तिभोगिक—.

² Read महापीलुपति—.

³ Read परमपादीयान् स्वाश्चा—

⁴ Dhruva read हृद, but the lower curve is not curled

⁵ Read वाजिसनेय—

⁶ Dhruva read भजिक, but the *akshara* resembles ट्टा in भट्टा at the end of this line, and about the reading of the latter there can be no doubt Read भट्टिकानन्तस्वामिने For भट्टि which, like ब्राह्मण, was prefixed to the names of Brāhmanas, see the names of भट्टिसूर्यदिन्न and other donees of the Navalākhi plates of Śitāditya I—Dharmāditya, G E 286 [*Ep Ind*, Vol XI, p 179]

⁷ The sign of *rēpha* on this ligature is indistinct

⁸ Read तण्डुलपद्रकान्तर्गत—

⁹ Read सीमन्यचाटभटप्रावेश्य.

¹⁰ Read पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य

¹¹ It would be better to read काल उदका—.

¹² Read क्षेत्रमाचन्द्रार्कणवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीन The text is very incorrectly written here and in the following two lines

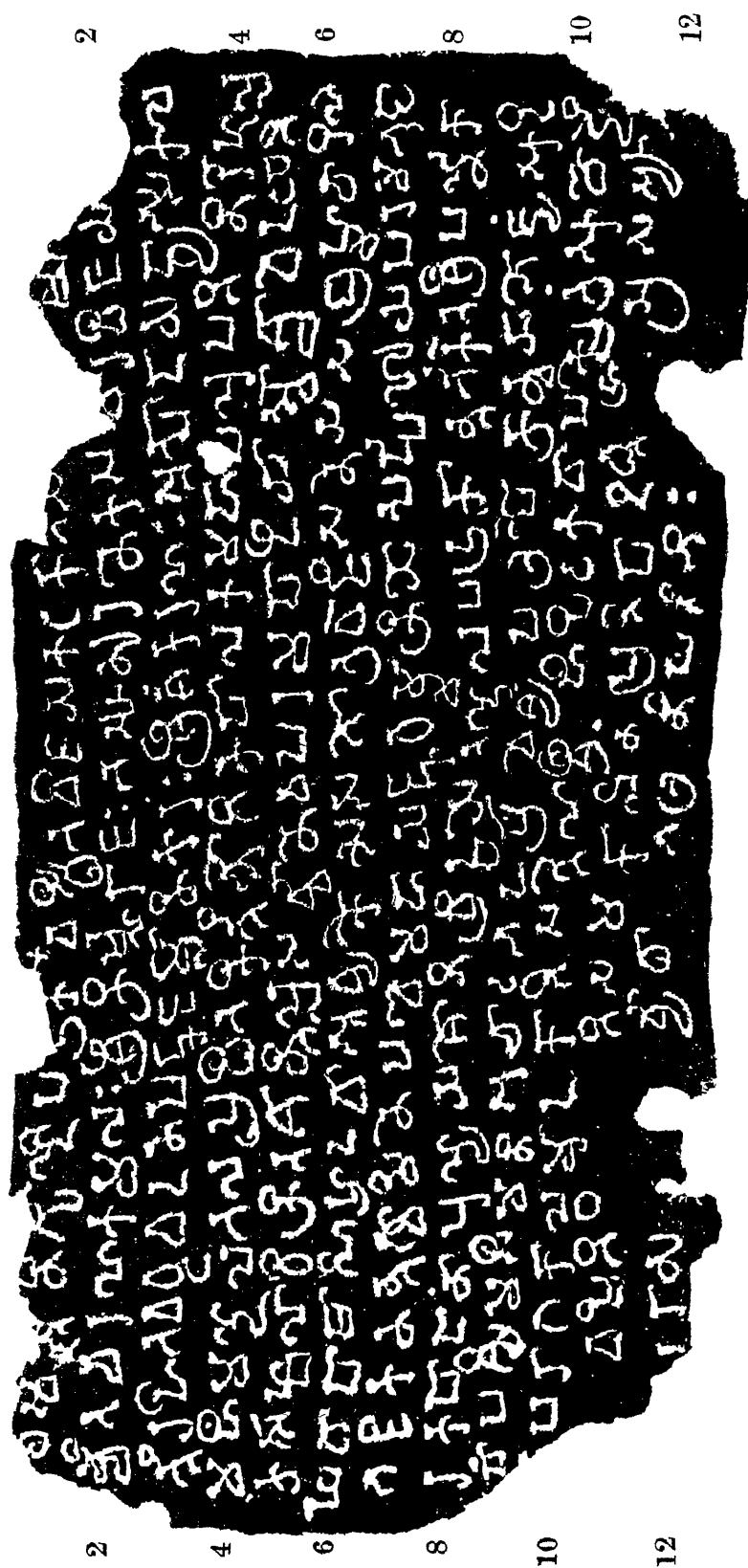
¹³ Read प्रतिपादितम् The following *akshara* is redundant

¹⁴ Read अतोस्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्वा

¹⁵ भद्रनृपतिभि The second plate, which is lost, must have contained the concluding words of this sentence such as अयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यश्च । (See Ābhōna plates, No 12, above)

¹⁶ *Pitaka* (lit, a basket) is a measure of capacity

SANKHEDA PLATE OF SANKARAGANA



(L. 11) Therefore [this gift should be consented to and preserved] by good kings [whether born in our family¹ or others]—

(The second plate of this grant is not forthcoming)

NO 14, PLATE VIII

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA. (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were found in the possession of one Nānā valad Ahilāji Tīdkē of Vaḍṇēr in the Chāndvad *Tāluka* of the Nāsik District in the Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr Y R Gupte, who has edited them, with lithographs and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XII, pp 30 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

Mr Gupte has given the following description of the plates²—“The plates are substantial. The first of them measures from $10\frac{1}{2}$ " to $10\frac{5}{8}$ " long by 8" broad including the rims. The second measures about $10\frac{5}{8}$ " long by from $8\frac{1}{8}$ " to $8\frac{1}{6}$ " broad including the rims. The plates have two holes from $\frac{2}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the insertion of the two original rings, which have been lost. Whether there was any seal or not, I cannot confidently say. There are, however, no traces of one, just as is the case with Sarsavnī plates. When the grant came under my notice, the Vadnēr plates were held together by two thin rings recently made. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. Either of them bears writing on the inner side only. The second plate is a little broken at the right rim where line 28 ends. The weight of the plates is 129 tolas, without the rings. The letters are very deeply and well cut. They do not show through on the reverse side at all. Some are, however, damaged and some have been completely destroyed by veridigris. As the text of the inscription is for the most part identical with that of the Ābhōna and Sarsavnī plates, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. There are thirty-four lines in all, seventeen being inscribed on either plate. The average size of letters is 2".

The characters resemble those of the Ābhōna plates. The only points that call for notice are as follows.—There appear more wedges than knobs at the top of letters, the former are, again, in some cases, especially when the sign for medial *ā* is added, replaced by short horizontal strokes. The superscript curve in the sign for initial *i* appears like that for *n* in *wa* and *idam* in ll 17 and 34 respectively. See also the sign for the superscript *ñ* in *chañchalam*, l. 24. The sign for initial *ē* in *ēsha*, l. 19, slightly differs from that used in the Ābhōna plates. The medial *ē* is generally shown by a slanting vertical stroke, curved at the top, see *vasēt*, l. 28, but see *sarvān=ēva*, l. 17, where it appears as a curve encircling the letter *n* on the left. *N* everywhere appears in its northern form. *L* has in all places a short vertical stroke. The sign for the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs twice in l. 4 and that for the *upadhmānīya* in ll 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 23, 25 and 31. Punctuation is indicated by a dot in ll 19, 30 and 31 and by two vertical strokes in ll. 27-30. The numerical symbols for 300, 60, 10 and 3 occur in l. 34.

The language is Sanskrit and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose throughout. As regards orthography, we may

¹ As the grant was made by a military officer, this statement is inappropriate here. It seems to have been blindly copied from royal charters.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XII, p. 31.

note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated as in *durllanghē*, l. 2, *vibhav-ārjjanam*, l. 8 etc.; so also *dh* preceding *y* in *-ānuddhyāta*, l. 14, *-Māddhyandina-*, l. 21. The *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *n* in *pradhvansa-*, l. 16. In *sētu sthātīnām*, l. 16, the *visarga* is dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36. The rules of *sandhu* have not been observed in some cases, especially at the end of lines, see e.g., *cha anumantā*, ll. 27-28 where *ch=ānumantā* is required by the metre. A case of wrong *sandhu* occurs in *yān=īha*, l. 30.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Buddharāja** of the **Kaṭachchurī** (Early **Kalachuri**) dynasty, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his victorious camp at **Vidiśā**. He is described as the son of the illustrious **Śaṅkaragana** who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The latter was himself the son of the illustrious **Kṛishnarāja** who from his very birth was solely devoted to Paśupati. The epithets of Kṛishnarāja and Śaṅkaragana are here copied *verbatim* from earlier charters of the dynasty (e.g., the Ābhōna plates of Śaṅkaragana). The description of all the three princes is quite conventional and yields no historical information.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Buddharāja, of the village **Koṇiyānām** (*vātaka*?) adjacent to **Bhaṭṭaurikā** in the *bhōga* (subdivision) of **Vatanagara** for augmenting the religious merit of himself and his parents. The donee was the Brāhmana Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Vājasanēya, Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Vatanagara**. The gift was intended, as usual, to provide for the performance of the religious rites such as *balī*, *charu*, *agnihōtra* and *varśvadēva*. The record was written by Ānāphita, the Great Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War at the request of the queen **Anantamahāyī** of the Paśupata faith. The *dūtaka* was the *Mahābalādhikṛita Prasahyavigraha*.

The inscription is dated in words in l. 32 and in numerical symbols in l. 34, on the **thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 360**. This date, like that of the Ābhōna plates, must be referred to the Kalachurī era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C. it would correspond, for the expired year 360, to the 8th August 610 A.C.¹ It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the localities mentioned in the present grant, **Vidiśā** is modern Besnagar near Bhilsā in Central India. That the Kalachurī empire once comprised the province of Eastern Malwa is also shown by the discovery of some coins of Kṛishnarāja, the grandfather of Buddharāja, during excavations at Besnagar.² **Vatanagara**, the headquarters of the *bhōga* (sub-division) in which the donated village was situated, and the place of the donee's residence, is obviously identical with Vadnēr where the plates were discovered. It may be noted in this connection that the Vanī-Dindōrī plates of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III³ mention the Vatanagara *vishaya* (district) as situated in the Nāsika *dēśa*. Vatanagara was thus the chief town of both the *bhōga* and the

¹ If the year 360 is applied as current, the date would correspond to Tuesday, the 19th August 609 A.C. Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillay gives two other equivalents, viz. Friday, the 11th August 607 A.C. and Thursday, the 29th August 608 A.C. Of these the first is impossible as the Kalachurī year did not begin in Bhādrapada. Though Kielhorn held that view at first (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 215), he gave it up later on. (See his article entitled 'Die Epoch des Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53ff.) The second date also is improbable because the epoch 247-248 A.C. on which it is based, does not suit other early dates of the era which admit of verification.

² *A. R. A. S. I.* (1913-14), p. 214.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 156 ff.

nskaya named after it I identify **Bhattaurikā** with **Bhātōrā** about 11 miles north-west of Vadnēr and about 2 miles north of **Vaṇī**¹ **Kōṇiyānām**² (*vātaka*?) may be Kanhuvādī, about 5 miles north by east of **Bhātōrā**

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [स्व]स्ति [॥⁵] निजयस्कन्धावाराद्वैदिशवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगतलविमलविपुल—
विविधधुरु—
- 2 [प]र[त्न]गुणकिरण[निक]रावभासिते महासत्त्वा(त्त्वा)पाश्र्वदुर्लङ्घे गाम्भीर्य्यवति स्थित्यनुपाल—
नपरे महो[दधा—]
- 3 [वि]व [कट]च्चुरीणा[मन्वये सकलजन]मनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या [भु]वनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन
[एव पशु—]
- 4 [पतिसमा]श्रयपरः⁶कलङ्क[दोष]रहितः⁷कुलकुमुदवनल[क्ष्मी]विबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव[श्री]कृष्णराजो[य]
- 5 [सश्रय]विशेषलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्सपन्नप्रक्रि(कृ)तिमण्डलो यथा[वत्]
- 6 आत्मन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्य्येन च रुचिरवशशोभिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा
- 7 वनवारणयूथपेनेवाविशङ्क विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्न—
- 8 त्रा[णा]य विग्रहः⁸पराभिमानभगाय शिक्षित विनयाय विभवाज्जैन प्रदानाय प्रदान धर्म्म[य]
- 9 [धर्म्म]श्श्रेयो[वा]प्तये [॥⁹] तस्य पुत्रः¹⁰पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरु—
णेन्द्रान्त[क—]
- 10 [सम]प्रभावस्स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्ज्जितराजश्रीः¹¹प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डल
- 11 परस्परपीडितधर्म्मार्थकामनिषेवी प्रणतिमात्रमुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदयस्सम्यक्प्रजापालना[धि—]
- 12 गतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधर्म्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्नाना नृपतिवशाना प्रतिष्ठापयिता अत्युच्छ्रिताना
- 13 उ[न्मू]ल्यिता दीनान्ध[क्रि]पण¹²समभिलपितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः¹³पूर्वपरसमुद्रान्तादि—
देशस्वामी
- 14 [मातापि]तृपादानुद्ध्यातः¹⁴परममाहेश्वर श्रीशङ्करगण¹⁵स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातस्सक[ल]
महीमण्डलैक—
- 15 तिलकस्सातिशयप्रथि[त]नयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यधैर्य्यशौर्य्य[स्थै]र्य्या[द्य]शेषगु[णसमन्वि]त
- 16 प्रबलरिपुबलोद्भूतदर्पविभवप्रध्वन्स¹⁶हेतुस्सेतु स्थितीनामा[यतन सि]द्धेरप्रतिह¹⁷[तचक्र]
- 17 चक्रधर इवा[त्ति]प्रशमनकरः¹⁸प्रजाना परममाहेश्वर श्रीबुद्ध[राज]स्सर्वानिव राज—

¹ Mr Gupte identifies Bhattaurikā with Bhātgaon about nine miles from Vadnēr, but its name does not exactly correspond to Bhattaurikā, and we have, therefore, to suppose that *urikā*, the second part of the name has been omitted. Bhātōrā, on the other hand, is clearly derived from Bhattaurikā

² Mr Gupte says that *Kōṇiyānām* means a village of the Kōṇiyas who correspond to the modern *Kōhs*. He does not, however, state which village of the Kōṇiyas is meant here. Perhaps a word like *vātaka* has been omitted here. *Kōṇiyānām vātaka* may be identical with Kanhuvādī

³ From the photo-lithographs facing pp 34 and 35 of *Ep Ind*, Vol XII.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ Read कृपण

⁶ Read श्रीशकरगण । तस्य

⁷ Read प्रध्वन्स

⁸ The lithograph shows a clear *rāpha* on *ha*. Read —प्रतिहतचक्रश्चक्रधर

Second Plate

- 18 सामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादी[न्*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु¹ वो विदितमस्माभि.
 19 वटनगरभोगे भट्टडरिकाप्रत्यासन्नकोणियाणा ।² एष ग्रामस्सोद्वङ्गस्सो[प]रिकरस्सव्वदान-
 20 सग्राह्यस्सव्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रवेश्य³ आचन्द्रा[वर्का]-
 21 ण्णव-
 22 [क्षि]तिस्थितिसमकालीनष्पुत्र⁴पौत्रान्वयभोग्यो वटनगरवास्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रवाजसनेयमाद्धचन्दिन-
 23 [स]ब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबोधस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्म-
 24 नश्च
 25 [पुण्याभिवृ]द्धये उदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो यतोस्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्वगामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
 26 प्रेरितो[दधि]-
 27 जल[तर]ङ्गचञ्चल⁵ जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य
 28 सामान्य-
 29 भोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिर चिराय यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयित-
 30 व्यश्च [।*]
 31 [यो] वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमाने वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सयु-
 32 क्तस्स्या[त्]
 33 इत्यु[क्त]ञ्च⁶ [भ]गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद [।*]
 34 आच्छेत्ता च
 35 अनुम[न्ता]⁷ च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [।*] कृष्णा-
 36 हयो हि जाय[न्ते]
 37 भूमिदाय हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 38 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 39 फ[ल](लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यात्नाद्रक्ष⁹ युधिष्ठिर । महिमहीमता श्रेष्ठ
 40 दानाच्छेयोनुपालनम् [॥४॥*] यानीह¹⁰
 41 द[त्ता]नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्बुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
 42 साधुः पुनराद-
 43 दीत¹¹ [॥५॥*] इति ॥ सवत्सरशतत्रये षष्ट्यधिके भाद्रपदशुद्धत्रयोदश्या पाशुपतराज्ञीराज्ञी¹²-
 44 अनन्तमहायीविज्ञापनया महाबलाधिकृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतक [लिखित]
 45 इदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतानाफितेनेति॥ स ३०० ६० [भा]द्रपद शु १० ३ [॥*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

² The sign of punctuation is superfluous here Read कोणियाणा

³ The usual reading of this word is प्रावेश्य .

⁴ Read कालीनः पुत्र-

⁵ Mr Gupte reads चञ्चल, but that the superscript letter is ñ, not n, is shown by the curve added to the subscript ch

⁶ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

⁷ Read चानुमन्ता.

⁸ Metre of this and the three following verses *Anushtubh*

⁹ Read यत्नाद्रक्ष.

¹⁰ Read यानीह.

¹¹ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹² This word is superfluous.

VADNER PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA (KALACHURI) YEAR 360

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TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at **Vidiśā**—

(For a translation of lines 1—13, see above, pp. 42 f.)

(Line 14) His son, the illustrious **Buddharāja**—who meditates on his feet, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who is the sole ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is the endowed with all the well-known excellences such as political wisdom, modesty, compassion, liberality, dexterity, courtesy, courage, bravery, firmness and others; who causes the destruction of the supreme arrogance, due to power, of mighty foes, who is a dam to safeguard all established customs, (and) a resting place of success, who, with his unimpeded army, allays the sufferings of the people even as Viṣṇu does with his irresistible discus,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *bhōgas*¹ and *viśhayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshtras* and villages, officials and others —

(L. 18) 'Be it known to you ! For the increase of religious merit of (Om) mother and father and Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water the village (called the hamlet) of **Kōṇiyas** adjacent to **Bhaṭṭaurikā** (situated) in the **Vatanagara bhōga**, together with *udranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (which is) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bōdhasvāmin of the Kāśyapa gōtra, who is a student of the Vājasanēya Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Vaṭanagara** for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and other (religious) rites

(For a translation of lines 23-27, see above, p. 44)

(L. 27) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—
(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by sixty on the thirteenth (lunar day) of the bright fortnight of **Bhādrapada**, this (order), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahā-balādhikṛita*, the illustrious **Prasahyaviṅraha**, has been written by **Ānāphita**, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of the queen **Anantamahāyī**, a devotee of Paśupati.

The year 300 (and) 60, (the month) **Bhādrapada**, the bright (fortnight), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 3.

NO 15, PLATE IX

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

THESE plates were found in the possession of Patel Karsan Dāji of Sarsavṇī (Sarasavanī), a village four and a half miles south of Padrā in the Padrā subdivision of the Baroda District in the Bombay State. They were edited, with photolithographs and a translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff. I edit them here from the same lithographs.

'These are two copper-plates, either of which measures 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " high and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ " and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. There is no seal and no indication of one having been attached to the plates. The writing is well-done and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of letters is about 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ "¹. The

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI, p. 294.

record consists of thirty-five lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first and eighteen on the second plate

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Ābhōṇa plates.¹ We may notice here the following peculiarities—Most of the letters have wedges at the top as in the Vadnēr plates,² the medial *ā* is indicated in many cases by a curve rising above the line and coming down lower than in the Vadnēr plates, see e.g. *pratāp-ātīśay-*, l 10 and *dayā-dāna-*, l 15, *th* appears in two forms, the ordinary one as in *yathāvad-*, l 5 and the cursive one as in *prathita-*, l 6, *sthitī-*, l 16 etc, *y* has a loop in its left member in *yūtha* l 6; *kh* shows two slightly different forms in *askhalita-*, l 6 and *lukhutam=*, l 34, the forms of the initial *ō* in *Kumārivadaō*, l 20 and of *ph* in *phala* ll. 13, 26 and 31 are also noteworthy. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs twice in l 4 and the *upadhmanīya* four times in ll 7, 24, 27 and 32. The **numerical symbols** for 300, 60, 10, 5 and 1 occur in line 35. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for five benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. As regards **orthography**, we may note that *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *prithivyām-*, l 9, the consonant following *r* is correctly reduplicated in such cases as *durllanghē*, l 2, *siddhir=yyēna*, l 6, etc, but incorrectly in *varshsha-*, l 28, similarly *dh* is doubled before *y*, see *ānuddhyāta* twice in l 14, the guttural nasal is wrongly used for *anusvāra* in *vanśa*, l 6, *vanśānām*, l 12, etc, and the dental one in *pradhvansa*, l 16. There are a few mistakes of *sandhi* and some wrong forms as pointed out in the notes to the text

The plates were issued by the king **Buddharāja** of the **Kalachchuri** (Early **Kalachuri**) dynasty, from the victorious camp at **Ānandapura**. He was the son of **Śaṅkaragaṇa** who was himself the son of **Kṛṣṇnarāja**. The description of these kings is given here exactly as in the Vadnēr plates. In fact, the text of the whole inscription, except for certain particulars such as the donee, the village granted, and the date, is exactly identical with that of the Vadnēr plates. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by **Buddharāja**, of the village **Kumārivadaō** situated near **Bṛhannārikā** in the **Gōrajjā bhōga** which was included in the **Bharukachchha vishaya**. The donee was the **Brāhmaṇa** **Bappasvāmin**, the son of **Bhattu**, who belonged to the **Pārāsara gōtra**. He was a student of the **Vājasaneyā Kanva śākhā** and a resident of **Dēbhaka**. The purpose of the grant was as usual to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as *balī*, *charu*, *ratīśvadēva* and *agnihōtra*. The grant was made at the request of **Gōkulasvāmin** who may have been the king's family-priest. The *dūtaka* was the *Mahābalādhikṛta* **Prasahya-vigraha** who is mentioned in the same capacity in the earlier Vadnēr plates.³ The royal order was written by **Śivarāja**, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.⁴

The inscription is **dated**, in words (l 33) and numerical symbols (l 35), on the **fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the year 361**. This date must, obviously, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C. which suits early verifiable dates of the era, the date of the present plates would fall in 609 A.C. if the year 361 was current, and in 610 A.C. if it was expired.⁵

¹ Above, No 12

² Above, No 14.

³ See line 33 of No 14, above

⁴ The office was held by a different person at the time of the Vadnēr plates which, as shown below, was made only about two and a half months before

⁵ Prof Kielhorn has stated (*Ep Ind*, Vol VI, p 295, n 6) that according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C. which suits later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pūrnimānta* Kārttika) would correspond to

The present date is one of the few early Kalachuri dates falling in a dark fortnight, but in the absence of the mention of a week-day or a *nakshatra*, it is not possible to say if the month Kārttika to which it belonged was *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. If considered in connection with the date of the Vadnēr plates, it affords some basis for conjecture. The Vadnēr plates were granted at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsā) on Bhādrapada śu di 13 towards the end¹ of the Kalachuri year 360, while the present grant was made at Ānandapura (which, as shown below, is either Ānand in the Kairā District or Vadnagar in the Mēhsānā District on Kārttika va di 15 in the beginning of the next Kalachuri year 361. Supposing that the years of the Vadnēr and Sarsavni plates were both current, or both expired, there would be an interval of about one month and sixteen days between the dates of the two grants, if the months were *pūrṇimānta*. The distance between Vidiśā and Ānanda is about 320 miles as the crow flies and that between the former place and Vadnagar is about 340 miles. This distance would be considerably increased, if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into account. Whichever identification of Ānandapura we accept, we shall have to suppose (if the dates are recorded in *pūrṇimānta* months) that Buddharāja had to reach Ānandapura from Vidiśā by forced marches.² There is, however, nothing in either of the grants to support such a view. On the other hand, if we take the dates of both the inscriptions as recorded in *amānta* months³ there would be the reasonable interval of about two months and sixteen days between the two campaigns.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Kielhorn identified Ānandapura with the modern Ānand, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Kaira District. Dr Altekar has, however, adduced very cogent reasons to prove that the ancient Ānandapura is identical with the modern Vadnagar in the Mēhsānā District.⁴ The former view is supported by the fact that the village granted by the present charter is situated much nearer to Ānand than to Vadnagar, but this cannot be regarded as a decisive argument. Dēbhaka is probably Dabkā, 8 miles west of Padrā, as suggested by Kielhorn. Gōrajjā is Gōraj, 11 miles south of Halol in the Panch Mahals, and Kumārivadaō (which is probably a Prakrit form of Kumārivātaka) Kavarwārā, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from Gōraj.⁵ I identify Brihannārikā (the larger Nārikā) with Nāriā, 7 miles south of Kavarwārā.

the 3rd October 609 A.C. In this he evidently took the year as expired. According to the epoch which suits early verifiable dates of the era, he found by calculation that (for the expired year 361) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October 610 A.C., as Kārttika was then intercalary.

¹ As I have shown in the Introduction, the Kalachuri year began on Kārttika śu di 1.

² Taking the distance to be approximately 400 miles on account of the windings of the road we find that the army of Buddharāja must have marched on an average 9 miles per day. According to Yuan Chwang a *yōjana* (which was 30 or 40 *li*, i.e., from 6 to 8 miles) was a day's journey for a royal army. (See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 141, and compare Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, second ed. by Shama Sastri, p. 365.) So it was not impossible for Buddharāja's army to cover the distance in one month and sixteen days, but this leaves no time for actual fighting if there was any.

³ For another early Kalachuri date in an *amānta* month, see No. 22, below.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, Suppl., pp. 14-15.

⁵ These identifications of Gōrajjā and Kumārivadaō were first suggested by Dr Fleet, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 297. He identified Brihannārikā with Banaiyā, 4½ miles south of Kavarwārā, but this does not seem to be correct. The place-name, which means 'the larger Nārikā', would assume the form Motā Nāriā, or simply Nāriā, in modern Gujarātī and is, therefore, probably identical with Nāriā as suggested above.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [॥*] विजयस्कन्धावारादानन्दपुरवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपुले
विविधपुरुषरत्नगुण—
2 किरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा³पाश्र्वदुर्लङ्घ्ये गाम्भीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव
कट[चु-]
3 रीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्रिकयेव कीर्त्या भुवनमवभासयन्ना जन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्र-
4 यपर^xकलङ्कदोषरहित^xकुलकुमुदवनलक्ष्मीविबोधनश्चन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्सश्रयविशे-
5 षलोभादिव सकलैराभिगामिकैरितरैश्च गुणैरुपेत सपन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्ति-
6 सिद्धिर्येन च रुचिरवङ्श⁴भिना नियतमस्खलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथ-
7 पेनेवाविशङ्क विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय विग्रह^xप[रा]-
8 भिमानभङ्गाय शिक्षित विनयाय विभवाज्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदान धर्माय धर्मेश्वरोवाप्तये [॥*] तस्य
पुत्र.
9 प्रथिव्या⁵मप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभाव स्वबाहुबलोपा-
10 त्तोर्ज्जितराजश्री प्रतापातिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्तमण्डल परस्परापीडितधर्मार्थकामनिषेवी
11 प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नतहृदय. सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणना-
12 वाप्तधर्मक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्नाना नृपतिवडशाना⁶ प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनान्ध-
कृपण[स]-
13 मभिलषितमनोरथाधिकर्निकामफलप्रद पूर्वपरिसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृपादा-
14 नुद्ध्यात परममा[हे]श्वर श्रीशङ्करगण [॥*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात. सकलमहीमण्डलैक-
तिलक
15 सातिशयप्रथितनयविनयदयादानदाक्ष्यदाक्षिण्यधैर्यशौर्यस्थैर्यद्विशेषगुणसमन्वित प्र[ब]-
16 लरिपुवलोद्धतदर्पविभवप्रध्वन्स⁷हेतु सेतु स्थितीनामायतन सिद्धेरप्रतिहृतचक्रश्चक्रध-
17 र इवात्तिप्रशमनकर. प्रजानाम् परममाहेश्वर श्रीबुद्धराज

Second Plate

- 18 सव्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादि⁸ समाज्ञा-
19 पयत्यस्तु⁹ वो विदितमस्माभि भरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतगोरज्जा¹⁰भोगे बृहन्नारिकाप्रत्यासन्न-
20 कुमारिवडओ।¹¹ एष ग्राम सोद्वङ्ग सोपरिकर सव्वदानसग्राह्य सव्वदित्यविष्टिप्राति[भे]दिका-
21 परिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन¹² अचाटभटप्रावेश्य आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौ-

¹ From the lithographs between pp 298 and 299 in *Ep Ind*, Vol VI

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read महासत्त्वा-

⁴ Read वश-

⁵ Read पृथिव्या-

⁶ Read वशाना

⁷ Read प्रध्वन्स-

⁸ Read कारिकादीन्

⁹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु वो विदितम्

¹⁰ The name may have been originally inscribed as गोरज्जा, but the sign for medial *ṃ* is now very indistinct

¹¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹² Read -न्यायेनाचाट-.

SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA (KALACHURI) YEAR 361

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16

[illegible]

- 22 त्रान्वयभोग्य¹ डेभकवास्तव्यपाराशरसमोत्रवाजसनेयकण्वसन्नहाचारिब्राह्मणभट्टपुत्र—
 23 बप्पस्वामिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादित्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये²
 24 उदकातिसर्गणातिसृष्टो³ यतोस्मद्वड्श्यै⁴रन्यैर्वर्गामिनृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितो—
 25 दधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चल जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणा—
 26 नाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदानफलेप्सुभिश्शशिकररुचिर चिराय यशश्चचीषुभिः⁵रयमस्मद्दायोनु—
 27 मन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्धादाच्छिद्यमान वानुमोदेत
 स पञ्चभि—
 28 र्महापातकैस्सयुक्त स्यादित्युक्तञ्च⁶ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्ष⁷सहस्राणि स्वर्गे
 मोदति भूमिद [1*]
 29 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीप्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन
 [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जाय—
 30 न्ते भूमिदाय हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 31 तदा फल(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] पूर्वदत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही⁹ महीम[ता]
 श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन(नम्) ॥ [४॥*] यानीह द—
 32 तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थ्यशस्कराणि [1*] निर्बुक्तमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि [को]
 नाम साधुपुनराददीति(त)¹⁰ ॥ [५॥*]
 33 सवत्सरशतत्रये¹¹ एकषष्ट्यधिके कार्तिकबहुलपञ्चदश्या गोकुलस्वामिविज्ञापनया महाबला—
 34 धिक्कृतश्रीप्रसह्यविग्रहदूतक लिखितमिद महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतशिवराजेनेति ॥
 35 स ३०० ६० १ कार्तिक ब १० ५ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the victorious camp pitched at Ānandapura—

(For a translation of lines 1—18, see above, pp 42-3 and 51)

(Line 19) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of religious merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water this village (*ग्राम*) Kumāri-vaḍaḍ (situated) near Brihnnārikā (the larger Nārikā) in the Gōrajā bhōga included in the Bharukachchha *visaya*—together with *udhanga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all receipts and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure—to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhattu of the Pārāsara *gōtra*, who

¹ Read भोग्यो

² Read वृद्धय

³ Read सृष्ट

⁴ Read -द्वश्यै—

⁵ Read यशश्चिचीषुभि—

⁶ Read सयुक्त स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च

⁷ Read वर्ष—

⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses *Anushtubh*.

⁹ Read मही

¹⁰ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹¹ Read शतत्रय

is a student of the Vājasanēya Kanva (*śākhā*) and a resident of **Ḍēbhaka**, for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vasīvadēva*, and other (*religious*) rites.

(For a translation of lines 24-28, see above, p. 44.)

(L. 28)—And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 33)—In the year three hundred increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth (*lunar day*) of the dark fortnight of **Kārttika**, this (*charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Mahābalādhikṛita* the illustrious **Prasahyavigraha**, has been written by **Śivarāja**, the Chief Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War, at the request of **Gökulasvāmin**. The year 300 (and) 60 (and) 1, (*the month*) **Kārttika**, the dark (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (and) 5.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GURJARAS

NO 16, PLATE X

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) · (KALACHURI) YEAR 380.

THIS set of two copper-plates was found about 1827 together with three others¹ in the town of Khēdā or Kairā, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Gujarat, Bombay State. "The river 'Watrūa' runs close to the walls of Khēdā on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth"² The plates were brought to notice ten years later by Dr A. Burn who sent transcripts and facsimiles of them to Mr James Prinsep, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As three of them contained dates both in words and in figures, Mr Prinsep first published facsimiles and explanations of date-portions of the grants, in *J. A S B*, Vol VII, p 348, and later on a mixed transcript of two of them, which were cognate grants of Dadda II, on pp 908 ff of the same volume. When Dr Burn returned home, he presented the Royal Asiatic Society with three of the sets, viz, two containing this and the following grant of Dadda-Praśāntarāga and the third a grant of Vijayarāja³ The grants were subsequently published together with facsimile plates and a translation, by Prof J Dowson in the *J. R. A S* (New Series) (1865), Vol I, pp 247 ff. The original plates of the two grants of Dadda II have since been lost. When Dr Fleet edited them finally in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII, pp 81 ff, he had to depend on the facsimiles accompanying Prof Dowson's article. I edit them here from the same facsimiles.

The facsimiles show two plates, each measuring about 11½" broad and 9⅓" high. It is not possible to say whether their edges were smooth or were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The lower proper left corner of the first plate is broken off, resulting in the loss of from one to six *akṣharas* in ll 21-29. Besides, a small portion of the upper proper right corner of the second plate is lost, causing a partial destruction of the first six *akṣharas* of l 31. The missing *akṣharas* can, however, be supplied from the corresponding portion of the following grant. The plates seem, otherwise, to be in a state of good preservation. Prof Dowson's facsimiles are fairly good, though it is not unlikely that some letters which were legible on the original plates, have not come out in them⁴. In making the subjoined transcript I have, however, taken Prof Dowson's lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates have each two roundish holes about 1½" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. The lithograph shows, however, only one ring with a round seal about 1½" in diameter. The surface of the seal is divided into two fairly equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains in relief 'some symbol of sun-worship', while the lower has the legend *Sāmanta-Dadda* in the same characters as those of the record on the plates.

The characters of the inscription, except the sign-manual, belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs on the tops of letters. The

¹ Two of these were another grant of Dadda II of the year 385 (No 17, below) and a grant of Vijayarāja of the Chālukya dynasty (No 34, below). No information about the third set is available.

² *J. A S B*, Vol VII, p 908.

³ No 34 below.

⁴ For instance, the superscript *ch* in *āchchhidyāmānakam*, l 46, which must have been incised on the original plate, does not appear in the lithograph.

forms of the initial *ī* in *Īsvara*, l 40 and *ē* in *ēsha*, l 33 are noteworthy, the medial *u* is formed by a loop in *rūp-ānu*, l 5, its long form in the case of *rū* is indicated by turning the curve of the letter to the right or by adding two curves to the vertical, see *rūpam* ll 6 and 24, *k* shows a loop on the left in *prakīrṇa*, l 5 and *kamala*-, l 27, *j* and *n* show a notch on the top, see *panka-janma-tayā*, l 11, the rare *jh* occurs in *nirjjhara*, l 9, *d* shows a loop in some places and a tail in others¹ see e g, *nibida*-, l 16, and *Kaundinya*, l 38, *n* appears throughout in its southern form, *b* is flat at the bottom, its upper part which consists of a curve generally showing a notch as in *prabala*-, l 20, but contrast *bōdhita*-, l 25, the subscript *th* in *sthata*-, l 5 has neither a notch, nor a ringlet, *v* is triangular in form. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, while punctuation is shown by a dot in some places and by vertical strokes in others. The sign-manual of the donor is in northern current hand characters. In it *y* has an archaic form, *n* in some cases appears without a loop, while the forms of *s* and *h* are in advance of these used in other contemporary records.

The language is Sanskrit and except for the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The eulogistic part of it is written in a style of high flourish which is well-known from the works of the contemporary Sanskrit author Bāṇa. Kielhorn has drawn attention to the close similarities in the wording of both the eulogistic and formal parts of the present plates and the earlier Sarsavṇī plates of the Katachchurī prince Buddharāja². From this he inferred that the family of the Gurjara princes rose to independence only after the time of the Katachchurī Buddharāja. The orthography calls for few remarks. Instead of the *anusvāra*, the guttural nasal is used before *ś* in *vanśa*, l 2 and *nistrinśa*, l 27, the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *sthairyya*-, l 2, *nirjjhara*, l 9, etc. and the vowel *ri* is used for *ri*, in *trivargga*, l 24, and *yam=aśritāh*, l 21.

The plates were issued from Nāndīpurī by the illustrious Dadda II of the Early Gurjara Dynasty who had won the *pañcamaḥśabda* and who calls himself Praśāntarāja in his sign-manual. On the seal he has the title *Sāmanta* (feudatory prince). The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Dadda II, of the village Śrīśhapadraka situated in the *viśaya* of Akrūrēśvara to forty Brāhmanas, of whom thirty-five belonging to the Rīgvēda, (White) Yajurvēda and Sāmavēda had emigrated from Jambūśaras and were then residing at Śrīśhapadraka itself, while the remaining five, all of whom belonged to the Atharvavēda, had emigrated from Bharukachchha and were then residing at Bhērajikā. The purpose of the grant was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of religious rites such as the five great sacrifices, *viç*, *bali*, *charu*, *vaśvadēva*, *agnihōtra*,

¹ In *saudāmanā*, l 21, the letter *d* also shows a tail like that of *d*, perhaps by mistake.

² Cf. 'In his opening sentence he (*i e*, the author of the present Kairā grant) compares the family of Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahōdadhi*) and in describing that ocean, he employs the words *vividha*, *vimala*, *gunaratna*, *udbhāsita*, *avilanghitāvadhi*, *gāmbhīrya* and the phrase *mahāsattvatay-ātīduravagāhē* which to the reader of the present (*i e*, Sarsavṇī) grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Krishnarāja is described as from his very birth (*ā janmana ēva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattita ēva*) worship the sun. He, moreover, just as in the case of the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yēna yāna cha yasya cha*, etc.) and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyanag-ōṣṭyakāh* in line 10 he imitates and labours to improve on the relative sentence beginning with *yēna cha* in line 6 and ending with *disō* in line 7 of the present grant.' Kielhorn then proceeds to point out the similarities in the wording of the formal parts of the grants. 'We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed, the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted, with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and with the omission of one verse the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order.' *Ep Ind*, Vol VI, pp 296-97.

etc. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Kārttika. The scribe was Rēva, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols in ll. 50-51, on the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika of the year 380. Though the era is not specified, the date, on the evidence of palæography, must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch 248-49, A C it would correspond, for the expired year¹ 380, to the 6th November 629 A C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription mentions two ancestors of Dadda II, viz., his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhata I who had the *biruda* Vitarāga. About the former we are told that he was a *Sāmanta* or a feudatory prince, though his suzerain is nowhere named, and that from his very birth he was a devotee of the sun. The epithet *ākerishṭa-satru-nāga-kuḷa-samtatī* (ll 3-4) applied to him was interpreted to mean that he exterminated his enemies of the Nāga race², but as Kielhorn has shown, the description contains no such historical allusion, the sense being simply that 'Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuda destroys the snakes'. The description in line 10, that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya mountain delighted him, seems to suggest that he extended his kingdom to or raided the country up to the Vindhya mountain.

About Jayabhata I the present inscription gives no information except that he obtained victories over the forces of his powerful foes, and that he had the *biruda* Vitarāga. The description of his son Dadda II, the donor of the present grant, is also conventional, the only historical information that we can glean from it being that he had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*, and had the *biruda* Praśāntarāga.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Nāndīpurī was identified by Dr Buhler³ with an old fort of that name just outside the Jhadēśvar gate to the east of Broach. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, however, suggested that Nāndīpurī was identical with Nāndōd in the Broach District⁴. The statement in the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III⁵ that Nāndīpurī *ushaya* included the village Tōranaka (modern Tōran 2 miles to the north of Nāndōd) proves the correctness of Pandit Bhagvanlal's suggestion. The absence of any word like *vāsakāt* after Nāndīpurī indicates that it was probably the capital of the Gurjaras. Akrūrēśvara is clearly identical with Anklēśvar, the chief town of a *tālukā* of the same name, in the Broach District. Śīrīshapadraka is Sīsōdra about 11 miles west by south of Anklēśvar. Jambūśaras still bears its ancient name and lies about 27 miles north of Broach. Bharukachchha is of course Broach, while Bhērajikā is probably Bōrjai in the Broach District, about 12 miles east of Anklēśvar.

TEXT⁶

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁷ स्वस्ति [१*] नान्दीपुरीतो(त) [१*] विविधविमलगुणरत्नसपा(प)दुद्भास(सि)-
[तसकलदिङ्मु]खे परित्राताश(शे)षसपक्ष[महा*]महीभूति

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 18th October 628 A C.

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 82

³ *Ibid*, Vol VII, p 62

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol XIII, p 73

⁵ Below, No. 22, lines, 17-18

⁶ From the facsimiles prefixed to Prof Dowson's article in *J R A S* (New Series), Vol I, pp 247 ff

⁷ Expressed by a symbol

- 2 सततमविलङ्घितावधौ स्थैर्यंगाभिर्य¹लावण्यवति महासत्त्वतया²[ति]दुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपतिवङ्श³—
मह(हो)दधा(धौ) श्रीसहजन्मा कृ—
- 3 षण्णहृदयाहितास्पद कौस्तुभमणिरिव विमलयशोदीधितितनिकरविनिहतकलितिमिरनिचय सत्पक्षो
वैनतेय इवाकृष्टशत्रु—
- 4 नागकुलसततिरुत्पत्तित एव दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनीताशेषदुरितनिवह सामन्तदद [1*]
प्रतिदिनमपेतशङ्क येन
- 5 स्थितमचलगुणनिकरकेसरि(र)विरा[जि]तवपुषा विनिहृतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलो(ल)—
च्छलप्र[की]र्णविमलयशोवितानेन रूपा[नु]—
- 6 रूप सत्त्व⁴मुद्रहृता केसरिकिशोरकेणोपरि क्षितिभृता[ताम्] [1*] य चातिमलिनकलियुगतिमिर—
चन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्यन्यस्पद्द्वयवा⁵—
- 7 ययु कलासमूहादयो गुणा विक्रमानीतमदविलासालसगतयोरातिगजघटा प्रमदाश्च [1*] यस्य
चाविरतदान—
- 8 प्रवाहप्रीणितार्थिमधुकरकुलस्य रुचिरकीर्त्तिवशासहायस्य सतत⁶मस्खलितपद प्रसरत सद्दृशा⁷—
हितशोभागौरवस्य
- 9 भद्रमतगजस्येव करघातविनिहतक्षितिभृदुन्नततनूरुहस्य रेवानिर्ज्वरसलिलप्रपातमधुरनिनदस्य भगो—
[द्भ—]
- 10 वा समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यका⁸ यश्चोपमीयते शशिनि सौम्यत्व—
वैमल्यशोभाकला—
- 11 भिन्न कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदायाध कृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया सत्त्वो⁹—
त्साह्विक्रमैर्भृगाधिरा—
- 12 जे न कृ(कू)राशयतया लावण्यस्थैर्यगभीर्य¹⁰स्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधो(धौ) न व्यालाश्रयतया
सत्कटकसमुन्नतविद्याधरावा—
- 13 सतया हिम(मा)चले न खष(श)परिवारतया [1*] यस्य च स[द्भो]ग शेषोरगस्येव विमल—
किरणमणिशतावि[ष्कृ]तगौरव सकलजगत्साधार—
- 14 णो¹¹ यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुल गीलेन प्रभुत्वमाज्ञया शस्त्रमरातिप्रणिपातेन कोपो निग्रहेण पसाद
प्रदानैर्धम्मो देवद्विजातिगु—
- 15 रुजनसपर्ययेति [11*] तस्य सूणु (नु) प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदात कत्पतरुरिव(वा)विरतमभि—
क(रु)चितफलप्रद सततमृतगुणस्येव
- 16 वसन्तसमयो वसन्तसमयस्य(स्ये)व प्रविकसितनिविडचूततरुवनाभोग सरम इव कमलनिवह
कमलनिवहस्येव
- 17 प्रत्रोधो महाविषधरस्येव मणिर्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधेरिवामृतकलशोमृतकलशस्येवा—
मरणदायित्व—

¹ Read गाम्भीर्य—

² Read महासत्त्वतया

³ Read वश—

⁴ Read सत्त्व—

⁵ Read -मन्योन्यस्पद्द्वयेवा—

⁶ The *anusvāra* is misplaced here Read सतत—

⁷ Read सद्दृशा—

⁸ Read नगोपत्यका ।

⁹ Read सत्त्वो—

¹⁰ Read स्थैर्यंगाभिर्य—

¹¹ Read साधारण ।

First Plate
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- 18 प्रभाव करिण इव मद प्रमदाजनस्येव विलासो विभवस्येव सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्मस्येव क[तु]
क[तो]रिव स्वद—
- 19 क्षिणाकाल प्रेम्ण इव सद्भाव शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियतमलकारभूत सकलनिशाकरचि—
रुप¹—
- 20 वदन शकलो वदान्य प्रबलरिपुबलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्री श्रीवीतरागापरनामा श्रीजय—
भट [1²] कलि—
- 21 प्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणार्थिन² इव यमश्रुता³ सविनया गुणा [1⁴] स्फुरितविमलकीर्तिसौ[दा]—
मणिना येन सकलजीवलो[का-⁴]
- 22 नन्दकारिणा कालबलाहकेनेवावन्ध्येफल⁵ गज्जता प्रणयिनामपनीतास्तृष्णासतापदोषा [1⁶] यश्च
शूरो[पि] [सतत*]—
- 23 मयशोभिरुपगततृष्णोपि⁶ गुणार्ज्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्ष सर्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपर(रा)—
ङ्मुख [पटुरपि पर⁷—]
- 24 परिवादाभिधानजडधी [1⁸] यस्य च न विरोधि रूप शीलस्य यौवन सद्गुणस्य विभव प्रदानस्य
तृ(त्रि)वर्गसेवा प[रस्परापीडन*—]
- 25 स्य प्रभुत्व क्ष(क्षा)न्ते कलिकालो गुणानामिति [11⁹] तस्य सूनु सजलघनपटलनिर्गतरजनिकर—
करावबोधितक(कु)[मुदधवल-⁹]
- 26 यश प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलव[धूप्र][भातसम*—]
- 27 यरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश⁷प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामो[दृष्टवज्र*—]
- 28 मणिकोटिरुचिरदीधिति विराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतात्थिजना [विल]⁸—
(ष्ट) [परिपूरि*—]
- 29 तविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मस(स)चय प्रणयपरिर(कु)[पित*—]
- 30 मानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशीकृतविदग्धनागरक—

Second Plate

- 31 [स्वभावो विमल⁹]गुणकिरणपञ्जराक्षितवहलकलितिमिरनिचय समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द
[श्री] दद्
- 32 कुशली सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुबोध—
- 33 यत्य¹⁰स्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक्कु(क्कू)रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गतशिरीषपत्रक एष ग्राम सोद्रङ्ग
सोपरिकर
- 34 सर्वप्रदानसग्राह्य सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्य आच—
न्द्राकर्णिव—

¹ Read निशाकराभिरुप—

² Read प्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणा—

³ Read यमाश्रिता

⁴ The *aksharas* in rectangular brackets at the end of ll 21-29 have been lost owing to the breaking off of the lower proper left corner of the plate. They are supplied from the following record (No 17) of the same king

⁵ Read कालबलाहकेनेवावन्ध्येफल

⁶ Read —मयशोभीरुपगततृष्णोपि.

⁷ Read निस्त्रिंश—

⁸ The horizontal bar of & does not appear here

⁹ The corner of the plate being broken off here, only the lower portions of the first six *aksharas* appear in the lithograph

¹⁰ Read समनुबोधयति । अस्तु वो

- 35 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जबूसरोविनिर्गताक्कु (क्कू) रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गत-
[शि]रीषपद्रकवासिबह्वचव-
- 36 त्ससगोत्राश्वलायनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभट्टाध्यापक¹ । तथा गोपादित्य । तथा भट्टिगण । विशाख ।
अग्निशर्म । द्रोण । काश्यपस-
- 37 गोत्रभट्टिदाम । तथा वत्र । अध्वर्यु²वाजसनेयडौण्डकीयसगोत्र ।³ कण्वसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणता-
पिशम्म (र्म) । द्वितापिशम्म ।
- 38 दत्तस्वामि । भागिस्वामि । पितृशर्म । भट्टि । द्रोण । धूम्रायणसगोत्रकक्काध्यापक । आबुक ।
कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रवाटशर्म । शैल ।
- 39 घोष । महादेव । बाव । माठरसगोत्रधर । विशाख । नन्दि । रामिल । हारितसगोत्रधर्मधर ।
छान्दोग्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रकौथुम-
- 40 सब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणइन्द्रशर्म । आदित्यरवि । तापिशूर । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । धर । दामधर ।
द्वि ईश्वर । भरुकच्छविनिर्गताभेरज्जिका-
- 41 निवासि अ (आ)थर्वण⁴चौलिसगोत्रपिप्पलादसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणभद्र । वायुशर्म । द्रोणस्वामि ।
रुद्रादित्य । पूर्णस्वामि । एभ्यश्चतु-
- 42 श्चरणब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चातुर्विद्यपरिकल्पनापूर्व बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपचमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्प-
णार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु-
- 43 ण्ययशोभिवृद्धये कार्तिक्य (क्या) मुदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो⁵ यतोस्मद्वृश्यै⁶रन्यैर्वागामिभोगपतिभि
प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतर-
- 44 गचचल जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्वभवान्दीर्घकालस्येयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोग-
भूप्रदानफलेप्सु-
- 45 भि. शशिकररुचिर यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो
वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-
- 46 राच्छिन्धाद (दा) [च्छि]द्या (द्य) मानक वानुमोदेत स पचभिर्महापातकै सोपपातकै सयुक्त
स्यदुक्त च⁷ भगवता वेदव्यासेन
- 47 व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक
वसेत्⁸ ॥ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवोष्वतोयासु-
- 48 शुष्ककोटरवासिन [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदाय हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा
भुक्ता राज्ञभि सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य य-
- 49 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमा-
- 50 नि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददीतेति⁹ । सवत्सरशतत्रयेशीत्यधिके कार्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्या
लिखित सन्धिविग्रहा¹⁰धिक-

¹ Read भट्टाध्यापक-

² Read अध्वर्यु-.

³ This mark of punctuation is a mistake

⁴ Read निवास्याथर्वण-.

⁵ Read -तिसृष्ट ।

⁶ Read -स्मद्वृश्यै-

⁷ Read स्यात् । उक्तञ्च.

⁸ Metre of this and the following two verses *Anushtubh*

⁹ Read -ददीत । [१४॥*] इति

¹⁰ The *aksharas* अ and हा are engraved over others which were beaten in, but traces of which can still be seen in the lithograph

११ रणाधिकृतरेवेण स्वमुखाज्ञयेति ॥ स ३०० ८० कार्तिक शु १० ५ [१*]

१२ दिनकरचरणार्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनो स्वहस्तोय प्रशान्तरागस्य ॥

Seal

सामन्तदह[१*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From Nāndīpurī—

In the family of the **Gurjara kings** which resembles the ocean, which has brightened the faces of all regions with the abundance of its manifold and spotless excellences as the ocean does with its varied and stainless jewels, which has protected all great kings who are its allies, as the ocean has saved all the great mountains possessed of wings (*that sought refuge in it*), which always refrains from transgressing the limits (*of proper conduct*), as the ocean abstains from overflowing its shores, which is possessed of firmness, serenity and beauty, as the ocean has stability, depth and saltness, which, on account of its great courage, is difficult to be attacked, as the ocean, on account of its having large animals, is difficult to be plunged into,—there (*was*) the **Sāmanta Dadda [I]**, who, possessing the goddess of (*royal*) fortune since his birth and occupying a (*royal*) position hostile to the evil-minded (*krishna-hṛdaya*¹), destroyed (*the influence of*) the Kālī age by the mass of his spotless fame, as the Kaustubha jewel which was produced together with Lakshmi,² and has found a resting place on Krishna's breast, dispels a mass of darkness with the multitude of its rays, who, having good allies, has uprooted the descendants of the families of his adversaries even as Vainatēya (*Garuda*), possessing excellent wings, destroyed the progeny of the hostile families of serpents, who, even from his birth, had all his calamities³ removed by bowing to the lotus-like feet of the sun He,⁴ who had a body adorned with a multitude of steady excellences and a canopy of white and spotless fame in the guise of pearls falling from the frontal globes of the elephants of (*his*) enemies that were slain (*in battles*), and who was possessed of courage suitable to his (*majestic*) form, stood always fearlessly at the head of kings, even as a young lion, with his body adorned with a mane, and a canopy of his bright and spotless fame spread over him in the guise of pearls from the frontal globes of hostile elephants slain by him, stands fearlessly on the top of mountains Accomplishments such as (*proficiency in*) a number of fine arts, (*and*) troops of the elephants of his enemies, walking slowly on account of rut, that were captured by his valour, and young and beautiful women walking languidly owing to the gracefulness (*of their gait*) caused by intoxication, who were attracted by his prowess, day after day, as if in mutual rivalry, resorted to him who was the moon (*dispelling*) the darkness of the extremely sinful Kālī age Like young women obtained by good fortune⁵ and rendered beautiful by their plump breasts, the regions at the feet of the Vindhya mountain created by Bhaga⁶ and adorned by high clouds, delighted him, who pleased

¹ According to Prof Kielhorn this word *krishna* in addition to denoting the god Kṛṣṇa, may perhaps denote the Kātachchurī Kṛṣṇnarāja The expression may, therefore, signify that Dadda I was a favourite (or, feudatory) of Kṛṣṇnarāja He concedes, however, that it may also be taken to mean he whose actions (*āspada, kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil-minded

² I e, churned out of the milk-ocean along with Lakshmi

³ For the use of *durita* in the sense of calamity, misfortune, cf *Apatyē yat-tādrig-duritam-abhavat*, etc *Uttararāmacharita*, Act IV, v 3

⁴ This and the following sentences descriptive of Dadda I figure as relative clauses in the original The construction has been changed for the sake of convenience in translating

⁵ Dr Fleet translates 'as if they were wives productive of married happiness' The original does not, however, contain any such *utprākṣhā*

⁶ *Bhaga* is a name of Rudra

a multitude of supplicants by the incessant flow of his charity, as an excellent elephant pleases swarms of bees by the unceasing flow of his rut, who was attended by splendid glory as the elephant is attended by his charming mate,¹ who always walked with an unfaltering step and whose great excellence was due to his noble descent, as the elephant's splendid form is due to his excellent back-bone, who had his body horripilated when he struck down (*hostile*) kings by the blow of his arm (*and*) whose voice was sweet like (*the sound of*) the falling of the water of the stream of the Rēvā (Narmadā) He was compared with the moon in respect of gentleness, purity, beauty and (*proficiency in*) arts,² but not in that of any stain,—with an assemblage of lotuses in respect of having overcome the troublesome members of (*his*) family (*as lotuses get over thorns*) by the mass of (*his*) splendour on account of his being the abode of royal fortune (*Śrī*) (*as the lotuses are the abode of Lakshmi*), but not in respect of being produced from sin,³—with the lord of beasts (*i.e.*, the lion) in point of courage, energy and valour, but not in that of having a cruel heart—with the great ocean in respect of beauty, stability, serenity and maintenance of the bounds of morality,⁴ but not in that of giving shelter to wicked persons,⁵—with the mountain Himālaya, in respect of being the resort of noble men of learning in his excellent capital⁶, but not in that of being surrounded by degraded warriors⁷ His excellent wealth, which, like the excellent hood of the serpent Śēsha, had its magnificence manifested by hundreds of jewels of spotless rays, was shared by the whole world⁸ His noble birth was revealed by (*his*) character,—his power, by (*the implicit obedience of his*) commands,—his (*skill in the use of*) weapons, by the submission of (*his*) foes,—his wrath, by the punishment (*inflicted on his enemies*),—his favour, by (*his*) gifts,—(*and*) his piety, by the worship of gods, Brāhmanas and elderly persons

(Line 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhāṭa [II], who had the other name of the illustrious Vitarāga, who was resplendent like heated glittering gold, who, like the wish-fulfilling tree, incessantly granted the desired objects (*of supplicants*), who was always and invariably an ornament (*to his family*) as the vernal season is to the cycle of seasons, as a grove of blossoming and densely growing mango trees is to the vernal season, as an assemblage of lotuses is to a lake, as blooming is to an assemblage of lotuses, as a jewel is to a great serpent, as spotless radiance is to a jewel, as the pot of nectar was to the ocean, as the power of conferring immortality is to the pot of nectar, as rutting is to an elephant, as dalliance is to a young lovely woman, as conferment on a worthy person is to wealth, as a sacrifice is to religion, as the time of distributing the sacrificial fee is to a sacrifice, as good nature is to love, (*and*) as a collection of spotless digits is to the moon, whose face was lovely like the full moon, who was affable (*and*) liberal and who had won the goddess of victory in fighting with the armies of his powerful foes. To him all virtues together with humility resorted as if seeking his protection from fear of their foe, the Kālī (*age*) He, who had shining and spotless fame as a dark cloud has a bright flash of lightning, and who delighted the whole living world, removed the evils of avarice and worry of supplicants as a dark cloud roaring, not in vain, removes the thirst and heat

¹ Dr Fleet's translation 'who reduced (*even*) those who were not (*his*) adherents to submission by (*his*) brilliant fame' has little connection with the original

² In the case of the moon, (*kalā*) means 'a digit'

³ The lotuses, however, are produced from *panka* (mud)

⁴ The ocean also keeps within bounds

⁵ The ocean, however, gives shelter to serpents in its water

⁶ The Himālaya has the prosperous *Vidyādhara*s (demi-gods) residing on its excellent slopes (*katāka*).

⁷ See *Manusmṛiti*, ch X, v 22 The Himālaya, however, is girt by the Khasa tribe

⁸ The serpent Śēsha's hood supports the whole world.

of those who long (*for rain*) Though brave, he was always apprehensive of (*incurring*) infamy, though free from avarice, he had an unceasing thirst for the acquisition of virtues, though he was in the habit of giving everything, he was averse to giving his heart to others' wives¹, though eloquent, he was dull-witted in abusing others, His handsome form was not opposed to good character, (*nor*) his youth, to good conduct, (*nor*) his wealth, to charity, (*nor*) his pursuit of the three (*aims of life*), to the absence of mutual conflict (*among them*)², (*nor*) his power to forgiveness, (*nor his living in*) the Kali age, to (*his possession of*) virtues

(L. 25) His son, the illustrious Dadda [II] who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,³—who has covered the expanse of the sky all round with the shoots of his fame as white as the night-lotuses which are made to bloom by the rays of the moon as she emerges from a mass of water-laden clouds, the prowess of whose spotless sword is (*always*) being loudly celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring princes, who were slain (*by him*) when they opposed him in many dangerous battles, whose head is radiant with a crown shining with the bright rays of the tips⁴ of diamonds (*set in it*) which are scratched in making obeisance to the lotus-like feet of gods, Brāhmanas and elderly persons, the store of whose religious merit—the sole companion in heaven—is being increased by the unwearied⁵ fulfilment of the desire for wealth of the poor, the helpless and the sick, guests and supplicants, who shows himself as a cultured man of the town by winning (*again*) by means of sweet words preceded by obeisance, the favour of proud ladies who are made angry by (*their*) love (*for him*), who has cast the mass of the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of the rays of his spotless virtues—(*he*), being in good health, thus informs all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgyas* and heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshtras* (provinces) and villages, officials and others—

(L. 33) 'Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water, fixing first (*the immunities*) in the case of the community of the Chāturvēdins,⁶ on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village (*viz.*) Śīrīshapadraka situated in the *vishaya* of Akūrēśvara—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will en-

¹ Dr Fleet translates 'He was averse to destroying the hearts of the wives of other men' and remarks 'The play is on the two meanings of *dāna* 'giving' and 'cutting or destroying' The idea of cutting the hearts of others' wives is not met with elsewhere in Sanskrit literature The contrast intended here is between his readiness to give everything to supplicants and his aversion to give his love to others' wives

² As Dr Fleet has pointed out, the words joined here are *paraspara* and *apīdana* The sense intended to be conveyed is that the king practised *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, avoiding all conflict among them

³ I.e., the right to use five musical instruments J B B R A S, N S, Vol I, pp 23 f

⁴ Fleet translates *vajra-mam-kōṭi* by 'a crore of diamonds' But the idea that tips of diamonds are brightened by rubbing in the act of salutation is common in Sanskrit literature

⁵ Fleet translates *kṣhīṣṭa* by 'people in distress', but the word is *akṣhīṣṭa* and its position after *jana* shows that it is used here as an adverb modifying *paripūrīta*

⁶ *Parikalpanā* is derived from *pari-klp*, to fix or to settle *Chāturvidyā-parikalpanā-purvam* corresponds to *Chāturvidyā-āgrahāra-maryādā* which generally occurs in Vākātaka records and probably refers to the fixing of immunities in the case of *āgrahāra* villages granted to Chāturvēdins Fleet, however, translates it as 'preceded (as a primary object) by providing for the community of Chāturvēdins'

dure,—to the Brāhmaṇas of the four *charanas*¹, *vṛx.*, the Brāhmaṇa Bhatti, the teacher (*adhyāpaka*) who has emigrated from Jambūśaras, and is (now) a resident of Śīrīshapadraka situated in the district of Akrūrēśvara, who is of the Vatsa *gōtra* and a student of the Āśvalāyana (*charana*) of the Rīgvēda, and also Gōpāditya, and also Bhattigana, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Agniśarman, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Bhattidāman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, and also Vatra,—the Brāhmaṇa Tāpīsarman of the Daundakīya *gōtra*, a student of the Kanva (*charana*) of the Vājasanēya (*vēda*) of the Adhvaryus, (*and*) the second Tāpīsarman, (*and*) Dattasvāmin, (*and*) Bhāgīvsāmin, (*and*) Pitriśarman, (*and*) Bhatti, (*and*) Drōṇa,—Karka, the *adhyāpaka*, of the Dhūmrāyaṇa *gōtra*, (*and*) Ābuka,—Vātaśarman of the Kaundīnya *gōtra*, (*and*) Saīla, (*and*) Ghōsha, (*and*) Mahādēva, (*and*) Bāva,—Dhara of the Māthara *gōtra*, (*and*) Viśākha, (*and*) Nandi, (*and*) Rāmīla,—Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*,—the Brāhmaṇa Indraśarman of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, a student of the Kauthuma (*charana*) of the Chhāndōgya (*ī e*, Sāmavēda) (*and*) Ādityaravi, (*and*) Tāpīsūra, (*and*) Indraśūra, (*and*) Īśvara, (*and*) Dhara, (*and*) Dāmadhara, (*and*) the second Īśvara,²—the Brāhmaṇa Bhadra of the Chauḷi *gōtra*, a student of the Pīpalāda (*charana*) of the Atharvavēda, who emigrated from Bharukachchha and is now a resident of Bhērajjikā, (*and*) Vāyuśarman, (*and*) Drōṇasvāmin, (*and*) Rudrāditya, (*and*) Pūrnasvāmin,—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites

(L. 43) Wherefore, future rulers whether of Our family or others, considering that (*this*) world of living beings is unsteady like the waves of the water of the ocean tossed by a strong wind, that wealth is liable to be lost and worthless, and that virtues (*alone*) endure for a long time and desiring to share in the reward of (*this*) donation of land, which can be equally enjoyed (*by them*) and to accumulate for a long time fame as lovely as moon-beams, should consent to this Our gift and preserve it! Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(L. 46) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L. 50) In the year three hundred increased by eighty, on the fifteenth (*lunar day*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Kārttika, (*this charter*) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth, by Rēva, (*the officer*) in charge of the Department of Peace and War

The year 300 (*and*) 80, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Praśāntarāga, the son of Vitarāga, who is devoted to the worship of the feet of the sun

Seal

The Sāmanta Dadda.

¹ The names of the Brāhmaṇa donees are arranged according to the *charanas* and according to *gōtras* under the same *charana*. Where no *gorra* is mentioned, the one mentioned last preceding is to be understood. The four *charanas* mentioned here are those of Āśvalāyana (l 36), Kanva (l 37), Kauthuma (l 39) and Pīpalāda (l 41).

² Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara appear to be mentioned here as of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*. In the next inscription their *gōtra* is mentioned as Lākshmanya.

No 17, PLATE XI

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) : (KALACHURI) YEAR 385.

THIS set of two copper-plates was discovered together with the preceding one in the town of Kairā, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Gujarat, Bombay State, under circumstances already described.¹ A mixed transcript of the two records was first published by Mr J. Prinsep in the *J A S B*, Vol VII, pp 908 ff. The plates were subsequently edited with facsimiles by Prof Dowson in the *J R A S*, Vol I (New Series), pp 247 ff, and finally by Dr Fleet in the *Ind Ant.*, Vol XIII, pp 88 ff. As the original plates had been lost, Dr Fleet's transcript was made from the facsimiles accompanying Prof Dowson's article. I edit the inscription here from the same facsimiles.

From the facsimiles they appear to be two plates each being inscribed on one side and measuring 10½" by 7½". It is not possible to say if their ends were raised into rims for the protection of the writing. They appear to be in a state of good preservation. Prof Dowson's lithographs are fairly good, though it is likely that some letters, which appear in them to be imperfectly formed, may not have been so on the original plates. In making the subjoined transcript I have taken the lithographs to be accurate copies of the original plates.

The plates seem to have each two roundish holes .4" in diameter for the rings which held them together. One of the rings has a circular seal, about 1⅞" in diameter, closely resembling that of the preceding grant. It has in relief, on a countersunk surface, the same symbol of solar worship and the same legend, *Sāmanta-Dadda*. Again this inscription was, like the preceding, written by *Rēva*, the head of the Department for Peace and War. The characters, therefore, closely resemble those of the preceding grant. It will suffice to call attention to the different forms of medial *ū* seen in *rūp-ānurūpam*, ll 5-6, *-abhurūpa-*, l 20, and *krūr-āśayatayā-*, l 12, the *prishtha-mātrā* denoting medial *ē* in *mrig-ā-dhūrājē*, ll 11-12, the curled curve of *t* in *Jayabhatah*, ll 20-21, the cursive *s* in *satata*, l 16 and the tailed *h* in *-āhita*, l 10 and *sangrāhya*, l 34. The language is Sanskrit. Except for some changes in the names of donees and the date, and the omission of the expressions *chatus-charana-* and *chaturvidya-parikalpanā-pūrvam*, the present grant is an exact copy of the preceding. As regards orthography, we may state, in addition to what has been noticed above, that the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll 11 and 32, *y* is doubled after an *anusvāra* in *samyukta*, l 45 and *k* before *r* in *yajñādī-keriyā-*, l. 41.

The plates were issued from *Nāndipurī* by the illustrious *Dadda II* of the *Early Gurjara Dynasty*. He and his ancestors are described here exactly as in the preceding grant. The inscription is dated, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the **fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 385**. The date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A C, it would correspond, for the expired year 385, to the 12th October 634 A C.² It does not admit of verification. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by *Dadda II*, of the same village *Śirīshapadraka* situated in the *Akrūrēśvara vishaya*, which he had donated only five years before by the preceding charter. Most of the Brāhmana donees were also the same, for out of the forty Brāhmanas who received the former grant, as many as thirty-two³

¹ See above, p 57

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 22nd October 633 A C

³ Cf "The first grant was made to forty Brāhmanas, the names of thirty-two of them are repeated in the present grant, the persons omitted being *Vātaśarmā* and *Mahādēva* of the *Kaundinya gōtra* (No.

figure in the present charter. The reason for making this new grant—which in effect cancelled the previous one, though it is not said so explicitly—is not known, but it may be noted that of the forty Brāhmanas to whom the first grant was made, thirty-five were residents of the donated village Śīrīshapadraka, while the remaining five were dwelling at Bhērajikā. In the present grant all the five names of the Brāhmanas of Bhērajikā have been omitted. It may, therefore, be conjectured that there was some dispute between the Brāhmana donees of the two villages Śīrīshapadraka and Bhērajikā, which eventually led to the cancellation of the first grant¹. It may again be noted that all the five Brāhmanas, whose names are omitted here, were students of the Atharvaveda which, as is well known, was looked with disfavour in ancient times. The reason for omitting three out of the other thirty-five names may be the death of the donees, without leaving any issue.

The geographical names occurring in the present grant have already been identified.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ स्वस्ति [१*]नान्दीपुरि(री)तो(त) ॥ व(वि)विधविमलगुण[र]त्न[स]म्पदुद्धा-
सितसकलदिङ्मुखे परि[त्राताशेष]स[पक्ष]महामहि(ही)भृति [स]ततमव(वि)लङ्घि-
- 2 [तावधौ स्थैर्य्य]गाम्भि(म्भी)य्य(य्य)लावण्यवति महासत्व(त्त्व)तयातिदुरवगाहे गुर्जरनृपति-
वङ्श⁴महोदधौ श्रीसहजन्मा कृष्णहृदयाहिता-
- 3 [स्प]द [कौस्तु]भमणिरिव विमलयशोदीधितिनिकरदि(वि)निहतकलितिमिरनिचय सत्पक्षो
वै[न]तेय इ[वा]कृष्टशत्र(त्रु)ना[ग]कुलसन्तत(ति)-
- 4 [रु]त्पत्तित ए[व] दिनकरचरणकमलप्रणामापनि(नी)ताशेषदुरितनिवहस्सामन्तदद् [१*] प्रति-
दिनमप(पे)तशङ्क येन⁵ स्थितमचल-
- 5 गुणनिकरकेस[रि(र)विरा]जितवपुषा विनिहतारिगजकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफल[च्छ]लप्रकीर्ण-
विमलयशोवितावे(ने)न रूपानुरू-
- 6 [प] सत्व(त्त्व)मुद्रहत(ता) केसरिकिशोरकेणोपरि क्षितिभृता(ताम्) [१*] यञ्चातिमलिन-
कलियुगतिमिरचन्द्रमसमनुदिवसमन्या(न्यो)न्य[स्प]र्द्धये-
- 7 [वा]ययु कलासमूहादयो गुणा विक्त्रमानीतमदति(वि)लासालसगतयोरातिगजघटा प्रमदाश्च
[१*] यस्य चाविरत-

CXXXIX l 38-9), Indrasarmā of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* (id l 40) and Bhadra, Vāyusarmā, Drōnasvāmī, Rudrāditya and Pūrnasvāmī of the Chauli *gōtra* (id l 41), and two new names are introduced, viz, (l 37) Vāda of the Vatsa *gōtra*, and (l 40) Indrasūra of the Dhūmrāyana or Dhaumrāyana *gōtra*—thus making up the number of thirty-four grantees, as stated in l 40. The names are arranged,—not according to *charanas*, as in No CXXXIX—but according to *gōtras*, and three persons—Dhara, Dāmadhara and the second Īśvara—who, according to No CXXXIX l 40, seemed to belong to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, are here said (l 38-9) to belong to the Lākshmana *gōtra* (Ind Ant, Vol XIII, p 88) No CXXXIX referred to in this passage is the Kairā inscription of Dadda II, dated K 380 (No 16, above).

¹ The thirty-two Brahmanas of Śīrīshapadraka, whose names are repeated in the present grant, were no longer living at Śīrīshapadraka. They had removed to Jambūsaras their original home.

² From the facsimiles accompanying Prof Dowson's article.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read वश-.

⁵ Between ये and न, a letter like य was incised by mistake and then cancelled.

KAIRA PLATES OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) (KALACHURI) YEAR 385

First Plate

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- 8 दाना[दि?] ¹प्रवाहप्रीणितार्थिमधुकु(र)कुलस्य रुचिरकीर्तिवशासहायस्य स[त]तमस्खलितपद प्रसरतः सद्वशाहित²शोभा—
- 9 गा(गौ)रवस्य भद्रमतङ्गजस्येव करघातविनिहन्क्षितिभृदुन्नततनूरु[हस्य] रे[वा]निर्ज्वरसलिल—
प्रपातमधुरनिनाद[स्य]³
- 10 भगाद्भवा⁴स्समुन्नतपयोधराहितश्रियो दयिता इव मुदे विन्ध्यनगोपत्यरा(का) [1*]य[श्चो]प—
मीयते शशिनि सौम्य[त्व*]वैमल्यशोभाक—
- 11 लाभिर्भ्रं कलङ्केन श्रीनिकेतशोभासमुदयाधःकृतकुलकण्टकतया कमलाकरे न पङ्कजन्मतया ।
सत्त्वो(त्त्वो)त्साहविक्रमे(मै)र्मुं —
- 12 गाधिराजे न क्रूराशयतया । लावण्यस्थैर्यगाम्भीर्यस्थित्यनुपालनतया महोदधौ न व्यालाश्रयतया ।
सत्कटकप(स)—
- 13 मुन्नतविद्याधरावासतया हिमाद(च)ले न खप(श)य(प)रिवारतया । यस्य च सद्भोग शेषोर—
गस्येव विमलकिरणमणिशताविष्कृत—
- 14 गौरवस्सकलजगत्सारारणो⁵ । यस्य प्रकाश्यते सत्कुल शि(शी)लेन । प्रभुत्वमाजया । शस्त्र—
मरातिप्रणिपातेन । कोपा(पो) निग्रहेण ।
- 15 प्रसाद प्रदानैर्द्धर्मो देवद्विजातिगुगु(रु)जनसपर्य्ययेति । तस्य सूनु प्रतप्तरुचिरकनकावदात
कल्पतरुरिवाविरतम—
- 16 भिरुचितफलप्रद सततमृतगुणस्येव वस[न्त]समयो वसन्तसमयस्येव प्रविकसित⁶निबिडचूततरु—
वनाभोग सरस इव
- 17 कमलनिवह. कमलनिवहस्येव प्रबोधो महाविषधरस्येव मणिर्मणेरिव स्वच्छतारभावो महोदधे—
रिवामृतकलशोमृतक—
- 18 लशस्येवामरणदायित्वप्रशा(भा)व. करिण इव मद प्रमचा(दा)जनस्येव विलासो विभ[व]स्येव
सत्पात्रविनियोगो धर्म—
- 19 स्येव क्रतु क्रतोरिव स्वदक्षिणाकाल प्रेम्ण इव सद्भावा शशिन इवामलकलासमूहो नियत—
मलङ्कारभूत सकल—
- 20 निशाकराभिरूपवदन शक्लो वदान्य प्रबलरिपुवलानीकसमरसमवाप्तविजयश्री श्रीवीतरागापर—
नामा श्रीजर(य)भ—
- 21 [ट] कलिप्रतिपक्षभयाच्छरणार्थिन इव यमाश्रिता सविनया गुणा स्फुरितदि(वि)मलकीर्ति—
सौदामणिना येन सकल[जी]—
- 22 वलोकानन्दकारिणा कालव(व)लाहकेनेवावन्ध्यफल गर्ज्जता प्रणयिनामपही(हृ)तास्तृष्णासन्ताप—
दोषा [1*] यश्च गू(शू)रोपि सतत—
- 23 मयशोभीरुपगततृ[ष्णो]पि गुणार्ज्जनाविच्छिन्नतर्षं सर्वप्रदानशीलोपि परयुवतिहृदयदानपरा—
ङ्मुख पटुरपि प—
- 24 रपरिवादानि(भि)धानजडधी [1*] यस्य च न विरोधि रूप(प) शीलस्य यौवन सद्वृत्तस्य
दि(वि)भव प्रदानस्य तृ(त्रि)वर्गसे[वा] परस्परा—
- 25 पीडनस्य प्रभुत्व क्षान्ते कलिकालो गुणानामिति । (॥) तस्य सूनु सजलधनपटलनिर्गततरजनिकर—
करावबोधि—

¹ Read दानप्रवाह—.

² Read सद्वशाहित—

³ The preceding inscription reads —निनदस्य here

⁴ Read भगोद्भवा—

⁵ Read —जगत्साधारण .

⁶ Fleet's proposed reading प्रविकसित is unnecessary

- 26 तकुमुदधवल्यश प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसो (सा) मन्त-
 27 कुलवधूप्रभातसमयरु [दि] तच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्श¹ प्रतापो देवद्विजा [ति] गुरु-

Second Plate

- 28 चरणकमलप्रणामोद्घृष्टवज्रमणि [कोटिरुचिरदीधिति*]² विराजितमुकुटोद्भासित [शि] रा
 29 दि (दी) नानाथातुराभ्यागतार्थिजनाक्लिष्टप [रिपूरितविभव*] मनोरथोपचि (ची) यमा [न] त्रिविष्ट-
 पैकस-
 30 हायधर्मसञ्चय प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनि (नी) [जनप्रणा*] मपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी-
 31 कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणप [ञ्जराक्षि] प्तबहलकलितिमिरनिचयस्समधिगत-
 पञ्च-
 32 महाशब्द [*] श्रीदह^xकुशली सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविस (ष) यपतिरा [ष्ट्र] ग्राममहत्तराधि-
 कारिकादीन्स-
 33 मनुबोधयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिरक्र (कू) रेश्वरविषयान्तर्गत ।³ शिरीषपद्रक ।⁴ एष ग्राम-
 स्सोद्वज्ज
 34 सोपरिकर सर्वादानसङ्ग्राह्य [*] सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहि (ही) णो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना-
 चाटभटप्रा-
 35 वेश्य आचन्द्राकर्काण्णद (व) क्षितिस्थितिसमका [लीन] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यो जम्बूसरोवास्तव्यभर-
 द्वाजस-
 36 गोत्रकण्वसन्नह्यचारिब्राह्मणादित्यरवि । तथा तापिशूर⁵ । इन्द्रशूर । ईश्वर । तथा वत्ससगोत्र-
 भट्टिच (ट्ट्य)
 37 ध्यापक [।] गोपादित्य । वाड । विशाख । अग्निशर्म । भट्टिगण । द्रोण । माढ (ठ) र⁶ सगोत्र-
 विशाख । धर । नन्दि ।
 38 राम । दौण्डगी (की) [य*] सगोत्रतापिशर्म । द्वितापिशर्म्⁷ । द्रोण । भट्टि । पितृशर्म । भागि-
 स्वामि । दत्तस्वामि । लाक्ष्म-
 39 ण्यसगोत्रधर । दामधर । ईश्वर । कौण्डिन्यसगोत्रबाव । घोष । [शै] ल । काश्यपसगोत्रभट्टि-
 दामि (म) । वात्र⁸ [।*]
 40 हारीतसगोत्रधर्मधर [।] धौम्रयन⁹ सगोत्रककर्कध्यापक । आवुक । इन्द्रशूरादिब्राह्मणेभ्यश्चतु-
 स्त्रिङ्श [द्भ्यो]¹⁰
 41 बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थ माशा (ता) पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
 शि (भि) वृद्धये कार्त्ति -
 42 क्यामुदकातिसर्गेणातिसृष्टो¹¹ यतोस्मद्भ्यै¹² रन्यैर्वागा¹³ मिभोगपतिभि प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिज-
 लतरग-

¹ Read निस्त्रिङ्श-

² The *aksharas* in the rectangular brackets in this and the following three lines are not distinct in the facsimile and were probably damaged by rust on the original plate

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁴ Read शिरीषपद्रकम्. The following mark of punctuation is unnecessary

⁵ Read तापिशूर as in the preceding grant

⁶ Fleet read माफ (ठ) रसगोत्र-

⁷ Read -शर्म.

⁸ In the preceding inscription, this name is written as वत्र

⁹ Read धौम्रायण.

¹⁰ Read चतुस्त्रिङ्शद्भ्यो.

¹¹ Read -तिसृष्ट ।

¹² Read -स्मद्भ्यै-

¹³ The *aksharas* are quite clear here in the facsimile

- 43 चञ्चल जि (जी) वलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवा¹ न्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्य-
भोगभू—
44 प्रदानफलेप्सुभि शशिकररुचिर यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्दासो (यो) नुमन्तव्य. पालयित-
व्यश्च। यो वाज्ञा—
45 नतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानक वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सय्यु (यु) —
क्तस्यादित्युक्त² च भग—
46 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भु (भू) मिद [1] आच्छेत्ता चानु-
मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥१॥]³
47 विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्त (न्ते) भु (भू) [मिदा] य
हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्स—
48 गरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल (लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानि (नी) ह
द [त्ता] नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थ⁴ यशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्त—
49 माल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम सा [धु] पुनराददि (दी) त ॥ [४॥*] इति [॥*] सवत्सर—
शतत्रये पञ्चाग्नि (शी) त्य [धिके] कार्तिकपौर्णमास्या
50 लिखित सन्धी (न्धि) विग्रहाधिकरणाधिक्रि (कृ) तरे [वे] ण स्वमुखाज्ञयेति । स [३००] ८० ५
कार्तिक भु (शु) [१० ५] [दि] नकरचरणा—
51 च्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतराग [सूनो] [स्वहस्तोय] प्रशा [न्त] रागस्य⁵ ॥

Seal

सामन्तदद् [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From Nāndīpurī—

(For a translation of lines 1—33 see above, pp 63-65.)

(Line 33)—‘Be it known to you ! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted, with a libation of water on the full-moon day of Kārttika, this village, (*viz.*) Śīrīshapadraka situated in the *vishaya* of Akrūrēśvara—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhātas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons (*of the donees*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the thirty-four Brāhmanas, (*namely*), the Brāhmana Ādityaravi, who is a resident of Jambūśaras, who is of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and a student of the Kanva (*charana*), and also Tāpīsūra, (and) Indiaśūra, (and) Īśvara, and also Bhatti, the teacher, who is of the Vatsa *gōtra*, (and) Gōpāditya, (and) Vāda, (and) Viśākha, (and) Agniśarman, (and) Bhattigana, (and) Drōna, Viśākha of the Māthāya *gōtra*, (and) Dhara, (and) Nandi, (and) Rāma, Tāpīśarman of the Daundakiya *gōtra*, (and) the second Tāpīśarman, (and) Drōna, (and) Bhatti, (and) Pītriśarman, (and) Bhāgīsvāmin, (and) Dattasvāmin, Dhara of the Lākshmanya *gōtra*, (and) Dāmadhara, (and) Īśvara, Bāva of the Kaundinya *gōtra*,

¹ Fleet reads विन (भ) वा—, but the second letter is clearly भ

² Read —स्यादिति । उक्त

³ Metre of this and the following two verses *Anushtubh*

⁴ Read धर्मार्थ—

⁵ This sign—manual is in current-hand characters

(and) Ghōsha, (and) Saila, Bhatti Dāma of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (and) Vātra, Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*, Karka, the teacher, of the Dhaumrāyana *gōtra*, (and) Āvuka, (and) Indraśūra —for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and such other (religious) rites.

[For a translation of ll 42-45, see above, p. 66]

(L. 45) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas —

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 49) In the year three hundred increased by eighty-five, on the fifteenth (lunar day) of Kārttika, (this charter) has been written at the command of (Our) own mouth by Rēva, (the officer) in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The year 300 (and) 80 (and) 5, (the month) Kārttika, (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5.

This is the sign-manual of Prasāntarāga, the son of Vītarāga, who is devoted to worship of the feet of the sun.

Seal

The Sāmanta Dadda.

No. 18, PLATE XII

SANKHEDA PLATE OF RANAGRAHA · (KALACHURI) YEAR 391

THIS copper-plate measuring 9.5" by 4.5" was apparently found at Sankhēdā in the Baroda District Bombay State. It has been edited before, with a lithograph, but without a translation, by Mr H. H. Dhruva in the *Ep Ind*, Vol II, pp 20-21. It is edited here from the same lithograph.

It is the last plate of its set, and contains ten lines of well-executed writing. The average size of letters is .15". The plate has at the top two round holes 3" in diameter for the rings which must have connected it with other plates of the set. No ring or seal has however been found.

The characters of the inscription including the sign-manual of the donor Ranagraha belong to the western variety of the South Indian alphabets. The sanction¹ of the gift by the reigning king Dadda is, however, like his sign-manual in the other Sankhēdā and Kairā grants, in the northern characters. The only palæographical peculiarities that call for notice are that (1) the curve for medial *i* is turned to the right in *āchchhndya-mānam*, l. 2, (2) the notch of *b* is at the top, (3) the right-hand hook of *ñ* is added to the subscript *ch* in *uktañ=cha*, l. 3. The language is Sanskrit, and except for four customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the extant portion of the record is in prose. The text is very incorrectly written, see, for instance, *Ādityasarmmāya* for *Ādityasarmmanē*, and *uchchhrishtam* for *utsrishtam*, both in l. 1, *asmādāyō* for *asmad-dāyō*, l. 2, etc. The *visarga* is wrongly omitted in many places, as e.g. in *-bhōgapatibhi*, l. 1, *-numantavya*, l. 2, *mahā-pātakai*, l. 3, and the final consonant in *syā*, l. 3 and *vasē*, l. 4. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in *sarggēna* and *anyair=vvā*, l. 1, *pañchabhīr=mmahāpāmtakai*, l. 3, etc; *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *krishn-āhayō*, l. 5, *-dhikrita* and *Mātrībhatēna*, l. 10, etc; and *n* occurs in place of *n* in *sarggēna*, l. 1 and *yaśaskarām*, l. 6.

¹ The expression *Śrī-Dadda-pādānta(nu) jñā[tam]* conveying the sanction is in characters resembling those of the sign-manual of Dadda II, in the Kairā and Sankhēdā grants (Nos 16-17, 19-20), but the addition of the word *pāda* to the royal name and the use of the personal name *Dadda* instead of the *viruda* *Prasāntarāga* shows that it is not in the handwriting of Dadda II.

The plate contains the last part of a grant of **Raṇagraha**, the son of **Vitarāga**, who describes himself in his sign-manual as devoted to the worship of the sun. The grant was sanctioned by the illustrious **Dadda**. In the absence of the previous plates of the set, all details about the object, occasion and purpose of the gift are lost. Only the name of the Brāhmana donee **Ādityaśarman** has been preserved on the present plate. It is possible, however, to conjecture that the object of the gift was a field¹ as in the case of the other complete Sankhēdā grants of Dadda II. The *dūtaka* was the *Bhōgikapālaka* **Dujjāna** and the writer **Mātrībhata**, the Officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

The inscription is **dated**, both in words and in numerical symbols, on the **fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 391** of an unspecified era. The palacography of the grant makes it certain that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A C, the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Vaiśākha in the expired² year 391 would correspond to the 15th May 641 A C. It does not admit of verification.

We know from two complete sets of Sankhēdā plates³ that Dadda II-Praśāntarāga continued to reign till the Kalachuri year 392. The date of the present grant, therefore, falls in his reign. As Dadda II also was a son of Vitarāga, Raṇagraha, the donor of the present grant, must have been his brother. It seems that he was placed in charge of some part of his kingdom and had the status of a feudatory chief, but as he was not completely independent, his grant had to be sanctioned by his liege-lord, Dadda II. Dr D R Bhandarkar has, however, suggested that Raṇagraha was another name of Dadda II himself⁴, but the duct of the latter's sign manual is different in the Kairā and Sankhēdā plates⁵. Secondly, the early Gurjara kings are known to have assumed only one *biruda* in addition to their personal name and the *biruda* of Dadda II, known from his Kairā and Sankhēdā plates, was *Praśāntarāga*, not *Raṇagraha*. Thirdly, his minister for peace and war was Rēva during the period from K 380 to K 392⁶. The latter would, therefore, in all probability, have been mentioned in that capacity in the present grant of K 391. But the officer mentioned here as *Sandhviagrahādhipakṛita* is Mātrībhata, not Rēva. For these reasons, I prefer to follow Mr Dhruva⁷ and Dr Buhler⁸ in taking **Raṇagraha** to be a brother of Dadda II.

TEXT⁹

- 1 ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्मणा¹⁰ उदकातिसर्गेनोच्छिष्ट¹¹ [1*] यतोस्याष्मद्वज्रै¹² रत्यैर्वागामिभोगपति-
भि[*] अय-

¹ The expression *udake-ātisarggēn(n)=ōchchhri(tsi)shyam* in l 1 evidently qualifies some word like *kshētram* (a field).

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 26th April 640 A C. For the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha the dates would correspond to the 16th April, 641 A C and the 28th March 640 A C respectively.

³ Below, Nos 19 and 20.

⁴ *I N I*, p 161, n 3.

⁵ Its wording here is also slightly different, for it contains *dinakara-keran-ābhyaṛchchana-ratasya* in place of *dinakara-charan-ārchchana-ratasya* which occurs in the sign-manual of Dadda II in all his grants.

⁶ See No 16, l 51, No 17, l 50, No 19, l 28 and No 20, l 27.

⁷ *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 21.

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol V, p 38.

⁹ From the facsimile accompanying Mr H H Dhruva's article, facing p 21, *Ep Ind*, Vol II.

¹⁰ Read -शर्मण.

¹¹ Read -सर्गेणोत्सृष्टम्.

¹² Read यतोस्मद्वज्रै-

- 2 मस्मादायो¹नुमन्तव्य[*] पालयितव्यश्च [*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाव्रित²राच्छिन्धादाच्छिन्ध-
मान³ वा—
3 नुमौदेत⁴ स पञ्चभिर्महापा⁵तकै[*] सयुक्त स्या इत्युक्तञ्च⁶ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन
[*] षष्टिवरिष⁷—
4 सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदा(द) [*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त्⁸ ॥१॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्क—
5 कोटरवासिन[*] कृष्णाहयो⁹ हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारका[॥२॥] यानीह दत्तानि
पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
6 धर्मर्तियायशस्करानि¹⁰ [*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम¹¹ साधु[*] पुनरादधीति¹²
[॥३॥*] स्वदत्ता¹³ परदत्ता वा
7 यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [*] मही¹⁴ महिमता श्रेष्ठ दाता तु च्छ्रेयो¹⁵नुपालनमिति¹⁶[॥४॥*]
8 सवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये¹⁷ वैशाखबहुलपञ्चदश्या स ३०० ९० १ वैशाख व १० ५ [*]
9 दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकदुज्जान¹⁸ [*] दिनकरकिरणाभ्यर्चनरतस्य स्वहस्तोय श्रीवीतरागसूनो
10 रणग्रहस्य [*] श्रीददपादान्तज्ञा[त]¹⁹ लिखितमिद सन्धिविग्रहाधिक्रि(कृ)त²⁰मात्रिभटेन²¹ [*]

TRANSLATION

(*The field*) has been granted (*by us*) with a libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa Ādityaśarman. Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins!

(Line 3) And it has been declared by the holy Vyāsa who arranged the Vēdas—

¹ Read —मस्मादायो.

² Read —पटलावृतमति—

³ Read —दाच्छिन्धमान.

⁴ Read वानुमौदेत

⁵ The *anusvāra* is superfluous

⁶ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च

⁷ Read षष्टि वर्ष—

⁸ Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*

⁹ Read कृष्णाहयो

¹⁰ Read धर्मर्तियशस्कराणि

¹¹ Read नाम.

¹² Read पुनरादधीत Metre *Indravajrā*

¹³ Read स्वदत्ता.

¹⁴ Read मही.

¹⁵ Read दानाच्छ्रेयो—

¹⁶ Read —नुपालनम् ॥ इति Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁷ Read एकनवत्यधिके

¹⁸ Mr Dhruva read भोगिकपालकदुज्जान [*], but the correct reading given above was first pointed out by Dr Buhler in *Ep Ind*, Vol V, p 39

¹⁹ These eight aksharas are in current-hand characters. Mr Dhruva read them as श्रीददपादान्तज्ञाति and proposed the emendation—पादान्तज्ञाते. Dr D R Bhandarkar proposed to read —पादान्तज्ञाति[ना*] and to construe it as an epithet of Mātrībhaṭa (See his *Inscriptions of Northern India*, p 161, n 3). I would suggest श्रीददपादानुज्ञातम्. Compare श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहारजानुज्ञातेन in the Goā plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarmān in *J B B R A S*, Vol X (Old Series), p 365

²⁰ The usual expression is सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृत—

²¹ Read मातृभटेन

[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses]

(L 8) In the year three hundred (*increased by*) ninety-one, on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha, (*in figures*) the year 300 (*and*) 90, (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the dark (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5.

The *dūtaka* of this (*grant*) is the *Bhōgikapālaka* Dujjāna.

This is the sign-manual of Raṇagraha, the son of the illustrious Vītarāga, who is devoted to the worship of the sun

(*As*) sanctioned by the feet of the illustrious Dadda (II), this (*order*) has been written by Maṭṭibhaṭṭa who is in charge of (*the Department of*) Peace and War.

No 19; PLATE XIII A

SANKHEDA PLATES (FIRST SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA)· (KALACHURI) YEAR 392

THESE copper-plates were discovered in 1895 by Mr Vithal Nagar of Baroda at Saṅkhēḍā in the Baroda District Bombay State Dr G Buhler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philos-histor Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Vol CXXXV, No VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol V, pp , 37 ff I edit them here from the same lithographs

They are two plates inscribed on one side only, each measuring 10" by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", and contain at the top two holes $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together. No ring or seal has, however, been found The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are incised on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate The average size of letters is 15"

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets as in the two cognate sets of Kairā plates The letters except those of the sign-manual contain small knobs at the top The letters of the sign-manual, on the other hand, which are in the northern current-hand characters have short horizontal (often curved) strokes at the top As the present inscription was written by the same officer Rēva who wrote the earlier Kairā grants,¹ its characters, as might be expected, closely resemble those of the latter Some peculiarities may, however, be noticed here The medial *ī* is generally cursive as in *didhiti*, l 4 and *mānini*, l 6, but its other form consisting of two circles one inside the other occurs in *simā*-, l 11 The form of medial *ū* in *vadhū*, l 2, *paripūrta*, l 5, *pūruva*, l 6, the like of which rarely occurs in the earlier Kairā grants, that of *h* in *mahattar*-, l 9 and of the triangular *b* in *bahala*, l 7, *brahmadēya*, l 12, etc are also noteworthy A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal stroke at the top, see *vasēt*, l 24 Punctuation is denoted by single or double dots and in some cases by single or double vertical strokes. The symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 2 occur in l 29.

The language is Sanskrit The text of the inscription, so far as it goes, is almost² an exact copy of that of the earlier Kairā grants except, of course, in such details as the name and description of the donee, the object of the grant, its date, etc As regards orthography, we may note in addition to what has already been noticed in

¹ Above, Nos 16 and 17

² There are some minor differences e g, *samanuwarnya* in l 9 of the present record occurs in neither of the Kairā grants

connection with the Kairā grants, the doubling of *th* after an *anusvāra* in *paṃtthāh*, I. 12 and of *k* before *r* in *yaṣṭādīkēry-*, II 17-18

The plates were issued from Nāndīpura by Dadda who had obtained the *pañchamahāśabda*. As in the Kairā plates, he calls himself **Praśāntarāga**, the son of **Vitarāga**, in his sign-manual. He is, therefore, identical with **Dadda II** of the **Early Gurjara dynasty**. Unlike the Kairā plates, the present inscription does not contain any eulogy of his two predecessors—his grandfather Dadda I and his father Jayabhaṭa I-Vitarāga

The plates record the grant of a field in the village **Suvarṇārapalli** which was situated in the *viśhaya* of **Sangamakhēṭaka**, requiring for its seed grains one *pitaka* of paddy by the measure prevalent in that *viśhaya*, together with the usual rights and exemptions. The donee was the Brāhmana Sūrya of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* and the Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina *śākhā*, who had previously emigrated from **Daśapura** and was then residing at the village **Kshīrasara**. The grant was made for the purpose of providing for the five great sacrifices and other rites. The donated field was bounded on the east by the junction with the boundary of the village **Kshīrasara**, on the north by the junction with the boundary of the village **Kukkuṭavallikā**, on the west by an *agrāhāra* field, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank?) and on the south by the way leading to the village **Suvarṇārapalli** and the junction with (the boundary of) **Aṭavīpātaka**. The plates were written by **Rēva**, the head of the Department of Peace and War

The grant is dated both in words and in numerical symbols on the **fifteenth tithi** of the bright fortnight of **Vaiśākha** in the year **392**. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A C, it would correspond, for the expired year 392, to the 20th April 642 A C¹. It does not admit of verification

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, **Nāndīpura** which is clearly identical with Nāndīpurī of the Kairā grants, has already been identified with Nāndōd in the Broach District. **Daśapura** is Mandasor in Western Malwā. **Sangamakhēṭaka**, the headquarters of the *viśhaya* named after it, is clearly modern Sankhēḍā where the plates were discovered. As Dr Buhler says, 'Sangamakhēṭaka means etymologically 'the village at the confluence (of two rivers), and the Unchh and the Or² join near Sankhēḍā. The *viśhaya* or province of Sangamakhēṭaka probably included the Sankhēḍā Prānt of the Gaikwād's possessions, as well as the neighbouring portion of Rēvākānthā Agency, still called Sankhēḍā Mēvās'. Of the villages mentioned in the present grant, only two can be identified. **Kukkuṭavallikā**³ is apparently identical with Kukad, about 8 miles west-south-west of Sankhēḍā. **Kshīrasara** may be Khariākuā, about a mile to the east of Kukad

TEXT ⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ स्वस्ति [I*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलघनपटलनिर्गतरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवल्यश —
- 2 प्रतानास्थगितनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभा—

¹ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 30th April 641 A C

² This is called Orsang in the Survey maps

³ Dr Buhler identified this village with Kukreli which, according to him, lies to the east of Sankhēḍā, but I have not been able to trace it on the Degree Map, No 46 F

⁴ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Buhler's article in *Ep Ind*, Vol V, pp 37 ff

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

- 3 तसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्श¹प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणा—
 4 मोद्घृष्टवज्रमणिकोटिरुचिरदीधनिविराजितमकुटोद्भासितशिरा² दीनानाथातुराभ्या—
 5 गतार्थिजनाकिलष्टपरिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मस—
 6 चय. प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशी—
 7 कृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमलगुणकिरणपजराक्षिप्तबहलकलितिमिरनिचय
 8 समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदद्³कुशली सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्र—
 9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुवर्ण्य बोधयत्य⁴स्तु वो विदितमस्माभि सङ्गमखेटकविष—
 10 यान्तर्गतसुवर्णारपल्लिग्रामे पूर्वसीम्नि⁵ ।⁴ तद्विषयमानेन ब्रीहिपिटकवाप क्षेत्र
 11 यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वत क्षीरसरग्रामसीमासन्धि⁵ उत्तरत कुक्कुटवल्लिकाग्रामसीमासन्धि
 12 अपरत ब्रह्मदेयक्षेत्र वटवृक्षो⁶ । तलाइका च । दक्षिणत सुवर्णारपल्लिग्रामगामी पत्था⁷
 13 अटवीपाटकग्रामसन्धिश्च ॥ एवमेतच्चतुराघाटनविशुद्ध क्षेत्र सोद्रङ्ग
 14 सोपरिकर सर्वादानसग्राह्य सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीण

Second Plate

- 15 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीन
 16 पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य दा(द)शपुरविनिर्गतक्षीरसरग्रामवास्तव्यभरद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि(ज)स—
 17 नेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिविक्त—
 18 योत्सर्पणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेद्य वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्यामुदकातिसर्गर्णेना—
 19 तिसृष्ट(ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्यास्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्वा⁸ ।⁸ गामिभोगपतिभि प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजल—
 तरङ्गचञ्चल
 20 जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूष—
 21 दानफलेप्सुभि शशिकररुचिर यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यश्च⁹ ।
 22 यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानक वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै सयुवत
 23 स्यादित्युक्तञ्च¹⁰ भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिद [1*]
 आच्छेत्ता चानुम—
 24 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹¹ ॥ [१॥*] वन्ध्याटवी¹²ष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [1] कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदाय हर—
 25 न्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 तदा फल(लम्) ॥ [३॥*] यानीह तादा¹³
 26 नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु
 पुनराददीत¹⁴ ॥ [४॥*] स्वद—

¹ Read निस्त्रिङ्श—

² This *visarga* should have been dropped

³ Read बोधयति । अस्तु.

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁵ Read सन्धिरुत्तरत *Sandhis* have not been made in several other places also

⁶ Read वटवृक्षस्तलाइका च The marks of punctuation in this and the next line are superfluous

⁷ Read पत्था The superscript letter of the second *akshara* is clearly *t*

⁸ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here Read —अन्यैर्वागामि—,

⁹ Read पालयितव्यश्च

¹⁰ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च.

¹¹ Metre of this and the next two verses *Anushtubh*

¹² Read वन्ध्याटवी—

¹³ Read दत्तानि.

¹⁴ Metre *Indravajrā*

- 27 ता परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । मही महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति¹ [11*]
सवत्सरशतत्रये
28 द्विनवत्यधिके वैशाखशुद्धपञ्चदश्या स्वमुखाज्ञया लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहकरणाधिकृतरेवेण
29 स ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [1*] दिनकरचरणार्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनो स्वहस्तोय
श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य [11*]

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-8, see above, p. 65)

(Line 9) "Be it known to you ! For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water to-day, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright fortnight** of **Vaiśākha**, the field on the eastern boundary of the village **Suvarṇārapalli** situated in the *vishaya* of **Sangamakhēṭaka**, requiring a *pitaka* of paddy for its seed grains, whose boundaries are—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village **Kshīrasara**, on the north the junction with the boundary of the village **Kukkuṭavallikā**, on the west a field donated to a Brāhmana, a banyan tree and a *talāikā* (tank ?), (and) on the south the way leading to the village **Suvarṇārapalli**—the field marked clearly with these four boundaries, together with *udranga* and *uparikara* inclusive of all dues and exempt from all gifts, forced labour (and) special rights,—which is not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (and) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, (and) the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmana **Sūrya** of the **Bharadvāja gōtra**, a student of the **Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina** (*śākhā*), who, having emigrated from **Dāśapura**, (now) resides in the village **Kshīrasara**—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (such as) *baḥi*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (and) *agnihōtra*, and other (religious) rites

(For a translation of ll 19-23, see above, p. 66)

(L 23) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L 27) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two, on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśākha**, this (*charter*) has been written, at the command of our mouth, by **Rēva** who is in charge of the Department of Peace and War The year 300 (and) 90 (and) 2, (the month) **Vaiśākha**, the **bright** (*fortnight*), (the lunar day) 10 (and) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious **Praśāntarāga**, the son of the illustrious **Vītarāga**, who is devoted to the feet of the sun.

NO 20 ; PLATE XIII B

SANKHEDA PLATES (SECOND SET) OF DADDA II (PRASANTARAGA) .
(KALACHURI) YEAR 392

THESE plates were, like the preceding, discovered in 1895 by Mr. Vithal Nagar of Baioda at **Sankhēḍā** in the Barodā District of the Bombay State. Dr Buhler first published an article in German on them in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Wiener Akademie*, Vol CXXXV, No. VIII, and subsequently edited them with photo-lithographs, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol V, pp. 37 ff I edit them here from the same lithographs

¹ Read -नुपालनम् ॥५॥ इति Metre *Anushtubh*

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They are **two copper-plates**, each being inscribed on one side only and measuring 10" by 6" They contain at the top two round holes, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, for the rings which must have held them together But no ring or seal, if there was any, was discovered The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first and the remaining fifteen on the second plate. The average size of letters is 15".

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the last grant which, as we shall see, was written by the same writer and on the same day Still, curious as it might appear, there are some minor differences in their characters For instance the medial (long) *i* is generally cursive in the preceding record, while its prevailing form in this grant consists of two circles one inside the other, see *prakāśikṛita*, l 6, *Kshīrasara*, l 9, etc., in the former record *th* was marked by a notch in the base in all cases, while in this it generally appears with a ringlet in its loop, though the notched form also occurs sporadically, as instances of the former type, see *dīn-ānāth*-, l 4, *manōrath*-, l 5, etc., and of the latter, see *dharm-āttha*-, l 24, *b* was generally triangular in the preceding grant, but is rectangular almost everywhere in this, see e g, *kar-āvabōdhita*, l 1, *bahala*, l 7, etc The **sign-manual** is in the northern current-hand characters as in other inscriptions of Dadda II The **language** is Sanskrit and the text is almost¹ an exact copy of the preceding record, differing chiefly in respect of the object of the grant The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in the preceding grant, for both the records were written by the same scribe One additional peculiarity may, however, be noticed here, viz the doubling of the sibilant *ś* after *r* in *samanudarśśayaty*-, against Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49

The plates were issued from Nāndīpura by Dadda who had acquired the *pañchamahāśabda* and who calls himself **Prasāntarāga**, the son of **Vitarāga** in his **sign-manual**. He is, therefore, identical with **Dadda II** of the **Early Gurjara dynasty** The inscription records the grant of a field requiring as seed grains ten *prasthas* of paddy by the larger measure The field was situated on the south-western boundary of the village **Kshīrasara** in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka**. The donee was the same as in the preceding grant, viz the Brāhmana **Sūrya** of the **Bharadvāja gōtra** and the **Vājasaneyā-Mādhyandina śākhā**, who had emigrated from the town of **Daśapura** and was then residing at **Kshīrasara**. The present grant was made for the same purpose and on the same day as the preceding and as stated already, the scribe was also the same, viz, the *Sāndhuvigrahaka* **Rēva** One additional detail which does not occur in any other grant of Dadda II is the mention of the *dūtaka* **Karka** who, like the *dūtaka* of **Ranagraha's** grant, bore the title *Bhōgtka-pālaka*

The date of the record, viz., the **fifteenth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Vaiśākha** in the year 392 is given both in words and in numerical symbols It would correspond, for the expired Kalachuri year 392, to the 20th April 642 A C as stated before² It does not admit of verification.

The **geographical names** **Nāndīpura**, **Daśapura**, **Sangamakhēṭaka** and **Kshīrasara** have already been identified³

¹ As minor differences may be noted *samanudarśśayaty=astu* of the present record in place of *samanuvarṇya bōdhayaty=astu* etc in line 9 of the last grant, and *sa-śībaram* in line 12, nothing corresponding to which occurs in the last grant The present inscription again mentions a *dūtaka* who does not figure in any other grant of Dadda II

² See above, p 76 and n 1

³ See above, p 76

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² स्वस्ति [1*] नान्दीपुरात्सजलधनपटलनिर्गतंरजनिकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवल्यश प्रता-
नास्थगि—
- 2 तनभोमण्डलोनेकसमरसङ्घटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलो—
- 3 द्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिङ्ग³प्रतापो देवद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणामोद्धृष्टवज्रमणिका (को)—
- 4 टिरुचिरदीधिति⁴विराजितमुकुटोद्भासितशिरा दीनानाथातुराभ्यागतात्थिजनाविलष्टपरिपूरित—
- 5 विभवमनोरथोपचीयमानत्रिविष्टपैकसहायधर्मसचय प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनी—
- 6 जनप्रणामपूर्वमधुरवचनोपपादितप्रसादप्रकाशकृतविदग्धनागरकस्वभावो विमल—
- 7 गुणकिरणपञ्जराक्षिप्तबहुलकलितिमिरनिचय समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीदहृकुशली
- 8 सव्वनिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकाधिकादी⁵न्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु
- 9 वो विदितमस्माभि सङ्गमखेटकविषयान्तर्गतक्षीरसरग्रामा⁶परदक्षिणसीम्न⁷ बृह—
- 10 न्मानेन ब्रीहिदशप्रस्थवाप क्षेत्र यस्य पूर्वतस्सन्धौ अङ्गोल्लवृक्ष उत्तरत शाकवृक्ष
- 11 वटवृक्षश्च ॥ अपरत खदिरबदरिर्वृक्षौ⁸ । दक्षिणत श[ल्म⁹]ली । भूतवटश्चैवमेतच्चतु—
- 12 राघाटनविशुद्ध सशीबर¹⁰ सोद्रङ्गसोपरिकर सर्वदानसग्राह्य सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रा—
- 13 तिभेदिकापरिहीण भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रावर्कावर्णवक्षितस्थितिस—
- 14 मकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य दशपुरविनिर्गतक्षीरसरनिवासिभरद्वाज—

Second Plate

- 15 सगोत्रवाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणसूर्याय बलिचरुवैश्वदे—
- 16 वाग्निहोत्रहवन¹¹पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविक्रयोत्सर्पणार्थं (र्थ) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये
- 17 वैशाखपौर्णमास्यामुदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्ट (ष्टम्) [1*] यतोस्यास्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्वर्गामिभोगपति—
- 18 भि प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरगच्चञ्चल जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्वीभवा¹²—
- 19 न्दीर्घकालस्थेयसश्च गुणानाकलय्य सामान्यभोगभूप्रदान¹³ फलेप्सुभि शशिकररुचिर
- 20 यशश्चिराय चिचीषुभिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला—
- 21 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानक वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सयुवतस्स्यादित्युवत¹⁴—
- 22 ञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता

¹ From the photo-lithographs accompanying Dr Buhler's article in *Ep Ind*, Vol V, pp 37 ff

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read निस्त्रिङ्ग—

⁴ The engraver at first incised *m* which was later on altered to *ti*

⁵ Read —धिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु

⁶ The engraver at first incised ग्रामो, but later on altered it to ग्रामा— by cancelling the *mātrā* on *mā*

⁷ Read सीम्नि

⁸ Read —बदरीवृक्षौ.

⁹ The subscript *m* of *Ima* is not completely incised The mark of punctuation, which follows, is superfluous

¹⁰ I am not certain about the correct form of this technical term which so far as I know, occurs only in the Pālitānā plates of Dhruvasēna I (*Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 107) in the form, *sa-saibaram* There also it is an adjective of some word like *kshētram* which is omitted by mistake M Williams gives *sibira* in the senses of a royal camp, a tent, an entrenchment for the protection of an army, a kind of grain, but none of these meanings would suit here Perhaps it means 'a farm-house'

¹¹ The word हवन does not occur in the corresponding portion of the last grant

¹² Read विभवा—

¹³ Read प्रदानफलेप्सुभि .

¹⁴ Read —सयुक्तस्स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च

- 23 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹ ॥ [१॥*] बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि [१*]
यस्य यस्य
- 24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥ [२॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थे—
यशस्कराणि [१*]
- 25 निर्भुक्तमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नामसाधु पुनराददीत² ॥ [३॥*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्—
26 क्ष युधिष्ठिर । महि(ही) महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालन(नम्)³ ॥ [४॥*] इति [१*] सवत्सर—
शतत्रये द्विनवत्यधि—
- 27 के वैशाखपौर्णमास्या भोगिकपालककर्कद्वतक लिखित सान्धिविग्रहिकरेवेण स्वमुखाज्जयेति [१*]
28 स ३०० ९० २ वैशाख शु १० ५ [११*] दिनकरचरणार्चनरतस्य श्रीवीतरागसूनो स्वहस्तोय
श्रीप्रशा—
- 29 न्तरागस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of lines 1-7, see above, p 65)

(Line 8) “Be it known to you¹ For the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water, on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, the field on the south-eastern border of the village **Kshīrasara** situated in the *vishaya* of **Saṅgamakhēṭaka**, requiring for its seed-grains ten *prasthas*⁴ of paddy by the larger measure—on the eastern boundary of which (*there is*) an *Ankōlla* tree,⁵ on the north a *Sāka* tree⁶ and a *Banyan* tree, on the west a *Khadira*⁷ and a *Badarī* (jube) tree, on the south a *Sālmālī*⁸ (*tree*), and a haunted *Banyan* tree—(*the field*) marked clearly with these four boundaries together with *śīvara* (a farm-house?), *ud-ranga* and *uparikara*, inclusive of all dues, and exempt from all gifts, forced labour, (*and*) special rights—which is not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Sūrya* of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā Mādhyandina śākhā*, who, having emigrated from **Daśapura**, (*now*) resides in the village **Kshīrasara**—for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* (*and*) offerings in *agnihōtra*, and other (*religious*) rites

(For a translation of ll 17-21, see above, p 66)

(L. 21) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa the redactor of the Vēdas—
(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 26) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-two on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, (*this charter*), the *dūtaka* of which is the *Bhōgikapālaka* **Karka**, has been written at the command of Our mouth by the *Sāndhivigrahaka* **Rēva**.

The year 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 2, (*the month*) **Vaiśākha**, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10, (*and*) 5. This is the sign-manual of the illustrious **Praśāntarāga**, the son of the illustrious **Vītarāga**, who is devoted to the feet of the sun

¹ Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*

² Metre *Indravajrā*

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ *Prastha* is a measure of capacity, being equal to four *kudavas*

⁵ ‘*Alangium Hexapetalum*’ (M W)

⁶ ‘*Acacia Sirissa*’ (*Ibid*)

⁷ ‘*Acacia Catachu*’ (*Ibid*)

⁸ The *Seemul* or *Silk-cotton* tree

NO 21, PLATE XIV

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III (KALACHURI) YEAR 456

THESE plates were found during excavation of some foundations at **Navsāri**, the chief town of the Navsāri *Prānt* of the Surat District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by Mr Shariarjī Dadabhai Bharuch of Navsāri, who sent them to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī. The latter edited them with photozincographed plates and a translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XIII, pp 70 ff. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

They are **two copper-plates** each measuring 12" by 9". Their edges are fashioned thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the writing. A small piece at the top of the proper right-hand side and a large triangular piece with its sides measuring about 4", 3" and 4½" at the bottom of the same side of the second plate have been broken away and lost. This has resulted in the loss of one *akshara* in l 23 and from one to six *aksharas* in ll 36-43. All the missing letters except those in l 42 can, however, be conjecturally supplied. The plates are otherwise in a state of good preservation. They have two round holes about ½" in diameter for the rings which must have originally held them together, but the rings and the seal, which must have been on one of them are lost. The record consists of forty-four lines, twenty-two being inscribed on each plate. The average size of letters is 15"

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Dadda II. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *d* as in the Kairā plates of K 380¹—one with a loop and the other with a tail, see *tadāka*-, ll 24 and 28, and to the triangular *th* in *pathak*-, l 22. *Dh* appears round in *-ādhrōhana*, l 10 and elongated elsewhere as in *dhārā*-, l 6, *b* is square in *bahubhur*-, l 37, round in *bandhu*, l 15, *bal-ādhrakṛita*-, l 42 and almost triangular like *v*, in *balu*-, l 21, *ś* shows, instead of the usual horizontal bar, a notch in its right limb, see *ma-hāśabda* and *kuśalī*, both in l 17. A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *vasēt* l 36, or by curve as in *nibaddham* l 43. Punctuation is expressed by single and double dots as well as by single and double vertical strokes. The **numerical symbols** for 400, 50 and 6 occur in l 42. Others for 10 and 5, which must have occurred at the beginning of l 43, have been lost. The **sign-manual** at the end is in the northern current-hand characters. Unlike the sign-manual of Dadda II, it shows the bipartite Nāgarī form of *y*.

The **language** is high-flown Sanskrit, containing long compounds and puns and other *alankāras*. The eulogistic portion is composed on the model of that of the earlier grants of Dadda II (see *e g*, the Kairā plates). Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The Prakrit word *satka* occurs thrice in the formal part defining the boundaries of the donated field. As regards **orthographical peculiarities**, we may notice the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* as in *vanśa* and *nistrinśa*, both in l 6 and the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *vinirggata* and *chāturvvidya*, both in l 19, *pūrvvōttara*, l 22 etc. The marks of punctuation appear redundant in many cases in the prose portion of the text.

The plates were issued by the illustrious **Jayabhata**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, from his camp at **Kāyāvātāra**. He was born in a family descended from the *Mahārāja Karṇa* and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. The **object** of the inscription

¹ See above No 16

is to record the grant, by Jayabhata, of a field measuring sixty *nivartanas* on the north-east boundary of the village **Śamīpadraka** situated in the **Kōrillā pathaka** (sub-division) Two villages **Golikā** and **Dhāhaddha** are mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the field The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the religious rites such as *bali*, *charu*, *vaisvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (the reception of) guests etc The donee was the Brāhmana Dēvasvāmin of the Prāgāyana¹ *gōtra*, a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the White Yajurvēda, who had emigrated from **Girinagara** and was at the time of the grant residing at the *agrahāra* village **Śraddhikā**. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the fifteenth (tithi) of the bright half of **Māgha**. It was written by the *Mahābalādhikṛita* **Kēśava**, the son of a *Bhōgika* whose name is lost The *dūtaka* was the *Balādhikṛita* **Bāvulla**².

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor—

Dadda.
|
Jayabhata.
|
Dadda-Bāhusahāya
|
Jayabhata.

The record does not furnish much historical information about these princes The last two—the second Dadda and the second Jayabhata—were devout worshippers of Mahēśvara and had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* The former is also said to have attained the *biruda* of *Bāhusahāya* (he whose arm is the sole helper) by the might of his arm, which he exhibited in the wars with the eastern and western supreme rulers As these rulers are not mentioned by name, it is not possible to identify them definitely, but the former may be the ruler of Valabhī and the latter the king of Malwa In connection with the first Dadda in the above list, we have the interesting information, which is supplied for the first time by the present grant, that he attained great fame by giving protection to the lord of Valabhī when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious **Harshadēva**.

Though the present grant does not specify the dynasty to which these princes belonged, there is no doubt that they belonged to the **Gurjara** lineage, for as Pandit Bhagvanlal pointed out, these names do not occur in any other dynasty³ In the present record their family is, for the first time, said to have descended from the *Mahārāja* Karna This is evidently in accordance with the tendency of the age to trace the origin of royal families to some mythical or legendary eponymous hero This *Mahārāja* Karna is, therefore, probably identical with the epic hero of that name, the staunch supporter and friend of Duryōdhana, who distinguished himself in the Mahābhārata war

As shown below, the present grant was made in the Kalachuri year 456 Dadda, the first prince mentioned in it who was the great-grand-father of the donor Jayabhata, was, therefore, probably ruling in the Kalachuri year 381 He is consequently identical with Dadda II—Prasāntarāga whose known dates range from K 380 to K 392, *i.e.*, from 629-30 A C to 641-42 A C This is again confirmed by the statement in the present plates that he was a contemporary of the Emperor Harshadēva who is none other than Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606-647 A C) The Gurjara princes mentioned in the present

¹ See below, p 86, n 3

² He is the *dūtaka* mentioned in the Anjanēri plates also of the same king See line 39 of No 22, below

³ One Dadda is mentioned in the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka (*Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII, p 91) As shown by Dr R C Majumdar, he was probably identical with Dadda I and flourished about 575 A C

grant are, therefore, **Dadda (II)**–Prasāntarāga, his son **Jayabhaṭa (II)**, his son **Dadda (III)**–Bāhusahāya, and his son **Jayabhata (III)** who made the present grant.

As stated above, the grant recorded on the present plates was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Māgha. The year is given in words in l 41 as 456 of an unspecified era. There is, however, no doubt that like the dates of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras, this date is to be referred to the Kalachuri era. The charter was written on the same day on which the grant was made. The date of its recording was expressed by numerical symbols in ll 42 and 43. The symbols which occur at the end of l 42 give the year 456 as the year of recording, but the name of the month, and the lunar fortnight as well as the symbols for the *tithi*, which were incised in the beginning of l. 43, are lost owing to the breaking off of the left-hand corner of the second plate. The name of the week-day is also lost, as only the letters *vāre* can be read with certainty in the beginning of the preserved portion of l 43. The *akshara* which preceded *vā* of *vāre* is also partially broken away, but what remains of it shows that it was *ma* and, therefore, the day was either *Sōma* Monday or *Bhauma* Tuesday. Assuming that the charter was made *mbaddha* on the same day on which the grant was made as in the case of the Kāvī plates¹ of Jayabhata IV, Bhagvanlal and Fleet conjectured that Māgha śu di 15, Monday (or Tuesday) of the year 456 was the date of the grant. Cunningham found by calculation that with the epoch of 249-250 A.C., the full moon day of Māgha of the Chēdi (or Kalachuri) year 456² fell on Tuesday, the 2nd February 706 A.C., on which day there was a lunar eclipse³ as stated in the grant. This is, therefore, the date of the grant.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Pandit Bhagvanlal⁴ identified Kāyāvatāra, the site of the royal camp, with Kāvī in the Jambusar *tāluka* of the Broach district, but, as pointed out by Buhler⁵, Kāvī does not phonetically correspond to Kāyāvatāra, besides, the old name of Kāvī was Kāpikā which is mentioned in the Kāvī plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta prince Gōvinda⁶. Dr. Buhler at first took the place-name to signify the incarnation of a son or descendant of *Ka* or Prajāpati, and thought that Kāyāvatāra was a place of pilgrimage on the Narmadā⁷. Later on he identified it with Kārwan (lat 20° 3' N and long 73° 10' E) which he connected philologically with Kāyāvatāra (the village possessing the Kāya manifestation⁸). It seems better to derive Kārwan from Kāyāvarōhana⁹ which conveys the same sense as

¹ See below No. 23

² Cunningham did not state in this connection whether the year was current or expired, but from his remarks in *A S I R* Vol IX, p. 111, it is clear that he took it to be an expired year. Later on, Kielhorn clearly showed in his article 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi Era' that the year was expired according to the epoch A.D. 248-249. (See *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII, p. 220). This is one of the few verifiable early dates of the era, which come from Western India. It shows that the epoch A.D. 247-248, which Kielhorn deduced later from Kalachuri dates found in the Madhya Pradesh and Central India, does not suit these early dates.

³ 'According to Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* there was a lunar eclipse on February 2, 706, 16 h 37 m Greenwich time or at Lankā, 9 h 40 m P.M.' *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII, p. 220.

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol V, p. 147.

⁷ *Ibid*, Vol XVII, p. 193, n. 36.

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol XVIII p. 176. In this case also Dr. Buhler derived *Kāya* from *Ka*, Brahman, and supported the derivation by stating that in 'Kārwan the chief deity is Brahmēśvara Mahādēva, which might also be called Kāyēśvara, because *ka* and Brahman are synonyms'.

⁹ There is metathesis here as in Achalapura (Ellichpur) and Vārānasi (Benares). Buhler later on accepted the derivation. See *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p. 274.

Kāyāvatāra, ॐ, 'the descent in the bodily form' of Śiva and refers to his incarnation as Lakulīśa, the founder of a Pāśupata sect¹ **Girinagara** is the well-known Gīrnār in Kathiawad **Śraddhikā** is Sādhi, 5 miles south by west of Padrā, the head-quarters of the Padrā taluka in the Baroda District **Kōrillā**, the headquarters of the *pathaka* (sub-division), in which the donated village was situated, is probably Kōral on the northern bank of the Narmadā 10 m north-east of Broach **Samīpadraka** is, as shown by Dr D R Bhandarkar², identical with the village of the same name which was given away by the Navsārī plates of Karka-Suvarnavarsha, for two of the surrounding villages **Gōlikā** and **Dhāhaddha** are the same³ in both the grants In Karka's grant the village is said to be situated in the country between the Mahī and the Narmadā⁴ From the boundary villages mentioned in it, Samīpadraka seems to be identical with Sōndārṇ, seven miles south-west of Kārwan and about twelve miles north of the Narmadā Dhāhaddha is probably Dhāwat two miles to the north of Sōndārṇ Gōlikā cannot be identified

TEXT⁵

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीकायावतारवासकात् सतत[ल]क्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁷ तृष्णासन्ताप-
हारिणि⁷ । [दि]ननाथवि-
- 2 स्तारितानुभावे । द्वि[ज]कुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि । महति महाराजकर्णान्वये । कमला-
कर इव रा-
- 3 जहस प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित⁸विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरोदारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपा-
- 4 लमानस परमेश्वरश्रीर्हर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरित्राणोपजातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रम-
- 5 यशोवितान श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कितागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसञ्चयोपचीयमानमनो-
- 6 निर्वृतिक(र)नेककण्टकवड्⁹श¹⁰सदोहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापानलो निश्चित(त)निस्त्रिंश¹⁰धारादा[रि]-
तारातिकरि-
- 7 कुम्भमुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोऽशुका¹¹वगुष्ठितदिग्बधूवदनसरसिज. श्रीजयभटस्तस्या[त्म]
जो म-
- 8 हामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधर्मानुष्ठानप्रवणि¹²वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसक-
- 9 लकलिकालावलेप प्रणयिजनमनोरथविषय¹³व्यतीतविभवसपादनापनीताशेषपार्थिवदाना-

¹ The place is called *Kāyāvatāra* in the *Linga-purāṇa* and *Kāyārōhana* in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (*J Bom Br R A S*, Vol XXII, p 154) See also the Ekalingji stone inscription (*loc cit* pp 151 ff) which mentions it as *Kāyāvarōhana* and *Cintia prasasti* (*Ep Ind*, Vol 1, p 281) in which it is called *Kārōhana*

² *J Bom Br R A S*, Vol XX, p 149

³ Dr Bhandarkar read the name of one of them as *Dhāhadva* instead of *Dhāhaddha* In the present grant the subscript letter of the last *akshara* is clearly *dh* For the form of the subscript *v* see *tach-shāturvidya*- 119, *pūrvvatō* 123 etc

⁴ See *Mahī-Narmad-āntarāladesa-vartī-Samīpadraka-nāmā grāmō* etc in the Navsārī plates of Karka, *J B B R A S*, Vol XX, pp 131 ff

⁵ From the facsimile accompanying Pandit Bhagvanlal's article in *Ind Ant* Vol XIII, pp 70 ff

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁷ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary here and in lines 2-34, below

⁸ The sense requires a reading like विलसितानाकुलित-

⁹ Read वश-

¹⁰ Read निस्त्रिंश-

¹¹ Read यशोशुका-

¹² Read -प्रवीणो

¹³ Bhagvanlal read this word as विलय The horizontal stroke over the top of the middle *akshara* shows that it is *sha* The reading *visaya* is clear in 1.7 of the Anjanerī plates (No 22 below)

- 10 भिमानो मदविवशाङ्कुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्रभावो [वि]पत्प्रपात-
 11 पतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसन प्राच्यप्र[ती]च्याधिराज-
 12 [वि]जृम्भितमहासग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकु (क) टितभुज[वीर्य]वि-
 13 ख्यातबाहुसहायापरनामा । परममाहेश्वर समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीददस्तस्य सूनुर-
 14 नेकसमरसघट्टघनघटितगजघटापाटनपटु[र]सहिष्णुवन[ग]हनदावानलो दीनाना[था]-
 15 तुरसुहृत्स्वजनबन्धुकुमुदाकरकौमुदीनि[शा]कर भागीरथीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षम [शान्तनु]-
 16 रिव समुद्भूतकलकलारावमहावाहिनीपति आदिवराह इव स्वभुजबलपराक्रमोद्धृतध [राधर
 प-]¹
 17 रममाहेश्वर समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्रीजयभट कुशली । सर्व्वानेव राजसाम [न्त]भोगिक[वि]षय-
 18 पतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु² व सविदित । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्म-
 19 नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । गिरिनगरविनिर्गतश्रद्धिकाग्रा (ग्र) हारवास्तव्यतच्चातुर्व्विद्यसा-
 मान्य-
 20 प्रावायन³सगोत्रवाज[स]नेय⁴माध्यन्दिनस[ब्र]ह्मचारिब्राह्मणदत्तपुत्र[ब्रा]ह्मणदेवस्वामिने ।
 अस्मत्कु-
 21 तप्रकाशनामकल्लुम्बराय । बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञा[दि]क्रियोत्सर्पणा-
 22 र्थ । कोरिल्लापथकान्तर्गतशमीपद्रकग्रामे [पू]र्व्वोत्तरसीम्नि । चतुष्पष्टिभूनिवर्त्तनप्रमाण

Second Plate

- 23 [क्षे*][त्र] । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो गोलिकाग्रामसीमासन्धि⁵ दक्षिणतो यमलखल्लराभिधा-
 24 नतडाक । तथा महत्तरमाहेश्वरसत्कक्षेत्र ॥ नापितदेवकसत्कवापकक्षेत्रञ्च । अपरत शमी-
 25 पद्रकग्रामादेव धाहृद्धग्रामयायी पन्था उत्तरतो बरुटखल्लराभिधान तडाक । तथा
 26 कोरिल्लावासिब्राह्म[ण]नर्मसत्कब्र[ह्म]देयक्षेत्रञ्च । एवमिद चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितक्षेत्र ।
 सोद्रङ्ग । सोप-
 27 रिकर । सभूतपातप्रत्याय⁶ । सधान्यहिरण्यादेय । सदशाप[रा]ध सोत्पद्यमानविष्टी (ष्टि)-
 क । गृहस्थावरचल-
 28 क । रथ्या । प्रवेश । निर्गम । स[च]⁷र । चतुष्पदा(द)प्रचार । वापी । कूप । तडाक ।
 पद्रोपजीव्यसमेत ॥ सर्व्वरा-
 29 [जकी]यानामहस्तप्रक्षेप[णी]य पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मादायरहित । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्काण-
 30 वक्षितिस[रि]त्पर्व्वतसमकालीन । पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यमद्य माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्या । चन्द्रोप-
 31 रागे । पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गोण ब्रह्मादायत्वेन प्रतिपादित (तम्) । यतोस्योचितया । ब्र-
 [ह्मादा]-

¹ The letters in the bracket are very indistinct Pandit Bhagvanlal read them as -रणि प, but the space is certainly too much for three *aksharas* Read -राधर प- as in the Anjaneri and Prince of Wales Museum plates (Below, Nos 22 and 24)

² Read -न्समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु

³ Pandit Bhagvanlal read *Shrāvāyana* and proposed to alter it to *Brādhnāyana* The *Gotra-pravara-mbandha-kadamba* gives *Prāgāyana* as a *gotra*, which is perhaps the nearest substitute that can be adopted here For the confounding of *v* and *g*, see *gabana* in l 14 which appears to have been incised as *vabana*

⁴ The engraver first omitted *sa* of *Vājasaneyā* As there was then no space between *ja* and *nē* for engraving the akshara *sa*, he incised another *ja* between *vā* and *ja* and tried to correct the original *ja* into *sa*

⁵ Here and in some places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

⁶ This expression generally occurs as सभूतवातप्रत्याय in inscriptional records

⁷ Pandit Bhagvanlal read *sagara* which gives no satisfactory meaning

NAVSARI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III (KALACHURI) YEAR 456

2
 4
 6
 8
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 14
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 18
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 22

The image shows a fragment of an ancient inscription on a dark, irregularly shaped stone plate. The text is written in a script that appears to be Kannada or a related South Asian script, arranged in horizontal lines. The plate is heavily weathered and damaged, with significant portions of the surface missing, particularly along the top and right edges. Two circular holes are visible on the right side of the fragment. The text is partially obscured by the damage and the dark background of the stone.

[illegible]

- 32 यस्थित्या भुञ्जत कृषत कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृ—
 33 पतिभिरस्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्व्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला—
 34 वृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमान वानुमोदेत । स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै सोपपातकै सयुक्त स्या—
 दित्यु¹—
 35 क्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद । आच्छेत्ता
 चानुमन्ता
 36 [च*]² तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥³ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन । कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदा—
 37 [य ह*]रन्ति ये । [२॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता (क्ता) राजभि सगरादिभि । यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ[ल](लम्) ॥ [३॥*]
 38 [अग्नेर*]पत्य प्रथम सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गाव । लोकत्रय तेन भवेत्तु दत्त य काञ्चन गा
 39 [च महीञ्च*] दद्यात्⁴ ॥ [४॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि ।
 निष्कर्तुमाल्यप्रतिमा—
 40 [नि तानि को*] नाम साधु पुनराददीत ॥ [५॥*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।
 मही मतिमता श्रेष्ठ
 41 [दानाच्छ्रेयोनु*]पालन (नम्)⁵ ॥ [६॥*] सवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षट्पञ्चाशदुत्तरके माघशुद्धपञ्चदश्या
 लिखितमिद
 42 [.]भोगिकपुत्रमहाबलाधिकृतके[शवेनेति] ॥ बलाधिकृतबाबुल्लदूतक ॥ स ४००
 ५० ६
 43 [माघ⁶ शु १० ५ भौ* ?][म]वारे निबद्धम् ॥
 44 स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! From the camp at the famous **Kāyāvātāra**—

In the great lineage of the *Mahārāja Karṇa* which, like a lake full of lotuses⁷, has become the perpetual abode of Lakshmī, which (*by its charity*) allays the suffering caused by desire for wealth (*as the lake does by quenching the thirst for water*), which has its greatness enhanced by the sun, which shines with prosperity which affords support to the families of Brāhmanas (*as the lake does by giving shelter to multitudes of birds*), (*there was*), like a swan, the illustrious **Dadda (II)** whose pure disposition was not affected by the freaks of the powerful Kali age, who by his inscrutable and noble deeds excited the wonder of all the guardians of the world,⁸ who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of **the king of Valabhī** when he was attacked by the Emperor, the illustrious **Harshadēva**.

¹ Read स्यादिति । उक्तञ्च

² The letters in this and other square brackets in the beginning of ll 36-41 which are broken away have been supplied from the corresponding portions of cognate records

³ Metre of this and the next two verses *Anushtubh*

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse *Indravajrā*

⁵ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁶ The *akṣaras* and numerical figures in the bracket have been supplied conjecturally with the help of the passage in l 41 The name of the week day must have been either *Sōma* or *Bbauma* as the *akṣara ma* is partially visible

⁷ The adjective *trishnā-santāpa-bārinī* shows that *kamalākara* is used here in the sense of 'a lake abounding in lotuses' rather than in that of 'a group of lotuses'

⁸ These are Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuna, Vāyu, Kubēra and Sōma

(Line 5) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Jayabhata (II)**, the joy of whose mind was heightened as his stores of wealth were enjoyed by supplicants who fearlessly approached him, whose valour was too much fondled by the destruction of the families of many foes, as fire is by the burning of a mass of thorns and bamboos, (*and*) who covered the lotus-like faces of the damsels that were the regions, with the shining white garment of his fame in the guise of the pearls from the frontal globes of the elephants of his enemies, cleft by the sharp edge of his sword

(L 7) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Dadda (III)**, who was clever in performing his duty by discrimination acquired by the study of the sacred treatise composed by the great sage Manu and who, by maintaining (*the institutions of*) *varnas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life), completely uprooted the pride of the Kali age, who annihilated the vanity of all kings by (*spending in charity*) the wealth he had acquired¹, in excess of the desires of (*his*) supplicants, whose valour in mounting mighty elephants became well known through (*his*) holding in check infuriated elephants, which, becoming uncontrollable through rut, had grown restive under the goad, whose habit of (*performing*) acts of benevolence was celebrated throughout the world through his deliverance of hundreds of kings who had fallen under the blow of adversity, whose second name **Bāhusahāya** (one whose arm is the sole helper) became renowned through the valour of his arm which he exhibited in routing numerous hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars fought with the supreme rulers of the east and the west, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) attained the *pañchamahāśabda*

(L 13) His son, the illustrious **Jayabhata (III)**,—who is clever in destroying the hosts of elephants thickly arrayed in the clash of many battles, who is a wild fire in (*burning*) the forests of the rebellious, who is to the destitute, helpless and distressed people, friends, servants and relatives as the full-moon is to the clusters of lotuses, who is able to confound his adversaries as the current of the Bhāgīrathī (*i.e.*, the Gangā) is to undermine the opposite banks, who is the commandant of a large and boisterous army even as Sāntanu was the lord of a great and noisy river (*viz.*, the Gangā), who has rescued kings by the might and valour of his arm, even as the primeval Boar rescued mountains, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*—being in good health, addresses (*the following order*) to all the kings, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas* the *Mahattaras* and *rāshtras* and villages —

(L 18) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame in this world and the next of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the auspicious day of the **fifteenth** **uthi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Māgha**, granted with a libation of water, as a *brahmadāya*, a field measuring sixty-four *navatanas* of land on the north-east boundary in the village **Śamīpadraka** situated in the **Kōrillā pathaka**—the boundaries of which are (*as follows*)—on the east the junction with the boundary of the village **Gōlikā**; on the south the tank called Yamala-khallara² and the field belonging to the *Mahattara* Mahēśvara and the cultivated field belonging to the barber Dēvaka, on the west, the road that goes to the village **Dhāhaddha** from the village **Samīpadiaka** itself, on the north, the tank called Barutakhallara and the

¹ *Vibhava-sampādana* in the text is equivalent to *sampādita-vibhava* according to the rule ‘*Bhāvā-nayanā dravy-ānayanam*’ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates, ‘by acquiring (again) the wealth that had been spent (by him) etc.’

² *Khallara*, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal, is a *dēsī* word meaning a pond. *Yamala* means twins. So the expression seems to denote a tank consisting of twin ponds. An analogous expression, *yamala-vāpī*, occurs in l 25 of the Dhank plates of Śilāditya I, *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, pp 237 ff

brahmadēya field belonging to the Brāhmana Narma residing at **Kōrillā**—this field thus defined by its four boundaries, together with the *udranga*¹ and the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported (*into the village*),² with its income in grain and gold, with (*finer imposed for*) the ten offences³, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom,⁴ with houses, immovables and movables, streets, (*the right to*) ingress, egress (*and*) (*free*) movements, pasture-lands for four-footed animals, step-wells, (*other*) wells, tanks, (*and other*) things necessary for living in the village,⁵ free from the interference of all officers of the state, exclusive of grants previously made to gods and Brāhmanas, (*which is*) to be enjoyed according to the maxim of waste land, successively by sons, sons' sons, and their descendants as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure,—to the Brāhmana Dēvasvāmin, who is known by the name Kallumbara which we have given him, (*who is*) the son of the Brāhmana Datta, who belongs to the Prāgāyana *gōtra* (*and*) is a student of the Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) of the Vājasaneyā (*i.e.*, White Yajurveda), who has emigrated from (*the city of*) **Girinagara** and is *now* residing at the *agrahāra* (*village*) **Śraddhukā** and belongs to the community of the Chāturvēdins of the place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*viz*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaisvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, (*reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites

(L 31) Wherefore, none should cause obstruction while he is enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), or causing (*it*) to be cultivated or directing (*others to cultivate it*) in accordance with the rules applicable to *brahmadāya* (*land*) And future gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whoever with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins ”

(L 34) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six imprecatory and benedictive verses*)

(L 41) This (*charter*) has been written by the *Mahābalādhukṛita* **Kēśava**, the son of the *Bhōgika*. on the **fifteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright fortnight** of **Māgha** in the **year four hundred increased by fifty-six** The *dūtaka* of this (*charter*) is the *Balādhukṛita* **Bāvulla**. This is recorded on [Tuesday] the month [Māgha, the bright fortnight, the lunar day 10 and 5] in the **year 400** (*and*) **50** (*and*) **6**

This is the **sign-manual** of Me, the illustrious **Jayabhata (III)**

¹ As remarked by Bhagvanlal, some of these rights and privileges are hardly appropriate in the case of the donation of a field

² As Dr. Altekar has shown (*Rashtrakūtas and Their Times*, p. 229), *vāta* refers to the articles imported and *bhūta* to those manufactured in the village. The expression sometimes occurs in the form '*bhūt-ōpātta-pratyāya*'. Notice the analogous expression *sa-bāhy-ābhyantar-ādāyam* 'together with external and internal taxes' in the Ichhāwār plates of Paramardideva. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 205 ff.

³ These are probably identical with the ten sins enumerated in the *Sukranūṭisāra* (*adhyāya* 3, *sl* 6) *viz*, murder, theft, adultery, slander, harsh language, lying, divulgence of secrets, evil design, atheism and perverseness. The same enumeration occurs in the *Ashtāṅgabṛīdaya* of Vāgbhata. Cf. also Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 189, n. 4.

⁴ Pandit Bhagvanlal omits *sōtpadyamāna* in the translation.

⁵ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates *padr-ōpajīvya-samētam* by 'with those who live on the skirts of the village'. *Padra*, which often occurs at the end of a village-name, seems to mean a village, here, the people living in the village. The expression seems to convey some miscellaneous rights enjoyed by villagers.

No 22, PLATE XV

ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III (KALACHURI) YEAR 460

THESE plates were discovered in 1936 in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village about four miles to the east of Trimbak, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Nasik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. I edit the inscription here from the original plates which were kindly sent to me by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona.¹

They are two copper-plates each measuring 12.8" in breadth and 9.4" in height. At the top of each plate there are two round holes, 6" in diameter, for two rings which must have originally held them together. One of the rings has since been lost. The ends of the other are soldered into the bottom of a ladle-shaped seal. On the face of the latter, which is roundish and measures about 1.8" in diameter, there appears in relief on a countersunk surface a solar symbol similar to that on the seals of the Kairā plates² of Dadda II, and below it the legend *Śrī-Jayabhata*. The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, are in a state of good preservation. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. There are thirty-nine lines in all, of which eighteen are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-one on the second. The average size of the letters is 15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsārī plates. The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters. As shown below, he is identical with Jayabhata III who granted the Navsārī plates. It is noteworthy, therefore, that the formation of some *aksharas* in the sign-manual of the present grant is different, compare, e.g., the *aksharas* *ma*, *ja*, *bha* and *ta* in the two signatures. The grant is written in a careless and cursive hand. Notice, for instance, the cursive form of *h* in *kali* and *-ākulita-*, both in l. 2. Several letters are mis-shapen or incompletely formed owing to the carelessness of either the writer or the engraver. See, e.g., *ś* in *-mstrinśa-*, l. 5 and *śrī-Jayabhata-*, l. 6, *m* in *-samudbhūta-*, l. 13 and *kachchhukāma-*, l. 25, *n* in *-pramānam*, l. 27 etc. Many letters appear in varying forms, see, for instance, the form of *ch* in *-charita-*, l. 3 and *-pravachan-*, l. 6, of *th* in *-nātha-*, l. 1, *-manōratha-*, l. 7 and *yathā*, l. 15, of *p* in *-vismāpita-* and *-lōkapāla-*, both in l. 3, of *m* in *-muni-* and *-Manu-*, both in l. 6, of *y* in *-yaśō-*, l. 4, *mayā*, l. 15 and *Viyadamba*, l. 24, of *r* in *-nivārana-* and *-guru-*, both in l. 8, of *v* in *iva* and *-vilasit-*, both in l. 2, *-vāsinah* l. 34 etc. Owing to the similarity of *bh*, *g* and *ś*, as well as of *v*, *b* and *dh* it sometimes becomes difficult to say what exactly was intended to be expressed. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 14. Punctuation, which is redundant in several places, is generally indicated by a single dot, but in metrical passages by single or double vertical strokes. The numerical symbols for 400, 60, 10 and 1 occur in the last line.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for six benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The text of the inscription is *mutatis mutandis* identical with that of the Navsārī plates. It shows generally the same orthographical peculiarities. One additional peculiarity noticed here is the doubling of *k* before *t* as in *-samyukṛta-*, l. 33, and *-nirbhukṛta*, ll. 36-37, which is in accordance with Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 47.

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been edited by Messrs Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 292 ff.

² Nos. 16 and 17, above.

The plates were issued from **Bharukachchha** by the illustrious **Jayabhata**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda*. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the Navsārī plates, commencing from Dadda II. He is, therefore, **Jayabhata III of the Early Gurjara Dynasty**. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhata III, of three pieces of land, measuring sixty *uvartanas* in all, in the village **Tōranaka** situated in the *vishaya* of **Nāndīpura**. In connection with their boundaries are mentioned the villages **Jayapura**, **Viddhēraka**, and **Bhūtushōhī** as well as the river **Karillīnī**. The donee was the Brāhmana Nārāyana, the son of Chashtasvāmin, of the Śāndilya *gōtra* and the Kauthuma *sākhā* of the Chhandōga (Śānavēda), who was then residing at **Brahmapurī**. The purpose of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices, *balī*, *charu*, *vaisvadēva* and others. The grant was made on the occasion of the **Tulā-sankrānti** on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of **Āśvayuja**. It was recorded on the same tithi of the dark fortnight of **Āśvayuja** in the year 460 of an unspecified era. The charter was written by the *Balādhikṛita* **Sahābhata**, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* **Durgabhata**. The *Dūtaka* was the same as in the earlier Navsārī plates, viz. the *Balādhikṛita* **Bāvulla**.

The tithi on which the grant was made is mentioned in words in l 30, and that on which it was recorded is expressed by numerical symbols in the last line. The year is mentioned only once, in the last line, and is expressed in numerical symbols only. This makes it doubtful if the dot following the symbol for 60 indicates the number one, or is a redundant punctuation mark. I am inclined to take the latter view, because a similar mark is used throughout in this record to mark punctuation¹.

According to Kielhorn's final view, the Kalachuri-Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu di 1 (the 5th September) in 248 A C and its months were *pūrnimānta*. Of the early dates of this era, only two² admitted of verification and both of them appeared irregular according to this epoch. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far Kielhorn's conclusion about the epoch of the Chēdi era is proved or disproved by the date of the present grant. The statement in the present plates that the Tulā-sankrānti, on which the grant was made, occurred in the dark half of Āśvayuja shows that the month was *amānta*³. According to Kielhorn's final view, the date of the present grant would be expected to fall in 707 A C if the Kalachuri year 460 was current, and in 708 A C if it was expired. But in neither of these years, did the Tulā-sankrānti fall on the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Āśvina⁴. Again, even if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began on Āśvina śu di 1 in 249 A C (not in 248 A C) as was first held by Kielhorn, the date of the present grant would fall in 708 or 709 A C according as the year 460 was current or expired. We have seen above that 708 A C does not suit. In 709 A C also, the Tulā-sankrānti did not⁵ fall on Āśvina va di 11. If, on the other hand, the Kalachuri year commenced on Kārttika śu di 1 as I have shown elsewhere⁶, the date of the

¹ A similar redundant mark of punctuation occurs after the symbols indicative of the tithi in the same line. Again, if thus read, the year would be an expired one like those of the Navsārī and Kāvī plates of the same dynasty. If the symbols are interpreted to mean 461, the year would have to be taken as current, but current years are cited only exceptionally.

² Viz., the dates of the Navsārī plates of Jayabhata III (No 21) and the Kāvī plate of Jayabhata IV (No 23).

³ The month, if *pūrnimānta*, would have been Kārttika.

⁴ In 707 A C the Tulā-sankrānti fell on the *amānta* Āśvina va di 8 and in 708 A C on Āśvina śu di 5.

⁵ In 709 A C the Tulā-sankrānti fell on Āśvina *paurṇimā*.

⁶ See Introduction, above.

present grant, for the expired Kalachuri year 460 would regularly correspond to Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C., according to the epoch 248-249 A.C. which suits other verifiable early Kalachuri dates. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Āśvina commenced 45 minutes after mean sunrise and the Tulā-sankrānti occurred 15 h 20 m after mean sunrise. Tuesday, the 23rd September 710 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the present grant.

As for the geographical names in the present record, Bharukachchha is, of course, modern Broach. Nāndīpura is Nāndōd in the Rājpiplā subdivision of the Broach District. Tōranaka is still called Tōran or Tōranmāl and lies only two miles to the north of Nāndōd. The statement in the present grant that Tōranaka was situated in the Nāndīpura *vrshaya* proves the correctness of the identification of Nāndīpura with Nāndōd which was first proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. The river Karullinī is clearly Karjan, on the right bank of which both Nāndōd and Tōran are situated. Jayapura cannot be definitely located, unless it is Jesalpur, 3 miles to the north of Tōran. As described in the present plates, it lies on the road passing through Tōran. Bhūtishōhī may be Bhuchād, about 1½ miles from Tōran, on the western bank of the Karjan¹. Viddhēraka cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. Brahmapurī, where the donee resided, is probably identical with Brahmapura, mentioned as the place of residence of the donee of the Jhar plates of Dharasēna II². It may be identical with Bāmanphaliā, nine miles south-west of Nāndōd.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [।*] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीभरुकच्छात्सततलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते ।⁵ तृष्णासन्तापहारिणि ।⁵ दिननाथविस्तारितानुभावे ।⁵ द्विजकुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशा—
- 2 लिति ।⁵ महति महाराजकण्ठान्वये कमलाकर इव राजहस प्रबलकलिकालविलसिताकुलित⁶—
विमलस्वभावो गम्भीरो—
- 3 दार[च]रितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानस परमेश्वरश्रीह[र्ष]देवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरित्राणोप—
जातभ्रमद—
- 4 दभ्रशुभ्रा[भ्र]विभ्रमयशोवितान श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरश[ङ्कि]तागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसच—
योपचीयमानम—
- 5 नोनि[वृ]ति[र]नेककण्टकवङ्श⁷सदोहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापानलो ।⁵ निशितनिस्त्रि[ङ्श]⁸धारादारि—
तारातिकरिक्कुम्भ[मु]क्ताफलच्छ—
- 6 लोलसितसितयशोङ्शुका⁹वगुण्ठितदिग्धवधूदनसरसिज [श्री]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनु—
प्रणीतप्रव[च]नाधिग—

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV, p 292, n 6 .

² *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp 31 ff and *Ind Ant*, Vol XV, p 187

³ From the original plates

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ This mark of punctuation is redundant

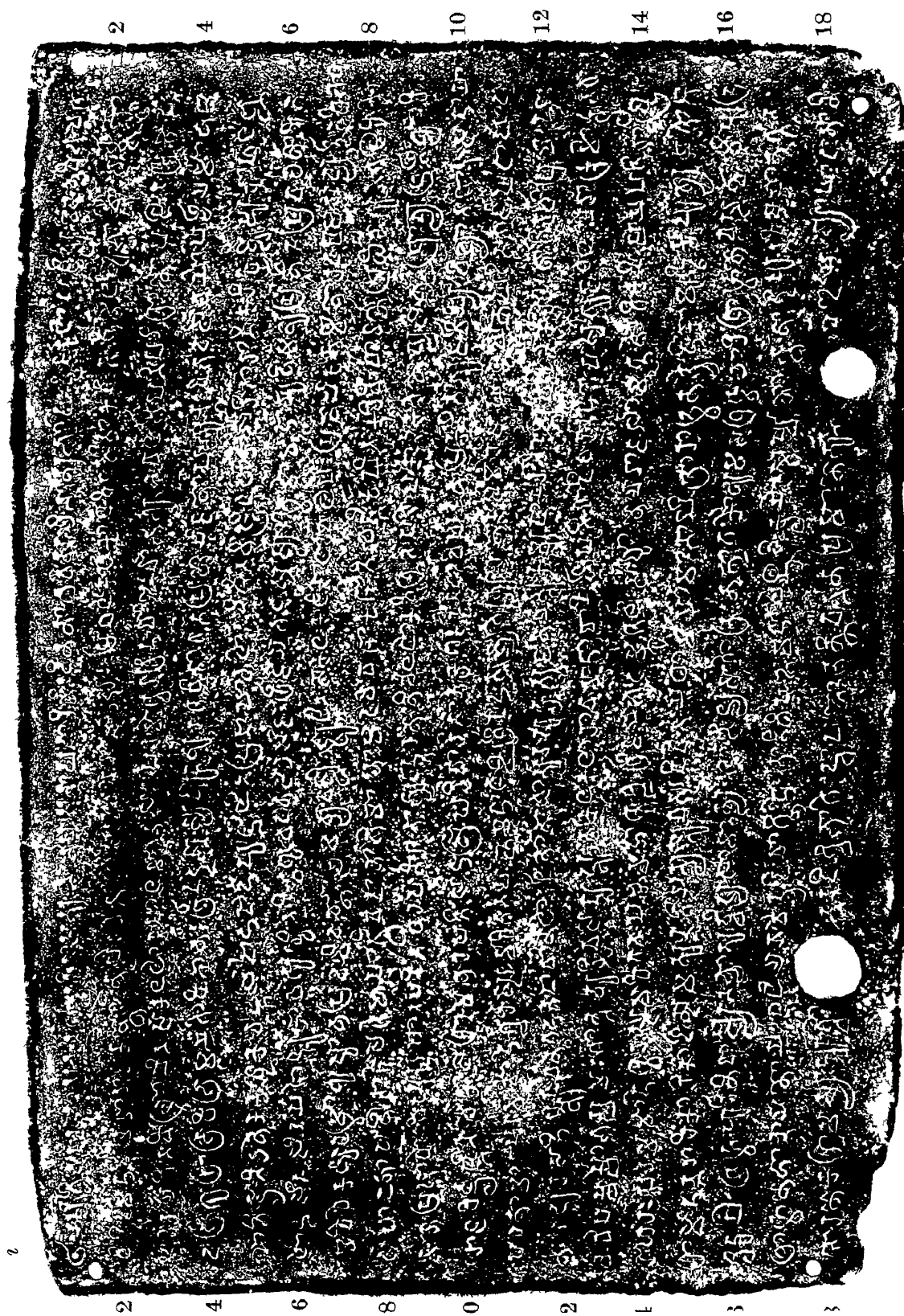
⁶ Read -विलसितानाकुलित- It is curious that the mistake has persisted in this record also

⁷ Read -वश-

⁸ Read -निस्त्रिंश-

⁹ Read -यशोशुका-

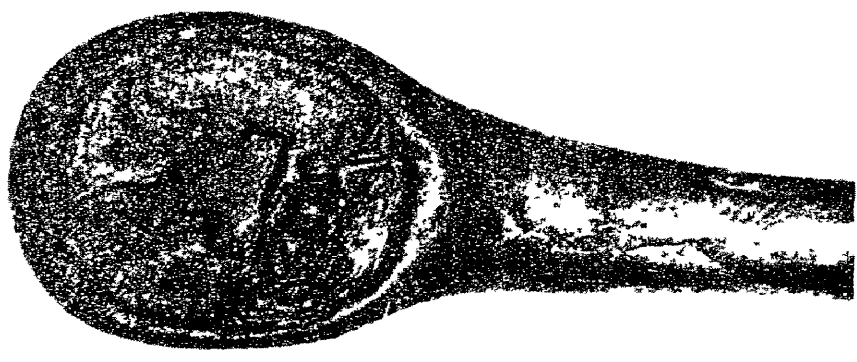
ANJANERI PLATES OF JAYABHATA III (KALACHURI) YEAR 460



20
22
24
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Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely cuneiform, arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The text is densely packed and covers most of the page area. There are two distinct circular holes on the left side of the tablet, one near the top and one near the bottom, which were likely used for binding or hanging the tablet.

Seal



(From a photograph)
About actual size

- 7 मविवेकस्वधम्मनिष्ठानप्रव[मि?]¹ वण्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसकलकलिकालावलेप प्रणयिजनम-
नोर[थ]विषयव्यतीतविभव-
- 8 सपादनापनीता[शे]षशेष²पार्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशाकुशातिवर्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित-
[गु]रुगजाधिरो-
- 9 हणप्रभावो ।³ विपत्प्रपातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिल[लो]कविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसन
प्राच्यप्रतीच्या[धि]⁴-
- 10 राजविजृ[म्भि]तमहासग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यविख्यात-
बाहुसहाया-
- 11 परनामा ।³ परममाहे[श्व]रस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[*] श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरण(ने)कसमर-
सघट्टघनघटितगजघटापाट-
- 12 नपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानलो ।³ दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनव(ब)न्धुकुमुदाकर[कौ]मुदीगि-
(नि)[शा]करो ।³ भागीर[थी]प्रवाह इ-
- 13 व विपक्षक्षोभक्षम शान्तनुरिव स[मु]द्भूतकलकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिरादिवराह इ[व] स्वभुज-
बलपराक्रमोद्धृतध-
- 14 राधर परममाहेश्वरस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्द)[*] ग्री(श्री)जयभटXकुशली सव्वी[ने]⁵व
राजसामन्तभोगिक ।³ विषयपतिराष्ट्र-
- 15 ग्राम[म*]हत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदशि(र्श)यत्यस्तु वस्सविदित यथा मया⁶ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चै-
हिकामु[ष्मि]कपुण्ययशोभि-
- 16 वृद्धये ।³ ब्रह्मपुरीनिवास्येतच्चातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यशा[ण्डि]ल्यसगोत्र ।³ छन्दोग ।³ कौठुमसब्रह्म-
चारिब्राह्मणचष्टस्वामिपुत्र-
- 17 ब्राह्मण[ना]रायणाय ।³ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादिकृ (क्रि)योत्सर्पणार्थ ।³
नान्दीपुरविषयान्तर्गत ।³
- 18 तोरणकग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरदिग्विभागे ।³ द्वापञ्चाशन्नवर्तनप्रमाण भूखण्ड ।³ यस्याघाटनानि ।³

Second Plate

- 19 पूर्वत⁷ जयपुरग्रामयायी पन्था हस्तिनिकागत्तिसलग्न⁸ स(?)रो दक्षिणत छेद[की]वृक्षोप-
लक्षितमैरान्तरि-
- 20 तकुटुम्बदीपसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्र ।³ मैरातस्समुत्थितो दक्षिणाभिनु(मु)खो वहश्च ।³ तथा अपरत
तोरणकग्रा-
- 21 मात् विद्धेरकग्रामयायी पन्था तथा क्षेत्रमदिरोत्थितो सुमिआरवृक्ष तथा धम्मणगत्तिगामी वहश्च ।
उत्तरत धम्माणखट्टा ।³
- 22 एवमे ।³ [त*]च्चतुराघाटनोपलक्षित भूख[ण्ड] ।³ तथास्यैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे कच्छे ।³
पचन्नवर्तनप्रमाण⁹ भूख[ण्ड] ।³ यस्याघाटनानि पू-

¹ Read प्रवीणो

² These two *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated here

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁴ *Db* is imperfectly formed here and appears somewhat like *r* The reading given above is clear in the corresponding passage of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No 24, below)

⁵ The engraver first incised *mē* and then tried to alter it into *nē*

⁶ *Y* has here a cursive transitional form

⁷ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

⁸ Read -सलग्न

⁹ Read पचन्नवर्तन-

- 23 व्वंत बरद(ट)कम[य्या]दा¹न्तरितकुटुम्बिरे[व]ल्लसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्र ।² दक्षिणत करिल्लिणी नदी ।² अपरत [छ]त्वा(त्त्रा)भ्युपलक्षितबरटकमर्या—
- 24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बिरेविजडग्बसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्र ।² उत्तरत ब्राह्मणदामोदरसत्कब्रह्मादेयक्षेत्र ।² राजकीयचरिका च । तदेव चतुराघाट—
- 25 नोपलक्षित भूखण्ड । तथास्यैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे ।² कच्छे ।² कच्छिकाम्[नि]बद्धनिवर्त्तनत्रयप्रमाण भूखण्ड ।² यस्याघाटनानि
- 26 पूर्वत करिल्लिणी नदी ।² दक्षिणतो(त) सैव करिल्लिणी नदी ।²[अ]परत भूति[षो]हीग्राम—[गा]मी सीमासन्धि उत्तरतो[ङ्को]ल्लवृक्षोपलक्षित—
- 27 करिल्लिणीनदीवितटी । एवमेतच्चतुश्चतु³राघाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डत्रयावस्थितष[ष्टि]निवर्त्तनप्रमा[ण] क्षेत्र ।² सोपरिकर ।² सभूत—
- 28 पात⁴प्रत्याय ।² सधान्यहिरण्यादेय ।² सदशापराध सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक ।² [स]र्व्वराजकीया—नामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय ।² पूर्व्वप्रत्त—
- 29 देवब्रह्मदायरहित ।² भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्राकर्काणवस्थि(क्षि)तिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन ।² पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य ।² गृहस्थाव—
- 30 रक(च)लकसहितमद्याश्वयुजवहुले(लै)कादश्या तुलासक्रान्तेरवादु(वु)दकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादित—(तम्) । यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदार्यास्थित्या भु—
- 31 जत कृषत कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्कित(र्त्ति)तव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्म—द्वश्यैरन्यैर्द्वा(र्व्वा)यमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य
- 32 पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला[व]तमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानक वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्मर्मापातकैस्सोप—
- 33 पातकैस्स[यु]क्कत[*] स्यादित्यु⁵क्त च भगवा(वता) दे(वे)दव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्ष—सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता—
- 34 न्येव नरके वसेत् ॥⁶ [१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर[वा]सिन [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते ।² भूमिदाय हरन्ति ये ॥ [२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
- 35 राजभिस्सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि⁷ [त]स्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) । [1३॥*] नु(अ)ग्नेरपत्य प्रथम सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गाव [1*]
- 36 [लो]क्कत्र[य]⁸ तेन भवेत्तु दत्त(त्तम्) । य काव(त्र)न गा च मही च दद्यात् ॥⁹ [४॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्र दानानि¹⁰ धर्म्मार्थ्यशस्कराणि । नि—
- 37 भुक्त्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि ।² को नाम साधु पुनराददीत । [1५॥*] सु(स्व)दत्ता परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । मही महिमता श्रेष्ठ दाना—
- 38 च्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति ॥¹¹ लिखितमिदि(द) बलाधिकृतदुर्गभटसूनुना बलाधिक(कृ)तसह¹²भटे—नेति ॥ बलाधिकृतबावुल—

¹ A similar expression occurs in the Dhānk plates of Silāditya I-Dharmāditya See *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, p 239

² This mark of punctuation is unnecessary

³ चतु is redundant

⁴ Read सभूतवात—

⁵ Read स्यादिति । उक्कत च

⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses *Anushtubh*

⁷ Read भूमिस्तस्य

⁸ Read लोकत्रय

⁹ Metre of this and the following verse *Indravajrā*

¹⁰ Read नरेन्द्रदानानि

¹¹ Read -योनुपालनम् ॥६॥ इति ॥ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹² The *akshara ba* has an unusual form here as in *gaj-ādhirōhana*, ll 8-9, above

39 दूतक ॥ स ४०० ६० ।¹ आश्वयुज ब १० १ ।¹ निम(ब)द्धम् ॥ स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभ-
टा(ट)स्य ॥

Seal

श्रीजयभट [1*]

TRANSLATION

[For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp 87 f]

(Line 15) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) mother and father and of Myself, I have today, on the **eleventh** (*tithi*) of the **dark fortnight** of **Āśvayuja**, on the occasion of the sun's entering the **Tulā**² (*rāśi*), granted with a libation of water, fields measuring sixty *nvartanas* in three pieces of land with their boundaries defined as follows — a piece of land measuring fifty-two *nvartanas* in the north-east direction of the village **Tōranaka** situated in the **Nāndīpura** *vishaya*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the road going to the village **Jayapura** (and) the tank adjacent to the pit **Hastinikā**, on the south, the family-field belonging to the householder **Dīpa**, separated by the field-boundary marked by the *chhrēdaki* tree, and a stream flowing from the field boundary³ towards the south, and on the west, the road going from the village **Tōranaka** to the village **Viddhēraka** and the *sumiāra* tree growing on the boundary of the field and a stream flowing into the **Dhammāna** pit, on the north, the **Dhammāna** pit,—the piece of land defined by these four boundaries, further, in the marshy region in the southern direction of this very village, a piece of land measuring five *nvartanas*, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the family field belonging to the householder **Rēvalla** separated by the boundary of *barataka*⁴, on the south, the river **Karillinī**; on the west, the family field belonging to the householder **Vijadamba** separated by the boundary of *barataka* and marked by an umbrella, on the north, the *brahmadēya* field belonging to the **Brāhmana** **Dāmōdara** and a royal road,—the field marked by these four boundaries, and on the south of this very piece of land, in the (*same*) marshy region, (*another*) piece of land measuring three *nvartanas* and surrounded by mango trees of the marshy region, the boundaries of which are,—on the east, the river **Karillinī**, on the south, the same river **Karillinī**, on the west, the boundary leading to the village **Bhūtishōhī**, on the north, the *vitati*(?) of the river **Karillinī** marked by the *ankōlla* tree,—(*the fields measuring sixty nvartanas in all in three pieces of land with their four boundaries defined as above*)—together with the *uparikara*, with taxes on commodities manufactured and imported, with the income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right to forced labour arising therefrom, free from the interference of all officers of the state, exclusive of the gifts to gods and **Brāhmanas** previously made (and) including houses, immovables and movables,—which are to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, accord-

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary

² *Libra*, the seventh sign of the Zodiac

³ *Marrā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. But the context shows that the meaning of a field-boundary is probably correct. Even now *mērā* has that sense in Marāṭhī, and *mērē* in Kan-nada

⁴ Monier-Williams gives *baratta* in the sense of a kind of grain. It seems to mean here some plant used for the fencing of fields. A similar expression *barataka-maryādā-pūrvvatah* occurs also in line 7 of the Dhānk plates of Śīlāditya I-Dharmāditya (*Ind Ant*, Vol IX, pp 238 ff), which Buhler translated as 'to the east of Barataka'

ing to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmana Nārāyana, the son of the Brāhamana Chashtasvāmin, of the Śāndilya *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* of the Chhandōga (*i e*, Sāmavēda) who resides at Brahmapurī and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of that place, for the performance of five great sacrifices, *vṛz*, *balu*, *charu*, *vaśīvadēva*, *agnihōtra*, (*reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites ”

[For a translation of ll 30-33, see above, p 89]

(L 33) And it is said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L 38) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the *Balādhukṛita* Bāvulla, has been written by the *Balādhukṛita* Sahabhata, the son of the *Balādhukṛita* Durgabhata

Recorded in the year 400 (*and*) 60, (*the month*) Āśvayuja (*and*) the dark (*fortnight*) (*and*) (*on the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 1.

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhata

Seal

The illustrious Jayabhata

No 23, PLATE XVI

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV. (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

THIS plate was discovered by Rao Saheb Gopalji G Desai of Broach in 1875¹ He found it with several other plates in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmanas of Kāvī, an ancient town in the Jambusar *tāluka* of the Broach District, situated not far from the Gulf of Cambay, a few miles to the south of the Mahī Dr Buhler, to whom its impressions were sent, made personal inquiries at Kāvī in the course of which he came to know the following history of the plates—“Five or six hundred years ago a small *tānk* or receptacle for water, attached to the outside of a house behind a temple of Gangeśvara Mahādēva at Kāvī was cleaned, and among the rubbish at the bottom, seven inscribed copper-plates were found These were taken possession of by the caste of the Kapilas During the times of the Musalman rule, in the reign of Mahmud Bigarhā, the Kapilas were sorely oppressed A portion of the community fled to Gangāsāgara in Bengal and took away two of the plates The others remained at Kāvī² The present plate is the second and last plate of its set. It is still in the possession of the Kapila Brāhmanas from whom it was recently taken on loan by a medical practitioner of Bombay The first plate, which was probably one of the two taken to Bengal, is not now forthcoming The inscription on the second plate was edited with a translation, but without a facsimile, by Dr Buhler in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol V, pp 109 ff Its photograph was subsequently published in Fleet’s *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, Plate 272 Having failed to get a fresh impression of the original plate, I edit the inscription on it from a copy of the photograph in Fleet’s book, kindly supplied to me by the Director-General of Archæology in India

‘Originally the plate measured ten inches in height by thirteen in breadth But not inconsiderable pieces have been broken off from the right and left hand sides, so that

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 109

² *Loc cit* Of the four other plates shown to Dr Buhler, three forming a set contained a grant of Gōvīndarāja of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta branch (ed by Buhler in *Ind Ant*, Vol V, pp 145 ff) and the remaining one, a grant of the Chaulukya Abhayapāla

the latter has assumed a nearly semi-circular shape¹ Almost all the lost *aksharas*, except those at the end of l 25 and the beginning of l 26, can be supplied with the help of the recently discovered Prince of Wales Museum plates² of the same king 'The plate seems to have undergone very rough treatment, as it is full of indentations A few letters of the 20th and 22nd lines have been incised with such violence that the punch has penetrated to the other side of the plate At the back, some lines of illegible letters appear, as if the engraver had first begun his work there, but had afterwards abandoned his attempt The plate is free from verdigris and oxidization³

As said before, this is the **second plate** of its set and contains, therefore, the latter half of the grant The extant portion consists of twenty-six lines, all of which are inscribed on the same side The average size of the letters is 2".

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the Navsārī plates of Jayabhata III The royal sign-manual is, however, in the northern characters The only peculiarities that call for notice are the long *mātrās* denoting medial diphthongs 'which curl over three or even four *aksharas*', the curling stroke for medial *ri* in *kri* which is attached to the horizontal bar of *k*, instead of to its vertical, (see *krishna-* and *-kriva-*, both in l 4 and *krishn-āhayō*, l 20), and the unlooped *n* in *ndh* of *gandha-*, l 10 and *-panthā*, l 12 The sign for the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in l. 22 The **language** is Sanskrit Except for two verses embedded in the eulogistic portion and six benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in other records of the Early Gurjaras.

The extant portion of this grant begins abruptly with the eulogy of the donor, the illustrious **Jayabhata** who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great *sāmantas* or feudatory chiefs As already stated, the text of the eulogistic portion, so far as it goes, is identical with that of the Prince of Wales Museum plates. This Jayabhata is, therefore, **Jayabhata IV** of the **Early Gurjara Dynasty**. Much of the praise bestowed on him is conventional, but there is one important reference in v 2 to his victory over the **Tājjikas** or **Arabs** in the city of the lord of **Valabhī** It is said that by the sharp edge of his sword he put an end to their oppression of the people even as a cloud with its showers extinguishes fire which is troublesome to the people⁴

The inscription records the grant, by **Jayabhata IV**, of a field measuring fifty *nivartanas* on the south-west boundary in the village **Kēmajju** situated in the **Bharukachchha vishaya** In connection with the boundaries of the field, the record mentions the villages **Chhīrakaha**, **Jambhā**, **Gōhavalī** and **Sīhu**. The **object** of the grant was to provide for the supply of the materials of worship and repairs to the temple of the god **Āśramadēva** in the village **Kēmajju**

The grant was made on the occasion of the Sun's entering the **Karkāṭa-rāśi**, i.e., the sign of Cancer, on the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of **Āshāḍha**⁵. The **year** was mentioned in words at the end of l. 24, but owing to the breaking away of the

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 110

² No 24, below

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 110

⁴ This important reference has escaped the notice of all scholars who have subsequently written about this grant, for they adopted Dr Buhler's translation based on an incorrect reading of ll 6 and 7, viz, 'who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī' Jayabhata was thus supposed to be an enemy of the contemporary Maitraka king, while, as a matter of fact, he was his friend and deliverer

⁵ The *tithi* is expressed in words in l 15

lower right hand corner of the plate, the expression is partly mutilated. The symbols denoting the same year, which have been preserved in the beginning of the extant portion of l 25, leave no doubt, however, that it was 486. Like other dates of the Early Gujjar this must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era¹. The *tithi*, on which the grant was recorded (*mbaddha*), was also mentioned along with the year in ll 24 and 25, and in the latter, is partly mutilated. The words *Āshādhā śu . Ādityavāre* are perfectly clear in l. 25. As regards the symbol following *śu*, I cannot do better than quote Dr Kielhorn's remarks: 'In l 25 the numerical symbol following upon *śu* is decidedly indistinct. What is clearly seen both in the impressions and in the photograph is the symbol for 10, as occurs, e.g., at the end of the Valabhī grant of Dharasēna II minus the curved line on the right, but there are indications that that curved line had been engraved and that, therefore, 10 was intended'². It is more difficult to say whether certain marks after the symbol for 10 are accidental scratches or intended to denote the unit 1 or 2'³. The grant was therefore, recorded on a Sunday, the 10th, 11th or 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight *Āshādhā* in the (Kalachuri) year 486.

With the epoch of 248-249 A.C., which Kielhorn at first fixed for the Kalachuri Chēdi era and which he found applicable in the case of the date of the Navsārī plates of Jayabhata III, the date of the present plate should fall in 735 or 736 A.C. 'according as the figure 486 denotes the current year or the number of years expired'. Kielhorn found by calculation that 'in A.D. 735 the Karkata-samkrānti took place on Thursday, June 1, which was the 13th of the dark half of a month, while the 10th of the bright half of *Āshādhā* had fallen already on Sunday, June 5, i.e., no less than eighteen days before the samkrānti. In A.D. 736, on the other hand, the Karkata-samkrānti took place about 8 hours after sunrise of June 22, and the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshādhā* began 21 minutes after mean sunrise of June 22, and ended 1 h 21 m before mean sunrise of June 23. The *tithi*, therefore, in all probability, was a *kshaya-tithi*, but, under any circumstances, the Karkata-samkrānti, in A.D. 736, did take place during the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshādhā*. June 22, however, was a Friday, not a Sunday; and the nearest Sunday, June 24, was the 12th of the bright half of *Āshādhā*, because the 12th *tithi* of the bright half ended on it, 20 h 37 m after mean sunrise'⁴. Friday, the 22nd June 736 A.C. is, therefore, the date of the grant, and Sunday, the 24th June of the same year, the date of its recording.

The localities mentioned in the grant were fully identified by Dr. Bühler. 'The village **Kēmajju** is the present Kīmōj or Kīmaj. Straight to the west from Kīmaj at a distance of five or six hundred yards, there is the temple *Āsamēśvar*, *Āśramadē* of our grant. The present temple is a small brick building erected a few years ago, but it contains an ancient *Linga*, and near it to the east are an old well and a depression in the ground which looks like the remnant of a small tank. To the west of the village is Sīgām or Sīgām, the **Sīhugrāma** of the grant, towards the south-west there is the village of Jāmadi, called also Sāmadi, which corresponds to **Jambhā**, and to the north we have the ruins of Gōlāl (on the Trigonometrical map erroneously called Galāl), and

¹ Bühler referred it to the Vikrama era and as, according to the calculations of Prof. Bahadur Śāstrī, in 429 A.C. corresponding to V 486, the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of *Āshādhā* fell on Sunday when the sun entered the sign of Karkata, Dr. Bühler concluded that it demolished the theory that the Vikrama era was a forgery and was invented after the battle of Kōrur.

² The same symbol is used to denote 10 in the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No. 24, below).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 220.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 221.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 112.

Gōliavali of the plate. **Chhīrakaha** is not to be traced **Sōlepur Sagar** occupies the position assigned to it¹

TEXT¹Second Plate²

- 1 [तुरङ्गमनिकरभङ्गभासुरो*]³ [द्रु]तदलितद्विरदकुम्भस्थलग (ग)लितमुक्ताफलनिक[रदन्तु-
रासि*]—
- 2 [लतामरीचिनिचय*]मेचकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखर पद्माकर इव प्रकटानेकलक्ष[णो न पुनर्ज्ज*]—
- 3 [लाशय क्षपा*]कर इव सकलकलापान्वितो⁴ न पुनर्दोषकर⁵ [*] सागर इवान्त प्रवेशितवि-
पक्षभूभृद्मण्ड[लो] [न*]
- 4 [पुनर्ग्राहाकुल नारा*]यण इव सुदर्शनचक्रक्षपितविपक्षो न पुन कृष्णस्वभाव. हर इवाङ्गीकृत-
भूतिनिचयो [न*]
- 5 [पुनर्भुजङ्गपरिवृत ।*] बालेन्दुविम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धमानस्वतनूदयेन [।*] प्रणामकामोत्पकरेण
लोक [*] कृताज[लि*]
- 6 [कान्तिमता कृ*][तोय](यम्)⁶ [॥१॥*] असिधाराजलेन शमित[*] प्रासभ वलभीपते
पु[रे] यो (ये) नाशेषलोकस[ता]पकलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो [ज*]—
- 7 [यभटजल*]द एष⁷ [॥२॥*] स वि[गी]यति⁸ (ते) देवधूकदम्भ (म्ब) कैर्नृपशतमकुटरत्नकिक-
(र)णावलिरजित्त (न)पादपङ्कजा (ज) समधिगतपञ्चम[हाश*]—
- 8 [ब्दो म*]हासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभट कुशली सव्वनिव राजसामन्तभोगिकु (क) विषयपतिरा-
ष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकाद (दी) —
- 9 [न्सम*] नुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्सविदित (तम्)। यथा मया मातापित्रोका (रा)त्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-
पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये केमज्जु[ग्रा] [म*]—
- 10 [नि*]विष्टाश्रमदेवपादेभ्य गन्धधूपपुष्पदीपप्रदातसशीतकसत्रप्रवतनसत्मारज्जनोदयेन⁹ देवकुलस्य
खण्ड[स्फुटि][त*]—
- 11 [विशीर्ण*?]¹⁰सरकारनव कम्मक्ता¹¹द्युत्सर्पणार्थं श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतकेमज्जुग्रामे ग्राम-
स्यापरदक्षिणसीम्नि पञ्चाशन्नवर्त्त[नप्रमा]—

¹ From Plate 272 in Fleet's *Sanskrit, Pāli and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*

² The first plate is lost

³ The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in this and other rectangular brackets, which are lost owing to the breaking away of the corners of the plate, have been supplied from the corresponding portions of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king (No 24, below)

⁴ Read सकलकलाकलापान्वितो

⁵ Read -दोषाकर

⁶ Metre *Upajāti*

⁷ The verse is very corrupt Its correct reading may be restored as follows —

असिधाराजलशमित प्रासभ वलभीपते पुरे येन ।

जनसन्तापकलापदस्ताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एष ॥

Dr Buhler read असिधाराजलेन शमित (त) प्रासभ वलभीपतेर्युदे (द्धे) यो न शेषलोकु (क) सभापकलापदस्तार्थिकानल फलद This does not give a satisfactory meaning Metre *Giti*

⁸ Buhler read सविभियति and proposed to emend it as सर्वगीयते Our reading विगीयते can be explained as विविध गीयते 'is extolled in manifold ways'

⁹ Read -प्रभातसगीतकसत्रप्रवर्तनसन्मार्जनोदयेन Buhler proposed to read प्रदानसगीतक—

¹⁰ The *aksharas* are not clear Buhler's reading पतित- does not appear to be warranted by the photograph The last *akshara* appears like *nnā* I propose to read *visirna* which generally accompanies *kebanda* and *sphutita*

¹¹ Read -कम्मोक्ताद्युत्सर्पणार्थं .

- 12 ण¹ भूखण्ड यस्याघाटनानि पूर्ववट(त) छीरकहग्रामगामिपन्था दक्षिणत जम्भाग्रामसीमासन्धिः
अपरत. जम्भाग्रामा[त् गोलिअवलि]²—
- 13 ग्रामगामी पन्था उत्तरत केमज्जुग्रामासीहुग्रामकतामी³ पन्था वटवापी च[1*] एव चतुराघाटनोपल-
क्षितक्षेत्र सोपरिकदर⁴
- 14 सभूतपातप्रत्याय⁵ सधान्या⁶हिरण्यादेय सदशापराध सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक अचाटभटप्रावेश्य सर्व्व-
राजकीयानामहस्तप्र—
- 15 क्षेपणीय पूर्व्वपरदेवब्रह्मदायरहित भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्कावर्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनम-
द्याषाढशु[द्ध]दश[म्या]⁷
- 16 कक्कटकरशौ⁸ सक्रान्ते रवौ पुण्यतिथावुदकातिसर्गेण देवदायत्वेन प्रतिपादित [1*] यतो-
स्योचितया तपोवनाचारस्थित्या भुजत कृ—
- 17 षत कर्षयत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यापेधे वर्त्तितव्य⁹मागामिभद्रनृपतिभि अस्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्व्याय-
मस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य पा[ल]—
- 18 यितव्यश्च [1*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमा[न]क वानुमोदेत ।¹⁰ स
पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकै
- 19 सयुति¹¹ [स्या]दित्युक्त [च] भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] षष्ठी¹² वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
तिष्ठति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुम—
- 20 [ता] च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [1*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदय¹³ हरन्ति ये [॥४॥] बहु[भिर्व्व*]—
- 21 [सुधा*] भुक्ता राजभि. सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फल-
(लम्) [॥५॥*] अग्नेरपत्य प्रथम सुवर्णं [भूर्वेणवी*]
- 22 [सूर्यसु*]ताश्च गाव [1*] लोकत्रय तेन भवेद्वि दत्त य^xका¹⁴चन गा च मही च दद्यात् ।
[॥६॥*] यानीह [दत्तानि] पुरा नरे[द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थ*]—
- 23 [यशस्करा*]णि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददीत [॥७॥*] स्वदत्ता
परदत्ता वा यत्ना[द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । मही*]
- 24 [महिमता श्रे *]ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति । [॥८॥*] श्रीकण्डकणकदूतक ॥ सवत्सरशत-
तुष्टये ष[डशीत्यधिके आषाढशुद्ध*]—¹⁵

¹ Buhler reads प्रमाणो, but the last *akshara* is clearly ण. Read -निवर्त्तनप्रमाणो

² I am not certain about the *aksharas* in brackets, which are very indistinct in the photo-graph

³ Read केमज्जुग्रामासीहुग्रामगामी

⁴ Read सोपरिकर

⁵ Read सभूतवातप्रत्याय

⁶ Read सधान्य—.

⁷ The curve for the subscript *y* is faintly seen in the photograph

⁸ Buhler reads कक्कटकरशौ, but the mark for medial *ā* is quite clear

⁹ Read वर्त्तितव्य—

¹⁰ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹¹ There is no superscript *k* here Read सयुक्त स्यादिति । उक्त च ।

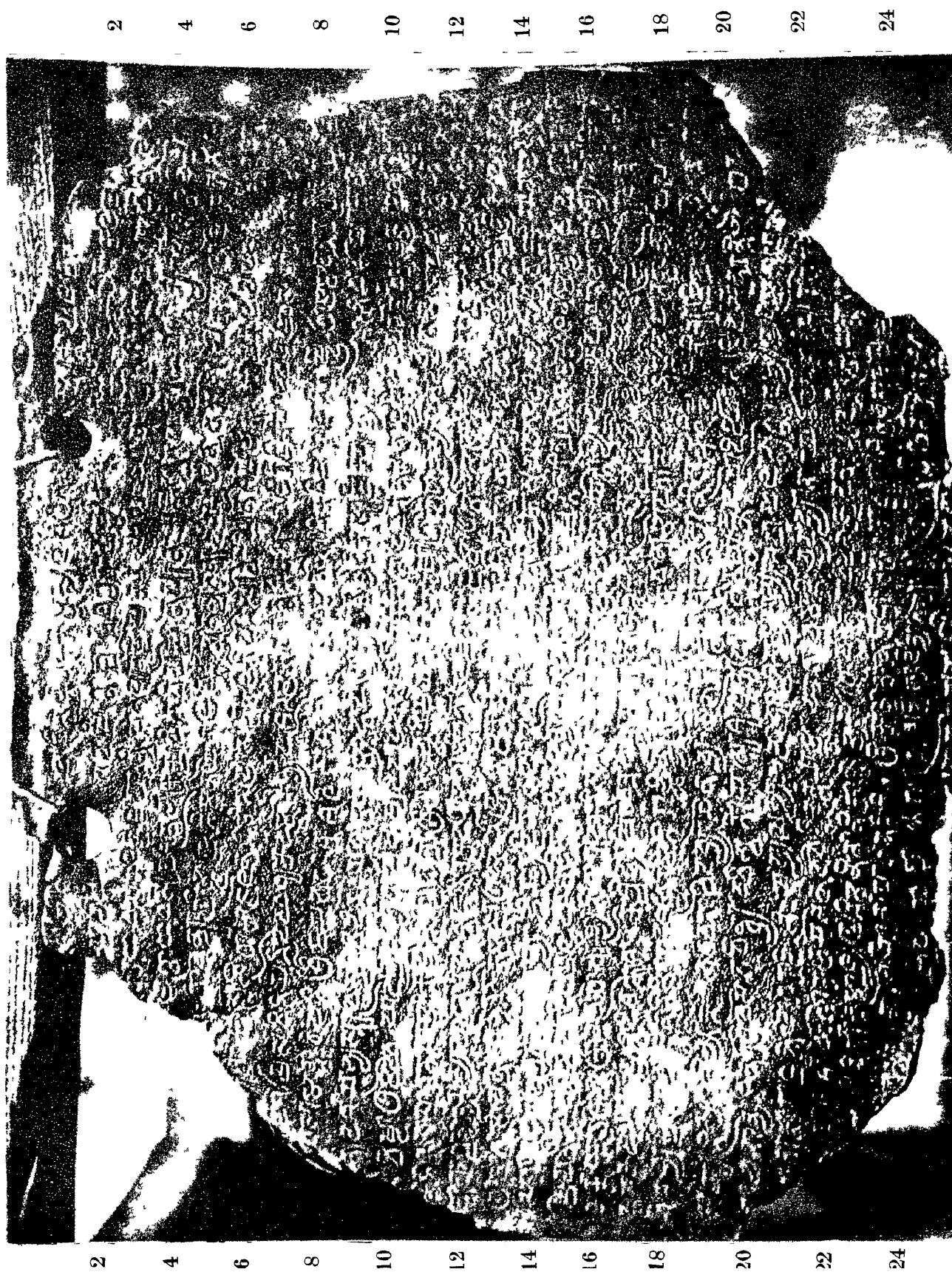
¹² The medial vowel is clearly *i* here Read षष्ठि

¹³ Read भूमिदाय

¹⁴ The sign for *jibhāmūliya*, not noticed by Buhler, is quite clear here

¹⁵ The *aksharas* in brackets in this and the following line are conjecturally supplied on the analogy of the wording in ll 49 and 50 of the Prince of Wales Museum plates (No 24, below)

KAVI PLATE OF JAYABHATA IV (KALACHURI) YEAR 486



25 [द्वादश्या स*]४०० ८० ६ आषाढ शु १० [२]¹आदित्यवारे [निबद्ध लिखित चैत-]
[न्या*]² . . .

26 स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभट[स्य ।*]³

TRANSLATION

[His son is the illustrious **Jayabhata (IV)**],—[who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of horses], the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue [with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword which becomes uneven] with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste, who has manifested many auspicious marks as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes,⁴ [but who, (*unlike a lotus-pool which contains a store of water*),⁵ has not an insensible heart], who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all the digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*),⁶ has no blemish, who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, [but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed], who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army⁷ just as Nārāyana (Vishnu) does with his discus Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyana who is dark-complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned, who has acquired abundant prosperity as Śiva takes a large quantity of ashes⁸ (*to smear his body with*), [but who, (*unlike Śiva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men]

(Verse 1) These people are made to fold their hands and to bow to him, who resembles the disc of the crescent moon, [since he is possessed of brilliance], has an increasing splendour of the body, and levies light taxes (*even as the moon looks lovely, increases in size and sheds tender rays*)

(Verse 2) This is that [**Jayabhata**], who, with the edge of his sword, has forcibly vanquished, in the city of the lord of Valabhī, the Tājjikas⁹ who greatly oppressed all people, even as a cloud extinguishes with its showers the fire that troubles all people¹⁰

(Line 7) He, the illustrious Jayabhata—who is praised in songs by assemblages of the wives of gods, whose lotus-like feet are reddened by the lines of the rays of jewels (*set*) in the diadems of hundreds of kings, who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*, (*and*) is the lord of the great *sāmantas* (feudatory chiefs),—being in good health, addresses the following order to all king, feudatories, *Bhōgikas*, heads of *vishayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshtras* and villages, officials (*and*) others —

¹ For the reading of the *tithi*, see above, p 98

² The name of the scribe is completely lost. He may have been the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Sangalla who wrote the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the same king about three and a half months later, see below, p 107, l 51

³ The plate shows a stroke like that of medial *ē* on the *akshara* following *ta*. Buhler conjecturally restored the *akshara* as *dē* (of *dēva*), but none of the sign-manuals of Gurjara kings contains a name ending in *dēva*

⁴ There are puns on several words in the eulogistic portion. Here, *e g.*, *lakshana* (n) means ‘an auspicious mark’ and *lakshana* (m) means ‘a crane’

⁵ A pun on the word *jad-āśaya* (read as *jal-āśaya* by the rule *dalayōr=abhēdah*)

⁶ *Dōshākara* is taken as (1) *dōshā-kara*, ‘the maker of the night’, and (2) *dōsh-ākara*, ‘a store of blemishes’

⁷ Buhler translates ‘with his army placed in a well-looking circular battle-array,’ evidently understanding *chakra* in the sense of the *chakra-vyūha*, but then, there remains no word meaning ‘an army’

⁸ There is a play on the word *bhūti* meaning (1) prosperity and (2) ashes, and another on *bhuyanga* meaning (1) a dissolute person and (2) a serpent

⁹ *I e.*, the Arabs

¹⁰ Buhler translated the passage as follows — ‘who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī,—who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world, and (giving them the fruits of their wishes)—is praised . . .’ This translation misses the important historical reference altogether

(L. 9) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) mother and father as well as of Myself, I have today, on the occasion of the sun's entering the sign of Karkatāka (Cancer), on the holy day of the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, granted, with a libation of water as a *dēvadāya*¹, a piece of land measuring fifty *mvartanas* and (*lying*) on the south-western boundary of the village, in the village Kēmajju situated in the famous *viśhaya* of Bharukachcha, the boundaries of which are,—on the east the road leading to Chhīrakaha, on the south the junction with the boundary of the village Jambhā, on the west the road going from the village Jambhā to the village Gōliavalī, on the north the road going from the village Kēmajju to Sīhu and the well near the banyan tree,—the field defined by these four boundaries, together with the *uparikara*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhātas*, (*which is to be*) free from interference of all officers of the State, exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmanas, (*and the grant of which is to last*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the divine (god) Āśramadēva established in the village of Kēmajju, in order to defray the expenses of perfume, frankincense, flowers, lamps (*and*) the morning musical service, of the maintenance of an alms-house, of cleaning the temple, and of the repairs of the broken, rent and dilapidated (*portions*), (*and*) of (*building*) new structures "

[For a translation of ll 16-19, see above, p 89]

(L 19) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L 24) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the illustrious Kandakanaka, has been written and recorded by [me] . . . in the year four hundred increased by eighty-six [on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha, the year] 400 (*and*) 80 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) Āshāḍha, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 2, on Sunday

This is the sign-manual of me, the illustrious Jayabhata

NO 24, PLATE XVII

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV².

(KALACHURI) YEAR 486

"THESE two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1920, when the Society's collection was lent to that Museum 'Their original find-spot is not known' They have been edited before by Mr. G V Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, pp. 147 ff. They are edited here from photographs kindly supplied by Mr Acharya

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner side only, measure 12 7" by 10 " Each

¹ *I e*, a gift made in honour of a god

² Mr Acharya calls him Jayabhata III, identifying Dadda II-Piśāntarāga of the Kairā and Sankhēdā plates (above, Nos 16-17 and 19-20) with Dadda-Bāhusahāya But this view is incorrect Apart from the difference in their *virudas*, the former was a devotee of the sun and the latter of Mahēśvara So the two princes were not identical. For some more arguments, see my note on the plates in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

of them has two holes, 6" in diameter, at the top for the rings which must have originally held them together, but neither the rings nor the seal, which must have been connected with one of them, is forthcoming. Some portion of the upper left-hand corner of each plate has been broken away, which has resulted in the loss of from one to fifteen *aksharas* in ll 1-14 on the first, and from one to three *aksharas* in ll 29-33 on the second plate. Besides, a few *aksharas* have become illegible owing to the corrosion of the surface of the plates in some places. The record consists of 51 lines, of which 28 are inscribed on the first, and 23 on the second plate. The average size of the letters is about 15".

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the other grants of the Early Gurjaras. It would suffice to draw attention to the following peculiarities of individual letters. The sign for medial (long) *ū* in *-nmūlita-*, l 8, is added to the top of *m* and not to the bottom as is usually done, the medial *ri* of *kri* is formed as in the Kāvī plate only in one place, *vr̥*, in *Mahābalādhikṛita-*, l 30-, in other places it appears in its usual form, see, e g, *-Valadhikṛita-* in the same line, *d* shows a loop in *suchanda-*, l 23, but contrast its form elsewhere, e g, in *-Kaundinya-*, l 35, *n* has no loop in *kaumud-īndu-*, l 17, *b* is generally rectangular, but in *svabhūya-bala-*, l 14, it is elongated, and in *bah-*, l 36, it is roundish. It is generally distinguished from *v*, but in *-Valadhikṛita-*, l 30, it is indicated by the same sign as that for *v*. Another letter, which is occasionally liable to be mistaken for *v*, is *dh*, see, e g, the forms of the two occurring side by side in *-ādhirāja-vyrimbhi-*, l 10. The language is Sanskrit. Except for two verses which occur in the eulogy of the donor and six more expressing benediction and imprecation at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It is carelessly written, especially on the second plate. The eulogy of the first four princes given here closely agrees with that in the Navsārī and Anjanērī plates, while a considerable portion of the description of the last prince is the same as in the Kāvī plate. The text of ll. 16-24, however, which describe Ahirōla and his son Jayabhata IV is not known to occur anywhere else. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities noticed in connection with other Early Gurjara grants.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Jayabhata born in the great family of *Maharāja Karna*, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of *Mahāsāmantas* (great feudatory chiefs)¹. The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayabhata, of the village *Mannātha* situated in the famous *Bharukachchha* district. The donee was the Brāhmana Āchchada², the son of the Brāhmana Ādityanāga, of the Hētāvuka sub-caste,³ who belonged to the Kaundinya *gōtra* and was a student of the Mādhyandina *sākhā* of the Vājasaneyā (or White Yajurveda). He had emigrated from the *pathaka* and *āhāra* of Lōhikaksha. The object of the gift was, as usual, to provide for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other rites. The *Dūtaka* was the illustrious Dēiyaka and the scribe the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Saṅgulla, the son of the *Balādhikṛita* Alla.

The grant was made and written on the fifteenth day of the dark half (called *amāvāsyā* in l 40) of Āśvina in the year 486. The year and the *tithi* are expressed in ll. 49-50, both in words and numerical symbols. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As the Kalachuri year according to my view began on Kārttika śu di 1, the date of the present grant would be later than that of the Kāvī plate by more

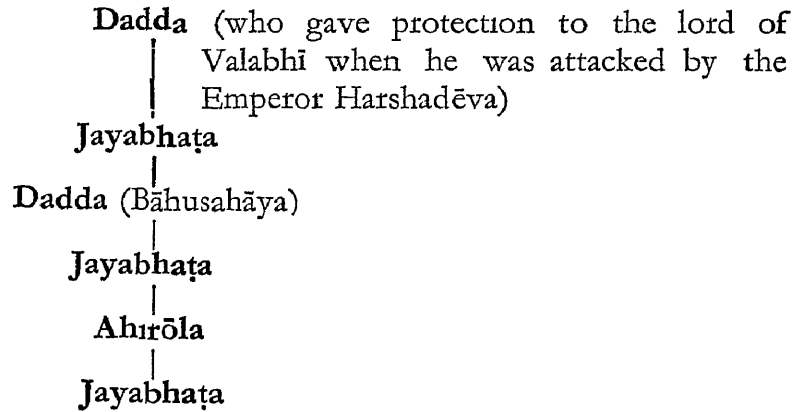
¹ The place of issue is not known, as the first few *aksharas* in l 1, where we could have expected its mention, are lost owing to the breaking away of the left-hand upper corner of the first plate.

² Mr Acharya reads his name as *Uchchada*, but there is no trace of any *mātrā* on the left of *ṭṭ* in *Bhatt-Āchchadāya*, l 36.

³ See below, p 109, n 3.

than three and a half months.¹ Taking the year as expired and the month as *amānta*, the corresponding Christian date would be the 9th October 736 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

The present inscription gives the following **genealogy** of the donor:—



As stated above, the description of the first four princes is exactly as in the Navsārī and Anjanērī plates of Jayabhata III. They must, therefore, be identified with Dadda II (*alias* Praśāntarāga), Jayabhata II, Dadda III (*alias* Bāhusahāya) and Jayabhata III. The next prince Ahrōla, the son of Jayabhata, is mentioned in the present plates only. Like his father, he was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was the lord of great feudal chiefs. His description in other respects is merely conventional. His son Jayabhata is similarly described. He must be called **Jayabhata IV** and distinguished from Jayabhata III, who issued the Navsārī and Anjanērī plates and who was his grandfather. The latter portion of his eulogy in the present inscription occurs also in the Kāvī plate. Its historical importance has already been noticed.² The rest is a mere conventional description.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Bharukachchha** has already been identified with Broach. **Mannātha** the donated village is probably Magnāth³ on the right bank of the Dhādhar about 2 m. south-east of Jambusar, and 25 m. north of Broach. Lōhikaksha I am unable to locate.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

1 [सिद्धम् [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] सततलक्ष्मी*]⁵निवासभूते ।⁶ तृष्णासताप[हारिणि]
[दिनना]थवि[स्ता]रिता[नुभावे] द्विज[कु—]

¹ This is according to the *amānta* scheme. According to the *pūrnimānta* scheme, the interval would be about two months and a half.

² See above, p. 97.

³ Both *Mannātha* and *Magnātha* are corrupt forms of *Magnanātha* (the submerged Lord) and evidently owe their origin to the presence, in the village, of a temple, probably of Śiva, which was submerged by the Dhādhar. Mr. Acharya identifies Mannātha with 'Manād, about a mile and a half north-east of Mehegam, on the north bank of the river Narmadā' *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 148.

⁴ From the photographs kindly supplied by Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

⁵ The *aksharas* marked with an asterisk in this and the following rectangular brackets, which are lost, are supplied from the Navsārī and Anjanērī plates of Jayabhata III (Nos. 21 and 22, above).

⁶ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

- 2 [लोपजीव्यमानविभवशालिनि*] ।¹ महति महाराजकर्णान्वये ।¹ कमलाकक(र) इव रा-
[जह]स प्रबलकलिकाल-
- 3 [विलसितानाकुलितविमलस्वभावो ग*][भीरो]दारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानस[: प]-
रमे[स्वरश्रीहर्ष]देवाभिभूतव-
- 4 [लभीपतिपरित्राणोप*] जातभ्रमददभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितान[*] श्रीदहस्तस्य सू[नुरग-
ङ्किता]गतप्रणयि-
- 5 [जनोपभुक्तविभवस*]चयोपचीयमानम[नो]निर्वृतिरनेककण्टकवडश²सदोहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापा-
नलो नि-
- 6 [शितनिस्त्रिशधारा*] दारितारातिकरिक्ुम्भमुक्त³मुक्ताफलच्छलोल्लसितसितयशोङ्शुका⁴वगु-
[ण्ठित][दिग्धू]वदनसर-
- 7 [सिज श्री*]जयभटस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिमनुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिगमविवेकस्वधर्मानुष्ठान[प्रवीणो व]-
र्णाश्रम-
- 8 [व्यवस्थो*] न्मूलितसकलकलिक(का)लावलेप प्रणयिजनमनोरथवजय⁵व्यतीतविभवसपाद-
ना[प]नीताशेज(ष)-
- 9 [पा]स्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशाङ्कुशातिवर्त्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथितगुरुगजाधिरोहणप्र-
[भा]वो विप-
- 10 [त्र*]पातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविश्र(श्रु)तपरोपकारका(क)रणव्यसन प्राच्य-
प्रतीच्याधिराजविजृम्भ-
- 11 [त*] महासग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्य्य[वि]ख्यातबाहुसहा-
याप-
- 12 [र*] नामा ।¹ परममाहेश्वर समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द[*] श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरनेकसमरसघट्टघन-
घटितगजघ-
- 13 [टा*] पाटनपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानलो दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनवन्न(बन्धु)कुमुदाकरकौमुदी-
निशाकरो [भागी]-
- 14 [र*]थीप्रवाह इव विपक्षक्षोभक्षम शान्तनुरिव समुद्भूतका(क)लकलारावमहावाहिनीपतिरा-
दिथ(व)राह इव स्वभुजबल-
- 15 पराक्रमोद्धृतधराधर परममाहेश्वर समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द(ब्दो) महासाम[न्ताधि]पति[*]
श्रीजयभटस्तस्य सुत शौ[र्य्य]-
- 16 दण्डोदयोत्तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गभूपालमौलिमालाचुम्बितचरणयुगल सकलाभिगामिकादिगुणानुरागनि-
[र्भ]रम-
- 17 नसा स्वय वृत्तो राजलक्ष्म्या ।¹ कौमुदीन्दुदीधितिचक्रवालविमलयश शेखरितमेरुशिखरो रणाङ्गणा-
गतवरवै-
- 18 रिवारणघ[टा]कोटिकुहा(ट्टा)कदोर्दण्डश्चतुर्विद्या[धिग]मोप[बृ]ह्महित⁶प्रज्ञातिशयसम्यक्प्र-
(क्प्र)व[त्ति]तनीतिमार्गानु[र]जित-

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

² Read -वश-

³ The Navsārī and Anjanērī plates omit मुक्त

⁴ Read -यशोशुका-

⁵ It would be better to read विषय as in the Anjanērī plates

⁶ Read -पबृहित-

- 19 प्रकृति प्रकृतिकल्याणशयत्वादस्पृष्ट क[लि]कालकालिम्ना ।¹ सन्निहितयौवनोपनतानन्तविष-
योपभोगसौख्ये
- 20 सहजशत्रुतया वशीकृ[तेन्द्रि]यग्राम षा[ङ्गुण्य]प्रयोगनिपुण शक्तिला(त्र)योपचितमहिमा ।¹
परममाहेश्वर सम-
- 21 [धि*][ग]तपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्त(न्ता)धिपति श्री[मद]हिरोलस्तस्य सकलभुवनतिलकस्या-
त्मजो निजगुणगणमालाल-
- 22 कृतोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दारकवृन्दवन्दितचरणा[र]विन्दद्वय कुन्देन्दुसितसिन्दुवार[कुसु]मधवल्यश सुधाध-
23 वलितसकलध[रा]मण्डल[*] सुचण्ड²सु(प्र)ताप(पा)नलकवलिताखिलजगदुपलवो दुर्वार-
शरासारसमुसो(त्ता)[रित]-
- 24 सक[ला]रातिचक्रवाल प्रधानप्रधनप्रध(धा)वितप्रकटकरिघटापाटनपटु चटुलरणाङ्गणावङ्गण-
(न)रव³-
- 25 णतुङ्गतु[रङ्ग]म[नि]करभङ्गभासुरो ।¹ द्रुतदा(द)लितद्विरदमुक्त⁴मुवता[फ]लनिकरदन्तुरा-
सिलतामरीचिनिच[य]-
- 26 मि(मे)चकितदक्षिणबाहुशिखर पद्माकर इ[व*] प्रकटाण(ने)कलक्षणो न पुनर्जलाशय
क्षपाकर इ[व]
- 27 सकलकला[क]लापान्वितो न पुनर्दोषाकर सागर इ[वा]न्त प्रवेशितविपक्षभू-
- 28 भृन्मण्डलो न पुन ग्राहाकुल नारायण इव सुदर्शनचक्र-

Second Plate

- 29 [क्षपित*] विपक्षो [न पु]न कृष्णस्वभाव हर इवाङ्गीकृतभूतिनिच[य] न पुनर्भुजङ्गप-
30 [रिवृत*][।] बालेन्दुबिम्बप्रतिमेन येन प्रवर्द्धम(मा)नस्वतनूदयेन । प्रणामकामोत्पकरेण लो-
31 [क कृ*]ताजलि कान्तिमता कृतोय(यम्) ॥⁵ [१॥*]सुसिधाराजलेन शामित प्रसभ वल-
[भी]पते पुरे योनाशेषलोकस-
- 32 [ताप*]कलापदतज्जिकानल जरा(य)भटजलद एष⁶ [॥२॥*] स विगीयते देववधूकद[म्बै]-
नृपशतमकुटरत्नकिरण[।*]वलि-
- 33 [र*]जितपादप[क]ज समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीजयभट कुशली सत्त्वानेव
राजसा-
- 34 मन्तविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु व सविदित यथा मया मातापित्रो-
35 रा[त्मन]श्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।¹ लोहिकक्षपकथाहार⁷विनिर्गन्ततत्त्रैविद्यसाम(मा)-
न्यकौण्डिन्यसगोत्र-
- 36 वाजि[मा]ध्यन्दिनस[ब्र]ह्मचारिहेटावुक[ब्रा]ह्मणादित्यनागपुत्रभट्टाच्चडाय⁸ । बलि ।¹ चरुवैश्व-
देवाग्निहो[त्रा]तिथिपञ्च-

¹ This mark of punctuation is redundant

² Read प्रचण्ड-

³ Mr Acharya read here -रङ्ग-.

⁴ The corresponding passage in the Kāvī plate reads द्विरदकुम्भस्थलश(ग)लितमुवताफल-.

⁵ Metre : *Upajāti*

⁶ Read the whole verse as follows —

असिधाराजलशमित प्रसभ वलभीपते पुरे येन ।

जनसतापकलापदताज्जिकानलो जयभट जलद एष ॥ Metre *Giti*.

⁷ Read -पथकाहार-

⁸ See above, p 103, n 2

PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA IV (KALACHURI) YEAR 486

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26



2

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

B CH CHHABRA

SCALE THREE INCHES

30

32

34

36

38

2

4

6

m

—

30

32

34

36

40

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44

46

Log

50

- 37 वि(म)हा[यज्ञा]दिक्क्रिया(यो)त्सप्रा(र्ष)णा[त्थ] श्रीभरुकच्छविषयान्तर्गतमन्नाथग्राम सोद्रङ्ग
सोपरिकर सभूतपातप्र¹न्या(त्या)य[*]
38 सधान्यहिरण्यादेय सदशापर(रा)ध सोत्पद्यम(मा)नविष्टिक अचाटभटप्रवेश्य सर्व्वराजकीया-
नामहस्तप्र[क्षे]पनी(णी)-
39 य पु(पू)[र्व्व]प्रत्तदेवब्रह्मवा(दा)यरहित भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्र(न्द्रा)वर्काणवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्व-
तसमकालीन पुत्रपौला(त्रा)न्व[य]-
40 क्रमोप[भोग्यो]द्याश्वयुजमसामुवास्या² उदका³तिसर्गणे श्र(ब्र)ह्मदायत्वे[न*] प्रतिपादितो
या(य)तोस्योचितयाप्र(ब्र)ह्म-
41 वा(दा)यस्थित्या भुजत कृषत कक्ष(र्ष)यत प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वच(द्वचा)सेधे वर्त्तितव्यम-
(मा)गामिभद्रनृपतिभिरयमश्म(स्म)द्वश्यै-
42 [र*]न्यैर्व्व(र्व्वी)यमक्मा(स्म)द्यायोनुमन्तव्य प(पा)लयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिम(मि)रपट-
[ला*]वृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिन्नम[मा]नक [वा]नुमे(मो)दे[त] स
43 [प*]ञ्चभिर्महाप(पा)तकैस्सोपप[पा]तका(कै)श्च सयुक्त[*]स्य(स्या)दित्युक्त⁴ च भगवता
वेदव्यासेन व्य(व्या)सेन । षष्टिवष(र्ष)सहस्र(स्त्रा)णि स्वर्गो ति-
44 [ष्ठति*] भू[मि]द[][*] आच्छेत्ता वा(चा)नुम[न्ता] च त(ता)स्वे(न्ये)व नरके वसेत्⁵ [॥३॥*]
विन्ध्याटवीज्वातोयासु⁶ शुष्ककोटरवासिन [१*] कृष्णा[हयो] हि
45 [जा*]यन्ते भु(भू)[मि]दाय हरन्ति ये । [१४॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[.]*
सगरादिभि[][*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [त]दा फल(ल्म) [॥५॥*]
46 अग्नेरपत्यं प्र[थ]मं सुवर्णं(र्णं) भूवर्णेणवी सु(सू)य्य(य्यं)सुताश्च शा(गा)व[१*] लोकत्रय
त(ते)न भवेद्धि दत्त ॥⁷ यः काञ्चन गाञ्च [मही]
47 च दद्यात् [॥६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रं दानानि धर्म्मञ्च⁸यशस्कराणि ।⁷ नि[र्भु]त्त-
मल्यप्रतिमनि⁹ तानि को नाम सा-
48 धु पुनराददीत ।¹⁰ [१७॥*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा या(य)त्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठ(ष्ठि)र । मही महिमता
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनु[पलनमिति](पालनम्¹¹ ॥८॥ इति।)
49 भट्टश्रीदेइयकदूतक ॥ सवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षडशीत्यधिके ।⁷ आश्वयुजबहुलपञ्चद[श्या]
50 सम्ब[त्*] ४०० ८०, ६ आश्वयुज व १० ५ [१*] लिखितञ्चैतन्मया व(ब)ल[ला]धिकृता-
ल्लसुतमहाब[लाधिकृत-]
51 सगुल्लेन ॥

स्वहस्तो मम श्रीजयभट्टस्य ॥

¹ Read सभूतवात-

² Read -द्याश्वयुजमसामावास्याया

³ Read उदका-

⁴ Read स्यादिति । उक्त च.

⁵ Metre of this and the next two verses *Anushtubh*

⁶ Read विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Read धर्म्मार्थ-

⁹ Read निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि

¹⁰ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

TRANSLATION

[For a translation of lines 1-15, see above, pp 87 f]

(Line 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Ahirōla**,—the pair of whose feet was kissed by the crest-wreaths of kings who held their heads on high by reason of (*their*) valour and army, who was freely chosen by the goddess of fortune, her mind being overpowered by love for all his attractive royal qualities and other excellences, who provided the peaks of the Mēru (mountain) with the crest of (*his*) fame, spotless like the mass of lunar rays on the full-moon day, whose staff-like arm was wont to destroy ciōres of excellent elephant hosts of the enemies on the battlefield, who delighted his subjects with the paths of moial conduct properly laid by his great wisdom enhanced by the acquisition of the four lores, who, noble-minded as he was by nature, was not affected by the blackness of the Kālī age, who, being naturally averse to pleasures (*derived*) from the enjoyment of innumerable objects close at hand (*which were*) presented by (*his*) youth, controlled all his sense organs, who was adept in the use of the six measures of policy¹, whose greatness was increased by the triad of powers (*śaktis*)², who was the devout worshipper of Mahēśvaia, attained the *pañcamahā-śabda* and was the lord of the great feudatories

(L 21) The son of him, who was an ornament of the whole world, is the illustrious **Jayabhata (IV)**,—who is adorned with the wreaths of his numerous virtues, the pair of whose lotus-like feet is saluted by many hosts of eminent kings, who has white-washed the whole orb of the earth with his fame, which in brightness resembles *kunda*³ flowers, the moon and white *sīnduvāra*⁴ flowers, whose extremely terrible fire of valour has put an end to the troubles of the whole world, who with the showers of his irresistible arrows has routed the hosts of all his foes, who is clever in piercing the crowds of elephants that are openly made to charge in great wars, who appears resplendent by his destruction of troops of swift and tall horses that trot and prance about on the battlefield, the top of whose right arm becomes dark-blue with the multitude of rays from his creeper-like sword, which becomes uneven with clusters of pearls from the frontal globes of elephants cleft in haste, who has manifested many auspicious marks⁵, as a lotus-pool exhibits cranes, but who, (*unlike the lotus-pool which contains a store of water*), has not an insensible heart, who has acquired the multitude of all fine arts even as the moon contains all digits, but who, (*unlike the moon that marks the night*), has no blemish, who has given refuge to a multitude of hostile princes as the ocean gave shelter to a number of wingless mountains, but who, (*unlike the ocean that is infested by alligators*), is not affected by greed, who destroys his enemies with his well-equipped army just as Nārāyana (Vishnu) does with his discus, Sudarśana, but who, (*unlike Nārāyana who is dark complexioned*), is not evil-intentioned, who has acquired abundant prosperity just as Śiva takes a large quantity of ashes (*to smear his body with*), but who, (*unlike Śiva whose body is entwined by serpents*), is not surrounded by dissolute men.

[For a translation of ll 30-34, see above, p 101]

(L. 34) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have today on the new-

¹ These are *sandhi* ‘peace,’ *vigraha* ‘war,’ *yāna* ‘marching,’ *āsana* ‘sitting encamped,’ *dvaiddhāva* ‘duplicity’ and *samsraya* ‘alliance with a more powerful king’

² These are *prabhuṭva*, ‘power derived from one’s royal position,’ *mantra*, ‘the power of good counsel’ and *utsāha*, ‘personal energy’

³ *Jasminum multiflorum*

⁴ *Vitex Negundo*

⁵ For the explanation of the puns in this and the following clauses, see above, p 101, notes 4—8

moon day of the month *Āśvina* granted with a libation of water as a *brahmadāya*,¹ the village *Mannātha* situated in the famous *viśaya* of *Bharukachcha*,—together with the *udranga* and the *uparika*, with taxes on things manufactured or imported, with its income in grain and gold, with (*the fines imposed for*) the ten offences, with the right of forced labour arising therefrom, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhatas*; (*which is to be*) free from interference of all officers of the state, exclusive of all grants previously made to gods and Brāhmanas, (*which is*) to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, rivers and mountains will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to Bhatta *Āchchada*² the son of the Brāhmana *Ādityanāga* of the *Hētāvuka*³ (sub-caste) of the *Kaundinya gōtra*, who is a student of the *Mādhyandina śakhā* of the *Vājasaneyā*, who has emigrated from the *āhara* and *pathaka* of *Lōhikaksha* and belongs to the community of the *Trivēdins* of that place,—for the performance of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *bali*, *charu*, *vaśvadeva*, *agnihōtra*, (*and the reception of*) guests and such other (*religious*) rites

[For a translation of ll 40-43, see above, p 89]

(L. 43) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—

(Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L. 49) This (*charter*), the *Dūtaka* of which is the Bhatta, the illustrious *Dēiyaka*, has been written by me, the *Mahābalādhikṛita Saṅgulla*, the son of the *Balādhikṛita Alla*, on the *fifteenth (tithi)* of the *dark fortnight* of *Āśvayuja* in the *year four hundred increased by sixty*,—the *year 400 (and) 80 (and) 6*, (*the month*) *Āśvayuja*, the *dark (fortnight)*, (*the lunar day*) *10 (and) 5*.

This is the *sign-manual* of Me, the illustrious *Jayabhata*.

¹ *Ie*, a gift made to a Brāhmana Villages or lands so granted had special privileges

² See above, p 103, n 2

³ In later times *Hētāvuka* came to signify 'a horse-dealer' The *Mātāksarā* on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, ch II, v 30 mentions the *Hētāvukas* together with betel-sellers, weavers and shoemakers as persons who formed guilds, and the commentary *Bālabhāṭṭi* explains that the *Hētāvukas* are dealers in horses They sell them either personally or through their agents in different places. The commentary adds that the word is well-known in the *Gurjara-dēśa*. Cf *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 185 and *Ind. Ant*, Vol XLII, p 64.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SENDRAKAS

No 25, PLATE XVIII

KASARE PLATES OF ALLASAKTI (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

THESE plates were discovered in 1937 at Kāsārē, a village thirty-four miles almost due west of Dhulia in West Khandesh, Bombay State. They are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala, Poona. I edit the inscription here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Mandala.¹

They are two copper-plates measuring 7 7" in length and 5 5" in breadth. At the top of each there is a roundish hole about .4" in diameter for two rings which hold them together. One of them carries a conical seal with a circular face measuring 1 5" in diameter, which has the legend *Śrī-Allaśakti*. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 108 *tolas*. The record consists of thirty-three lines, of which fourteen and fifteen are incised on the inner sides of the first and the second plate respectively, and the remaining four on the outer side of the first plate turned upside down. The writing is in a state of good preservation almost throughout. The size of the letters varies from .1" to .2".

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the grants of the Early Gurjaras. The technical execution is very bad. The letters are of uneven size and are carelessly formed, those on the outer side of the first plate are more than double the average size of the rest. Besides, the *aksharas* originally engraved in ll. 20 and 21 were subsequently beaten in, and others much larger in size incised over them. The earlier *aksharas* have, however, been left over through inadvertence between ll. 19 and 20. Some more can be read with patience and perseverance here and there from the traces left behind. It is not possible to say definitely when the record was thus tampered with, or altered by authority, but the form of the letters subsequently engraved indicates that the alteration must have been made in the same period, to which the rest of the inscription can be referred on palæographic grounds.² As regards individual letters, we may notice that the writer has confounded *v* and *b* in some places, see *prabhabatī*, l. 6, and *bhagabatō*, l. 27. The cursive subscript *m* occurs in *brāhmaṇa-* and *-brahmachārī-*, both in l. 22. Both the forms of *l* have been used,—the northern with a shortened right limb as in *lōkānārī*, and *lōkapālāb*, both in l. 9, and the southern with the right limb bent to the left as in *prithivīvallabha* and *kusālī*, both in l. 18. A peculiar form of *dh* occurs in *Aśhādha*, l. 32. The sign for the *jihvāmūliya* is used in ll. 8 and 18, and that for the *upadhmāniya* in ll. 10, 17 and 27. The symbols for the numbers 400 and 4 occur in l. 31.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses embedded in the eulogistic

¹ Since this article was written, the plates have been published by M. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 66 f.

² One of the reasons for alteration was perhaps the omission of some portion of the record in l. 20 as originally written, for the space between *yathā mayā Brāhma-* in l. 20 and *yasya ch-āghātānām* in the next line is not sufficient to contain the mention of the *jākhā*, *gōtra* and name of the Brāhmaṇa donee and the name of the donated village, the boundaries of which were introduced with the words *yasya ch-āghātānām*. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the present text is only a revised form of the earlier grant, for it differs materially from it, there are, for instance, no boundaries of the granted village mentioned in the later text.

portion and one more added at the end to convey benediction and imprecation, the record is in prose throughout. It is written in an ornate style,¹ but contains two grammatical blunders² in the second verse. As regards **orthography**, we may notice that the medial *ri* is in many places written as *ri*, see *-mghrīṣhta*, l 4, *drīṣhtvā*, l 5 etc, *v* and *b* are generally expressed by separate signs, but in *prabhabatī* l 6, and *bhagabatō*, l 27, *v* is indicated by the sign for *b*, the consonant following *r* has been correctly reduplicated in several places, but in *varshsha-*, l 27 it violates Pāṇini's rule, VIII, 4, 49

The plates were issued by **Allaśakti** of the family of the **Sēndrakas**, who had attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. The *birudas* **Prithivīvallabha** and **Śrī-Nikumbha**³ are mentioned in connection with his name. The charter in its revised form purports to record the grant of fifty *mvartanas* of land to the south of the river Pa(?)rṇandha⁴ in the village Pippalakhēta, in honour of the deity Alanghyēśvara. The donee was the Brāhmana Bālapravasita of the Kṛishnātrēya *gōtra*, who was a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā or White Yajurveda. The grant was written by **Dēvadinna** by the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the illustrious Vāsava.⁵ It was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the new moon day of **Āshāḍha in the year 404**, expressed in numerical symbols⁶ only, of an unspecified era.

In the eulogistic portion we are told that **Allaśakti** was the son of **Ādityarāja**, who was himself the son of the illustrious **Nikumbha**. The description of these princes is quite conventional and mentions no historical event. Another grant of the Sēndrakas found at Mundkhēdē near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh has been published by the late Mr G. K. Chandorkar.⁷ It gives the following genealogy—

Bhānuśakti (Śrī-Vallabha)

|
Ādityaśakti

|
Nikumbhallaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivīvallabha, who attained the *pañchamahāśabda*)

|
Jayaśakti (Satyāśraya, Prithivīvallabha, Vikramāditya, Nikumbha)

¹ Notice, for instance, the puns in v 2, which make the comparison of Ādityarāja with the sun possible and the description of Allaśakti in ll 15-17 in which the names of all the Pāṇavas are cleverly interwoven.

² *Vīṣ*, the ungrammatical form *chakṣhū-bhūtab*, l 9 and the wrong *sandhi -tsutō = dītyarājab*, l 10.

³ That *Nikumbha* is a *biruda* is shown by the fact that the royal name occurs without it in the legend on the seal, as well as in l 17.

⁴ The first *akṣhara* of this name is uncertain.

⁵ The text reads *Śrī-Vāsavasava-samādēśāt* but the *akṣharas sava* seem to have been repeated by mistake.

⁶ Of the symbols, the first denoting hundreds is clearly a sign for 400 and the second, except for the curve at the top, is the usual sign for 4. It may be noted that a similar curve is attached to the top of the symbol denoting 4 in the date of the Surat plates of Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya, No 19, Pl XXII. The symbol would have to be taken as denoting 40 if the following symbol denotes a unit number like 7, but in that case its date (K 447 or 696 A C) would be later than the date Śaka 602 or 680 A C which we have for Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti in his Mundkhēdē plates. I, therefore, prefer to take the last sign to denote *de*, corresponding to *di* (*dina*) which occurs before the symbol of the *tithi* in early Brāhmī records. It is noteworthy that the scribe of the present grant wrote also the Bagumrā plates of the same king and the *Mahābalādhikṛita* was also the same in both, (see p 121, n 41, below). The names of both are mentioned in another grant of Allaśakti (see N I A, Vol I, p 747). The date of the present grant must, therefore, be within a few years on either side of the date K 406 of the Bagumrā plates.

⁷ This grant has been published twice, but without a facsimile, first in the Maiāthī monthly *Prabhāta*, Vol I (pub in 1908), and again in the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdhaka Mandala* for Śaka 1834. The plates are not forthcoming now.

The use of *Nikumbha* as a *biruda* prefixed to the name of Jayaśakti suggests that the word is a *biruda* in the name Nikumbhallaśakti also and, therefore, the real name of the prince was probably Allaśakti. Of the four princes named in the Mundkhēḍe plates two,—Ādityaśakti and Allaśakti,—are thus common to our grant. This shows that Nikumbha was another name or title of Bhānuśakti, and he being the founder of the family, it was used as a *biruda* by his descendants. It is again plain that Jayaśakti was the son of the Allaśakti who issued the present plates. As stated above, Allaśakti's present grant was made in the year 404, while Jayaśakti's Mundkhēḍe plates were issued in the year 602. The only way in which we can reconcile these two dates is to refer the former to the Kalachuri era and take it to correspond to 653 or 654 A.C., and the latter to the Śaka era, corresponding to 680 A.C. As Jayaśakti was the son of Allaśakti, the interval of nearly twenty-six years between the two dates appears quite natural.

Referring the date of the present grant to the Kalachuri era, we find that according to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., the new-moon day of the *pūrnimānta* Āshāḍha in the current Kalachuri year 404 fell on Saturday, the 1st of June 653 A.C. when there was a solar eclipse¹ as stated in the present record. There was no solar eclipse either in *pūrnimānta* or *amānta* Āshāḍha in 652 A.C. or 654 A.C. The date of the present plates is noteworthy, because it is one of the two early verifiable dates of the Kalachuri era which cite a current year,² and secondly its month was *pūrnimānta*,³ while the prevailing custom in Gujarat and the Deccan was to cite *amānta* months. The Kalachuri year, as shown elsewhere, was *Kārttikādi*. From an examination of several dates of the Vikrama era, Kielhorn came to the conclusion that the southern (*Kārttikādi*) year of the Vikrama era was joined with the *pūrnimānta* as with often as with the *amānta* scheme.⁴ It should, therefore, cause no surprise if we find that the *Kārttikādi* year of the Kalachuri era also was occasionally and exceptionally joined with the *pūrnimānta* scheme in Gujarat and the adjoining country.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present grant, Pippalakhēṭa is probably Pimpalnēr, about 9 miles west of Kāsārē. The river Parnandha may be the Panjhrā which flows along the northern boundary of Pimpalnēr. The land to the south of it was, therefore, within the boundary of the village as stated in the present grant.

TEXT⁵

First Plate: Inner Side

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [I*] स्वस्ति [I*] मेरुमहीध[र]शिखरस्थिर[र]चिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि
- 2 महति सेन्द्रकराजामन्वये⁷ अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट-

¹ The eclipse was a total one and was visible in India.

² For the other early Kalachuri date citing a current year, see the Nasik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, No. 28, below.

³ The month in the Anjanēri plates of Jayabhata III is *amānta* as shown above. In the later Kalachuri dates from North India and Madhya Pradesh, the months are invariably *pūrnimānta*.

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XX, p. 401. For a later date in a *pūrnimānta* month from Gujarat, see the Kadi copper-plate inscription of the Chālukya Mūlarāja, dated V 1043, *Ind Ant*, Vol. VI, p. 192. See also *ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 166.

⁵ From the photographs of the plates kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala, Poona.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read सेन्द्रकराजानामन्वये.

- 3 लब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण[*] स्वभुजबलविक्रमक्रान्त¹महीमण्डल[.*]
 4 प्रणताशेषशामन्तशिरो[मु]कुटनिघ्नष्टपादपङ्कजो² पुनरपि च [1*] [आजौ] नि-
 5 [भि]न्नकु[म्भ]प्रगलितरुधिर[व्या]प्तभूमौ हता[श्वे] ।³ द्रिष्ट्वा⁴ खङ्गाशु⁵जाल क्षरदन-
 लक-
 6 ण(ण) प्र[स्फु]रद्विद्युद(दा)भ(भम्) । स्थातु(तु) शक्रोपि येषा प्रभव(व)ति न रणे
 ताद्विशा⁶भुन(न्न)ताना
 7 राजासीच्छ्रीनिकुम्भ[*] [सु]रपतिसद्विशो⁷ वशज⁸ सेन्द्रकाणा(णाम्)⁹ [॥१॥*] विभ्राण(णो)
 [भा*]नुरागम्(ग)
 8 जग(न)हितमनन सर्व्वदा सानुरागःकुर्व्वाणप्रोन्नतना¹⁰ [गु]रुकटकभ्रित(भृता) भूभृ-
 9 ता(ता) [मू]ढि(दिध्न) पाद(दम्) [1*] लोकाना चक्षुभूत¹¹शमितजनतमा लोकपाल
 प्रि(पृ)थिव्या(व्या) श्रि(श्री)मा(मान्)
 10 विख्यातकीर्त्ती रविरिव विम[ल*]स्तत्सुतोदित्यराज¹²[॥२॥*] तस्यात्मजःप्रबलरिपुब-
 11 लोद्भूतविभ[व]प्रध्वसहेनु शरदमलशशाङ्कमण्डलामलयशा.
 12 सुरपतिरिव विद्याधरजनगन्ध[र्व्व]निषेवितस्सेव्यो रम्या(म्य)ज्ञानकर्मभावितम-
 13 नाश्च गरुड इव विनतानन्दजण(न)नो राम इव परिसमाप्तसीता-
 14 विग्रह[*] यश्च विप्राधिष्ठितसम्पदाहितगुरु¹³

Second Plate

- 15 [धु]र्याविनध्व(द्ध) सदा [श्री]मानर्जुनकर्मभावितमना[*] सही(द्धी)मस(से)ना-
 16 न्वित[1*] धर्मात्मा सहदेव[पू]जितवपु[*] स[सा]मान्य[दा]नस्सदा[मित्रा?] कृ[ष्ण¹⁴]कु-
 17 [लो*] [यु]धिष्ठिरसमो रा[जा]ल्लशक्ती¹⁵ क्षितौ¹⁶ [॥३॥*] मातापितृपादानुद्ध्यात[*]
 परममाहेश्वरःपर-
 18 मब्रह्मण्य[*] समावाप्त¹⁷[प*]ञ्चमह(ह)शब्द[] प्रथिवीवल्लभ¹⁸श्री निकुम्भालल्लशक्तिःकुशली
 सर्व्वानिव राजसाम-

¹ The cognate Bagumrā plates (No 26) read विक्रमावक्रान्त-.

² Read -निघ्नष्टपादपङ्कज .

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁴ Read दृष्ट्वा

⁵ Read खङ्गाशु-

⁶ Read तादृशा-

⁷ Read -सदृशो

⁸ Read वशज

⁹ Metre *Sragdharā*

¹⁰ Read ऽप्रोन्नताना

¹¹ The correct grammatical form would be चक्षुर्भूत which would not, however, suit the metre. Read नेत्रभूत

¹² The correct *sandhi* of तत्सुत and आदित्यराज would be तत्सुत आदित्यराज, but this would go against the metre Read तत्सुतादित्यराज. Metre *Sragdharā*

¹³ Read -गुरुर्धुर्या-

¹⁴ The reading of these four *aksbaras* is uncertain

¹⁵ Read राजाल्लशक्ति .

¹⁶ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁷ Read समवाप्त-

¹⁸ Read पृथिवीवल्लभ-.

- 19 न्तविषयभोगिक[चो]रोद्धरणिकदण्डपाशिकदूतश(ग)मागमिकग्राममहत्तराधिकादि(रि)कादी[न्]
 20 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु¹ व[*] सविदित यथा² मया पिप्पलखेटग्रा[मा*]न्तर्गत-
 21 [प]र्णन्धदि(दी)दक्षिणत[*] भूनिवर्तनानि वर्तनानि³
 22 पञ्चाशत्⁴ ब्राह्मणवाजि(ज)सनेयसब्रह्मचारिमाद्वचन्दिनक्रि(कृ)ष्णात्रेयसगोत्रबालप्र-
 23 वसिताय⁵ भूच्छिद्रन्यायेन्या(ना)चन्द्रावर्काण्ण[व]क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनत्वेन पुत्रपौ[त्रा]-
 24 न्वयभोगयतयालङ्घ्येश्वरदेवपादोपयोगाय(या)स्मै⁶
 25 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिन्नि(वृ)द्धये⁷ उदका-
 26 तिसर्गणे प्रतिपादितो⁸ यतोस्मद्वदशजै⁹रण्यै(न्यै)वर्गार्गि(गा)मिन्नि(नृ)पतिभिरस्मद्वा-
 27 योनुमन्तव्यप्रतिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्त¹⁰ भगव(व)तो(ता)व्यासेन¹¹ व्यासेन [*] षष्ठिम्बर्ष¹²स-
 28 हस्त्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद [*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरक(के)
 29 वसे [त्*]¹³ [11४11*]क¹⁴छारामतलभो[ग्य](ग्या)नि [म*][दा] मर्यादया [*]

First Plate . Outer Side

- 30 महाबलाधिक्रित¹⁵ श्रीवासवसवसमादेशा¹⁶[त्*]
 31 लिखितमि[द*] देवदिज्ञेनेति [*] स ४०० ४ दे¹⁷
 32 आषा[ढ]¹⁸ व आमा[व]स्या¹⁹ सूर्यग्रहो-
 33 परागे [11*]

Seal

श्रीअल्लशक्ति [1*]

¹ Read समाज्ञापयति । अस्तु.

² The *aksharas* from here onwards up to ब्राह्मण in l 22 are written in a much larger form and are engraved over other previously written *aksharas*, which, though beaten in, can be read here and there Between lines 19 and 20, the *aksharas* यथा मया ब्राह्म which were previously written and were meant to be connected with अस्तु व सविदित in l 20 can be read quite clearly Similarly, between lines 20 and 21, the words यस्य चाघाटनानि are still legible The following portion of that line lay under the *aksharas* पिप्पलखेट etc and can be read with some diffidence as उत्तरते(त) स(?)न्यनदी पूर्व [त] याणक- In the next line which lies partly between ll 21 and 22 and partly below the *aksharas* in l 21 one can read ग्राम[] दक्षिणत पश्चिमत[] त(?)टाकीस(?)मेतो Traces of some five *aksharas* can be seen after वर्तनानि in l 21 of the text, which may be read एव चतुरा-

³ These four *aksharas* are superfluous

⁴ Read पञ्चाशद्.

⁵ Read -वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनसब्रह्मचारि ब्राह्मणबालप्रवसिताय

⁶ Read -यास्मत्पित्रो-

⁷ Read -वृद्धय

⁸ Read प्रतिपादितानि so as to agree with भूनिवर्तनानि in l 21

⁹ Read -स्मद्वदशजै-

¹⁰ Read -श्चेति । उक्त च ।

¹¹ Read वेदव्यासेन

¹² Read षष्टि वर्ष-

¹³ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁴ The *aksharas* are quite clear here, but I am not certain about the meaning. Perhaps कच्छारामतलानि भोग्यानि सदा मर्यादया is meant

¹⁵ The engraver first incised नि which he later altered into क्रि Read महाबलाधिकृत-.

¹⁶ Read श्रीवासवसमादेशात् There is a redundant and unconnected curve on the left of *śā*

¹⁷ This *akshara* is superfluous

¹⁸ The form of this *akshara* is unusual

¹⁹ Read अमावस्याया.

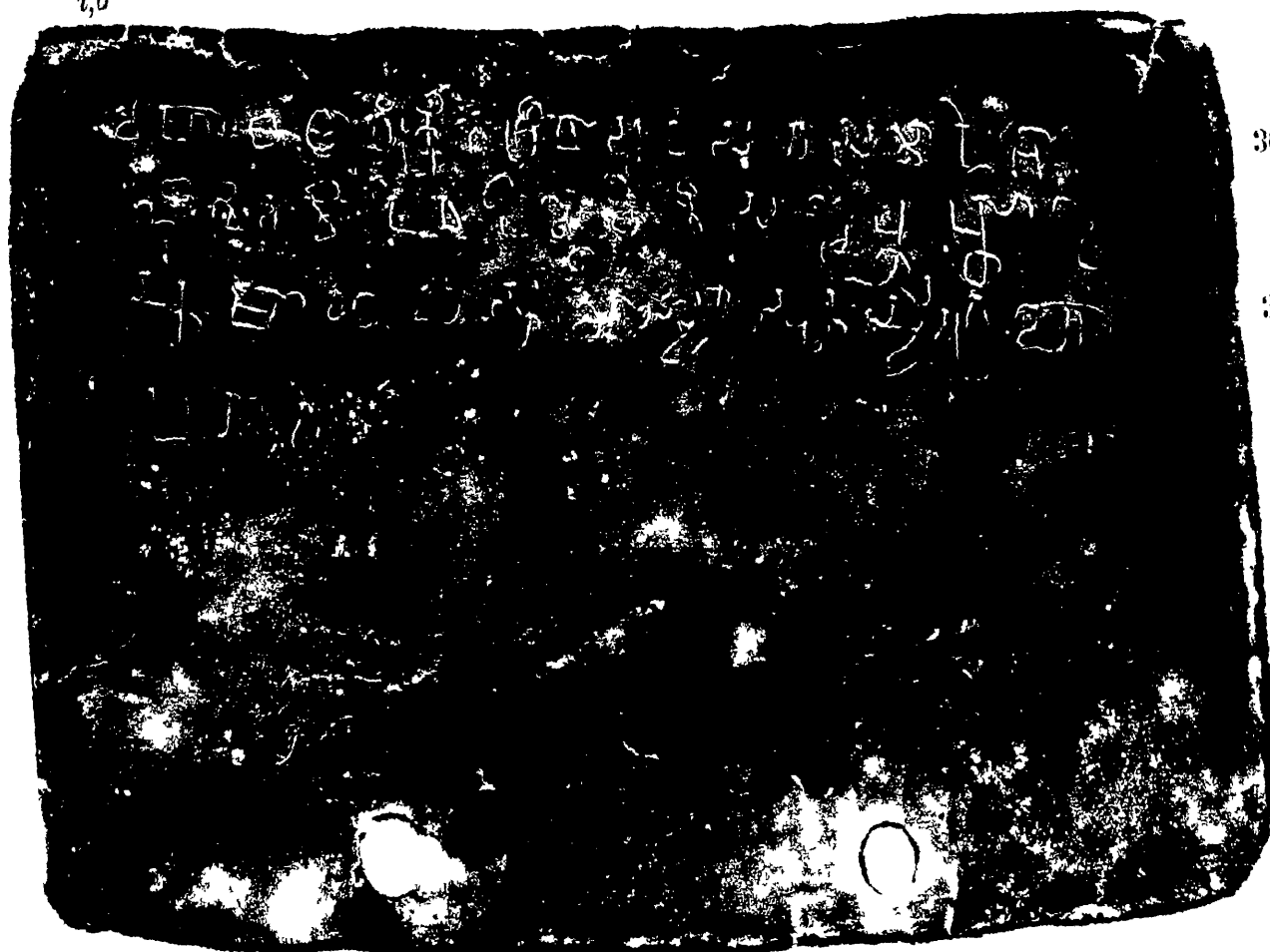
KASARE PLATES OF ALLSAKTI (KALACHURI) YEAR 404

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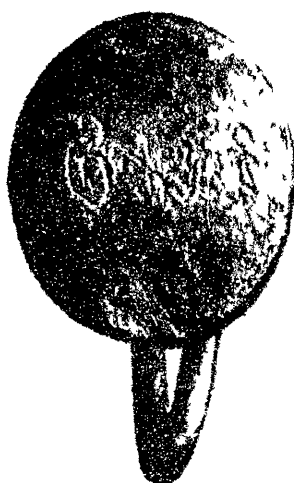
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Seal



(From a photograph)

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! In the great lineage of the **Sēndraka** kings which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (*and*) the fame of which has become expanded, (*there was the illustrious Bhānuśakti*¹), who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants, who conquered the multitude of all his foes, who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms, whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all the feudatories who bowed to him And again —

(Verse 1) Born in the family of those eminent Sēndrakas,—seeing the mass of lustre of whose swords, emitting sparks of fire and resembling flashes of lightning, even Sakra can not hold his ground, fighting on the battlefield where horses lie slain and the ground of which overflows with blood flowing from the cut-off frontal globes (*of the hostile elephants*)—there was the king, the illustrious **Nikumbha**, who resembled Indra

(V 2) His son (*was*) the illustrious **Ādityarāja**, the guardian of the people,—whose fame spread (*all*) over the earth, who was stainless like the sun, who had the splendour of the sun, who with affection always thought of the well-being of the people, who placed his foot on the heads of great kings who had large armies, even as the sun casts his rays on the summits of high mountains having extensive ridges², (*and*) who, being like the eye of the people as the sun is of the worlds, has destroyed the ignorance of the people (*even as the sun dispels darkness*)

(Line 10) His son (*is*) the *Prithvivallabha*, illustrious **Nikumbha**, **Allaśakti**³, who has caused the destruction of the greatness, due to might, of his powerful adversaries, whose stainless fame is like the orb of the spotless autumnal moon, who is waited upon by learned men and musicians even as the lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra) is served by the Vidyādhara and Gandharvas⁴, (*who is*) fit to be served, who has his mind purified by delightful knowledge and actions, who causes delight to the humble even as Garuda did to (*his mother*) Vinatā, who has put an end to disputes about (*the possession of*) ploughed fields⁵ as Rāma finished fighting for (*the rescue of his wife*) Sītā,⁶ who, again, is—

(V 3) The king **Allaśakti** who on earth bears resemblance to Yudhishtira, because his fortune is governed by the Brāhmanas, (*because*) he honours the elders, (*and*) is always at the head and ready, because his mind is purified by righteous deeds even as

¹ This name does not occur in the text, but is supplied from the corresponding passage of the cognate Bagumrā plates. The repetition of the expression *Sēndrakānām vanśajah* in v. 1 below shows that the verse is to be taken separately and not to be connected with the preceding expressions in prose.

² There are puns on the words *bhūbhīṣ* meaning 'a king' and 'a mountain,' *pāda* meaning 'the foot' and 'a ray' and *kataka* meaning 'an army' and 'the ridge of a mountain'.

³ Though the expression *śrī-Nikumbha* seems to be inseparably joined to *Allaśakti*, the legend on the seal shows that the royal name was *Allaśakti* only.

⁴ This and the following expressions in the original admit of a double interpretation on account of puns on some words occurring in them.

⁵ The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya has a chapter entitled *Sītādhyakṣa* which deals with agricultural matters.

⁶ Or, if we take *vgraha* in the sense of 'the body,' it may mean 'as Rāma put an end to Sotā's bodily form' the reference being to the disappearance of Sītā underground as described in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*.

Yudhishtira's was by the (*valorous*) deeds of Arjuna¹, because he is pious-minded and is followed by an excellent army as Yudhishtira was called Dharma² and was accompanied by (*his brother*), the noble Bhīmasēna, because his gifts are always shared by the Brāhmanas (*lit.*, those whose person is worshipped) together with the gods, even as Yudhishtira's person was honoured by Sahadēva and his gifts were shared (*by all*); because his family is friendly and untarnished, even as Yudhishtira's brother Nakula exterminated his foes³

(L. 17) He, the *Prithuvīvallabha*, the illustrious *Nikumbha Allaśakti*,—who meditates on the feet of *his* mother and father, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) very pious; and who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda*,—being in good health, addresses the (*following*) order to all the kings, feudatories, heads of *viśayas*, *Chaurōddharamikas*, *Danda-pāśikas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāgamikas*,⁴ the *Mahattaras* of the village, officials and others.—

(L. 20) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) parents and Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, fifty *mvartanas* of land to the south of the *Parnandha* river in the village of *Pippalakhēta*,—to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, according to the maxim of waste land,—to the Brāhmana *Bālaprasvita* of the *Kṛṣṇātrēya gōtra*, who is a student of the *Mādhyandina śākhā* of the *Vājasaneyā* (or *White Yajurveda*), for the use of the god *Alanghyēśvara*

(L. 26) Wherefore future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve (*this*) our gift”

It has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the redactor (*of the Vēdas*),—

(*Here follows one benedictive and imprecatory verse*)

(L. 29) The banks, groves and tanks (*in the donated land?*) are to be enjoyed at all times according to the (*proper*) custom

This (*charter*) is written by⁵ *Dēvadinna* by the order of the *Mahābalādhiprita*, the illustrious *Vāsava*. In the year 400 (*and*) 4, on the new-moon day in the dark (*fortnight*) of *Āshāḍha*, on (*the occasion of*) a solar eclipse.

Seal

The illustrious *Allaśakti*

¹ This and the following expressions, in which the names of the Pāndavas are cleverly interwoven, are intended to be construed with *Allaśakti* and *Yudhishtira*

² In the case of *Yudhishtira*, *dharm-ātmā* is to be explained as *dharmah ātmā (svarūpam, nāma vā) yasya*. He was known by the name *Dharma*

³ In the case of *Allaśakti*, the *pada-chchbēda* is *mitra-akṛishna-kulō* and in that of *Yudhishtira* it is *amitra-ākṛish-Nakulō* (*amitrān ākarshati iti tādṛishah Nakulō yasya*). The correct grammatical expression in the latter case should, however, be *amitr-ākṛin-Nakulō*

⁴ The *Gamāgamika* (*lit.* he who superintends the egress and ingress of travellers) was evidently an inspector of passports. The *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya mentions a similar officer called *Mudrādhyaksha*

⁵ See the discussion about the date above, p. 112

No. 26 ; PLATE XIX

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI¹ : (KALACHURI) YEAR 406

THE plates were found in 1881 together with several others² by a labourer of Surat, 'who was engaged in excavating the *pro tempore* kitchens for a large wedding party at Bagumrā³ (Zilla Balesar) in the Gaekwad's territory'⁴ They were edited by Dr. G Buhler first in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Band CXIV, pp. 169 ff and subsequently with some emendations and a translation accompanied by excellent lithographs in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVIII, pp 265 ff I edit the inscription here from the lithographs as well as from fresh ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the British Museum.

'The grant is engraved on two copper-plates,—now in the British Museum,—each measuring about 7½" by 5½" The rims are raised Two holes on the lower broad side of the first plate and the upper one of the second, show that they were held together by two rings which have been lost. Only the inner sides of the plates have been inscribed, the first has nineteen, the second twenty lines The technical execution is very bad The letters are often badly formed, of unequal size and sometimes stand so close together that they run into each other The upper part of the first plate and the lower one of the second have considerably suffered by oxidation'⁵

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those used in the inscriptions of the Early Gurjaras Owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, the same letter appears in varying forms in different places Contrast, e g, the form of *d* in -*dāna*-, l 5 with that in -*dāḥshanya*-, ll 5-6, of *t* in *pranat*-, l 4 with that in -*gatih*-, l 13, of *bh* in -*vallabha*-, l 15 with that in -*gabhirō*-, l 12, of *m* in -*dama*-, l 5, -*Nikumbh*-, l 15 and *maya*, l. 18 with the cursive one in -*Lakshmī*-, l 9, *Brāhman*-, l 17 etc, of *n* in -*kālinab*-, l 22 with that in *gagana*-, l 1 It is noteworthy that *t* shows a vertical stroke at the top in -*patal*-, l 30, *Vindhya-ātavi*-, l 33 etc, *y* appears in a transitional form without a hook in its left limb, while *l* shows both the northern form as in -*Lakshmī*-, l. 9, -*mamdal*-, l 7, -*bala*-, l 8, and the southern one as in *kalpaluma*-, ll. 7-8, -*pālana*-, l 10 The language is Sanskrit, and except for a verse in praise of the sun in the beginning and the usual benedictive and imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is in prose throughout The ignorance of the person who drafted it is disclosed by the innumerable mistakes of grammar which disfigure the record from the beginning to the end. He uses, for instance, -*amala-yaśasah*-, l 7 as the nominative of *amala-yaśas* instead of the correct form *amala-yaśāḥ*, seems to be ignorant of the rule that the words connected by *va* must be in the same case, for he writes *Kalpaldrumam=va .. jan-ōpabhuyyamāna-vibhavō*, ll 7-8, *Janārdanam-va rājya[h*]*, ll 8-9, and employs wrong declensional forms like *Brāhman-ōttarām* for *Brāhmān-ōttarān*, l 17, -*dhikarīk-ādīm* for -*dhikarīk-adīn*, l. 18 etc, and incorrect compounds like *rajahśrī* for *rājyaśrī*, l 29, *apahritam*-

¹ Buhler gives the royal name as *Nikumbhallasakti*, but as shown above, (p 112), *Nikumbha* was only a *biruda* and the proper name was *Allasakti* A grant of the same king recently discovered in Khandesh calls him *Nikumbhallasakti*, (N. I A, Vol I, p 747)

² These were the plates of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta Dhruva II, dated Śaka 798, *Ind Ant* (Vol XII, pp 179 ff) and those of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta Kṛishna, dated Śaka 810 (*ibid*, Vol XIII, pp 65 ff).

³ The ancient name of this place was *Umvara*, see l 50 of the Bagumrā grant No 1 of Indra III, *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 32

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol, XII, p 179.

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, p 265

aśēsha-bala-rājyab for *apahrit-aśēsha-bali-rājyab*, ll 8-9 Besides these, there are several mistakes of *sandhi* and omissions and transpositions of syllables and words which are pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. As regards **orthography**, we find that *ri* is used instead of the vowel *ri* in several places, see, e g, *-prithu-*, l 1, *-āvita-*, l. 30, *krishn-*, l 33, the letter preceding and following *r* is correctly repeated in *-vikram-ākkrānta-*, l. 4, *-kry-ōtsarppan-*, l 21, *sarvv-ādāna*, l. 23 etc, but wrongly in *varshsha-*, l 34.

The plates were issued by the illustrious *Prithuvīvallabha*, *Nikumbha Allaśakti* of the family of **Sēndraka** kings, who was the son of the illustrious lord of men, **Ādityaśakti**, and the grandson of the lord of men, the illustrious **Bhānuśakti**. No place of issue is mentioned in the grant The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Balisa** in the *āhāra* of **Trēyanṇa**. The donee was Bappasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā or White Yajurveda He was then a resident of **Vijay-Āniruddhapurī**. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites The *Dūtaka* was *Srīallabha Bappa* and the scribe the *Sandhivigrahādhiprita Dēvadinna*.¹ The grant was written by the order of a *Mahābalādhiprita* whose name is imperfectly written here, but who was probably identical with the illustrious **Vāsava** mentioned with the same title in the Kāsārē grant We learn from lines 38-39 that the scribe, **Dēvadinna**, was his younger brother

The date of the grant is expressed in words as the **fifteenth (tithi) of the bright fortnight) of Bhādrapada in the year 406** of an unspecified era Like the date of the Kāsārē plates, this date also must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C, it would correspond, for the expired year² 406, to the 10th August 656 A.C In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

Of the place-names in the present grant **Trēyanṇa** was identified by Dr. Buhler with the village Tēn near Bārdōli in the Surat District of Gujarat It is evidently identical with Trēnna which is mentioned as the headquarters of an *āhāra* in the Bagumrā plates³ of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta branch and with Tēnna mentioned in the Bagumrā plates (second set)⁴ of the Rāshtrakūta king, Indra III In the latter grant the place is said to be situated near Kammanijja in the Lāta country and was bounded on the east by Vāradapallikā This description completely agrees with the situation of Tēn which

lies only about 15 miles south-east of Kāmtrēj, the modern representative of Kammanijja and lies only about a mile to the west of Bārdōli, the ancient Vāradapallikā. **Balisa**, the village granted in the present plates, is plainly identical with Valisā or Balisā which is mentioned as defining the western boundary of the village Tēnna in the Bagumrā plates (second set) of Indra III It can be identified with the modern Wanēsa which lies about 10 miles south-west⁵ of Tēn **Vijay-Āniruddhapurī** cannot be identified, but it must have been situated not very far from Tēn It is mentioned as the place of issue in the Kāsārē plates⁶ of Vyāghrasēna and was probably the capital of the Traikūtakas

¹ He is the writer of the Kāsārē plates (No 25, above) Both Vāsava and Dēvadinna, again, are in another grant of Allaśakti found in Khandesh (*NI A*, Vol I, p 749)

² If the year was current, the date of the grant would correspond to the 22nd August 655 A.C

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p 181

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 36

⁵ The identification was suggested by Dr Buhler who pointed out that 'the change of *la* to *na* is very common in Gujarātī, e g, in *nabān* for *labān*' Wanēsa is not, however, to the south-east of Tēn as stated by Buhler

⁶ Above, No 9, see p 27

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] प्रथमदिकसरसीप्रिथु³ पकज गगनवारिधिविद्रुमपल्लवं (वम्) [1*] त्रिदश[रक्त]-
जपाकुसुम नव
2 दिशतु वो विजय रविमडल[लम्]⁴ ॥ [१॥*] स्वस्ति [1*] मेरुमहीधरविजर⁵ स्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते
विकसि-
3 तमहति यशसि⁶ सेन्द्रकराज्ञा⁷ मन्वये नैकचानु (तु) ईन्तगजघ[टा]टोपसमर⁸ सङ्घट्टल-
4 ब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण. स्वभुजबलविक्रमाक्क्रान्तमहीमडल प्रणताशे-
5 षसामन्तशिरोमुकु[ट*] निघृष्टपदपकज. नयविनयसत्यशौचाचारदमदयादानदा-
6 [क्षि]ण्यश्रीसंपदुपेतो नरपति श्रीमद्भाणु(नु)शक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो (त) गरदम-
7 लशशाकमंडलामलयशस⁹ सवितारमिवोदयवन्तमनुरक्तमडल¹⁰ च कल्पलु-
8 ममि¹¹ बाभिवाछिताशेषजनोपभुज्यम (मा) नविभवो जनार्दनमिवापह्नितमशेषब[ल]-
9 राज्य¹² परचक्रानुरक्तलक्ष्मीक श्रीमन्नरपति¹³ आदित्यशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात [*]
10 श्रीमा[न्द]क्षिण[गुरु]बाहुदड प्रिथिवी¹⁴ पालनक्षमो व्यपगतसजलजल¹⁵ जलधर-
11 पटलव्योमतलगतशरदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोविसा (ता) नलघिताभोधि य¹⁶ पर
12 परमगभीरो दिवद्विजाततवजनबंधवापभुज्यमानविभवो¹⁷ भवसूनुरिवाप्र-
13 तिहत्[ग]ति¹⁸ शक्ति¹⁹ रिवोपात्तराज्य. समदद्विरदवरसलीलगतिरर्जुन इवाशेषसं-
14 ग्रामविजयी अनवरतविक्रमात्साहशक्तिषपन²⁰ काम इव समदन²¹ युवतिजा (ज) न-

¹ From the lithograph accompanying Dr Buhler's article in *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, pp 265 ff, and ink impressions supplied by the authorities of the British Museum

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read -पृथु-

⁴ Metre *Drutavilambita*

⁵ Read -शिर- as in the Mundkhēdē plates of Jayaśakti published in the *Prabhāta*, Vol I, No.

12, p 1 ff

⁶ Read विकसितयशसि महति as in the Mundkhēdē plates

⁷ Read सेन्द्रकराज्ञान-¹

⁸ Buhler read समद and remarked, "The connection of समद 'furious' with a word not denoting an animal is most unusual. Probably it should stand before *gaja*" But the correct reading is *samara* as in the Mundkhēdē plates

⁹ The same reading occurs in the Mundkhēdē plates Read -मलयशा

¹⁰ Read सवितेवोदयवाननुरक्तमडलश्च

¹¹ Read कल्पद्रुम इवा-

¹² Read जनार्दन इवापह्ताशेषबलिराज्य

¹³ Read श्रीमन्नर-

¹⁴ Read दक्षिणगुरुबाहुदण्डपृथिवी-

¹⁵ The *aksharas* जल are unnecessarily repeated

¹⁶ The engraver wanted to incise -लघिताभोधि धिया, but omitted the धि by mistake and unnecessarily repeated the *aksharas* पर In the corresponding passage, the Mundkhēdē plates have लघिताभोधिपरापर (पारावार ?)

¹⁷ Read देवद्विजातिस्वजनबाधवोपभुज्यमानविभवो as in the Mundkhēdē plates

¹⁸ Buhler read इव प्रतिहृतास्ति, but the *akshara* वा in इवा is clear in his lithograph and the letter that follows *vā* is certainly *ga*, as *r* ends in a serif in the present record The Mundkhēdē plates have भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहृतास्ति in the description of Ādityaśakti

¹⁹ Read शक्ति-

²⁰ Read -विक्रमोत्साहशक्तिसपन्न .

²¹ Buhler reads समान-, but our reading is clear in his lithograph.

- 15 नयनन (न) दन. श्रीमप्रीथिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्लशक्ति¹ सव्वन्नेव यथा स (स) बध्यमा—
 16 नका [न्*] राजराजस्थानीयचोरा (रो) द्वरणिकदाडपाशिकदूतगमगमिक² भटच (चा) टसि (से) —
 17 वकादी [न्*] ब्राह्मणोत्तरा वणिग्दनपदामन्याश्च³ विषय [प*] तिराष्ट्रग्रामरू (कू) —
 18 ट [टा] युक्तकमहत्तराधिकारिकादीमनयुत्यस्तु⁴ वो विदित (त) मय (या)
 19 परलोकावेक्षत्वम (म) गीक्रि (कु) त्य

Second Plate

- 20 मह [त्फ] ल⁵ [च] श्रुत्वा दत्त⁶ त्रेयण्णाहारातर्गतविषये⁷ बलिसग्रामो
 21 बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्नी (ग्नि) होत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थ (र्थ) मातापित्र (त्रो) रात्मनश्च पु—
 22 ण्ययशोव्रि (वृ) द्ये आच (च) द्रावर्ता (वर्का) ण्वक्षितित्थिति⁸ समकालीन पुत्रपो (पौ) त्रान्वयक—
 म (मो) —
 23 पभोग्य सभूतवातप्रत्ययोपरिकर⁹ सव्वदानदित्यविष्टिप्र (प्रा) तिभेदिकापरिहीन (ण)¹⁰
 24 भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाच (चा) टभटप्रवेश्य [*] सोद्वज्ज सपरिकर¹¹ भाद्रपदपौर्णम [मा] स्या विज—
 25 यानिरुद्धपुरीवास्तव्यभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजि (ज) सनेयम [मा] ध्यदिनसब्रह्मचारिणे वप्पस्वामि—
 26 न (ने) दीक्षितस्थित्ये¹² उदकातिसर्गणे प्रति¹³ प्रतिपादित [।*] यतोस्मद्वशजे¹⁴ रत्यैवर्वा—
 27 गाम (मि) नि (नृ) पतिभिर्नलव (वे) णुकदलीसार ससार जलबुद्बुदोपम च जीवितमवधार्य
 28 शिरीषकुसुमसद्रिशाचपा¹⁵ च यौवन (न) गिरिनदीसलिलगत्तराणि चैश्वर्य्य [ख्या] णि प्रवस (ल) —
 29 पवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचचला च रज श्रीरित्यय¹⁶ माकलय्यायमस्मद्वायोनुमतव (व्य)
 30 प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च [।*] यो वाज्ञानपटलाव्रित¹⁷ मतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमान व (वा) नुमोदेत
 31 स पचभिर्मह [हा] प [पा] तकै सोपपातकैश्च सयुक्त स्यादित्युक्त च¹⁸ [भग] वता [पारा] शर्य्येण
 वे—
 32 दव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्का (क्ता) राजभि सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि [*]
 33 तस्य तस्य तदा फल (लम्)¹⁹ ॥ [२॥*] विध्याटवीषु (ष्व) तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [।*] क्रि—
 (कु) ण्णा [ह्यो हि] जायन्ते भूमिद (दा) —

¹ Read श्रीमत्पृथिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भल्ल—

² Read —गमागमिक—

³ Read ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् वणिग्जानपदानन्याश्च

⁴ Read —दीननुदर्शयति । अस्तु

⁵ Dr Buhler reads महार्थं व (च), but महत्फल is the correct reading which occurs also in the Mundkhēdē plates

⁶ Read तत् In the Mundkhēdē plates Mr Chandorkar read शुद्ध तत् which also may be श्रुत्वा तत्

⁷ The name of the *vishaya* is inadvertently omitted here Perhaps the intended reading is त्रेयण्णाहारविषयातर्गत—

⁸ Read —स्थिति—

⁹ Read —प्रत्याय— and delete परिकर, as सपरिकर occurs in the next line.

¹⁰ In the corresponding passage of Gurjara grants, (e g., No 16, I 34, above), the expressions used are सव्वदानसग्राह्य सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीण.

¹¹ Read सोपरिकर.

¹² Read दीक्षिताय, or perhaps दीक्षितस्थित्यै

¹³ Delete प्रति

¹⁴ Read —स्मद्वशजे—

¹⁵ Read —कुसुमसद्रिशापाय

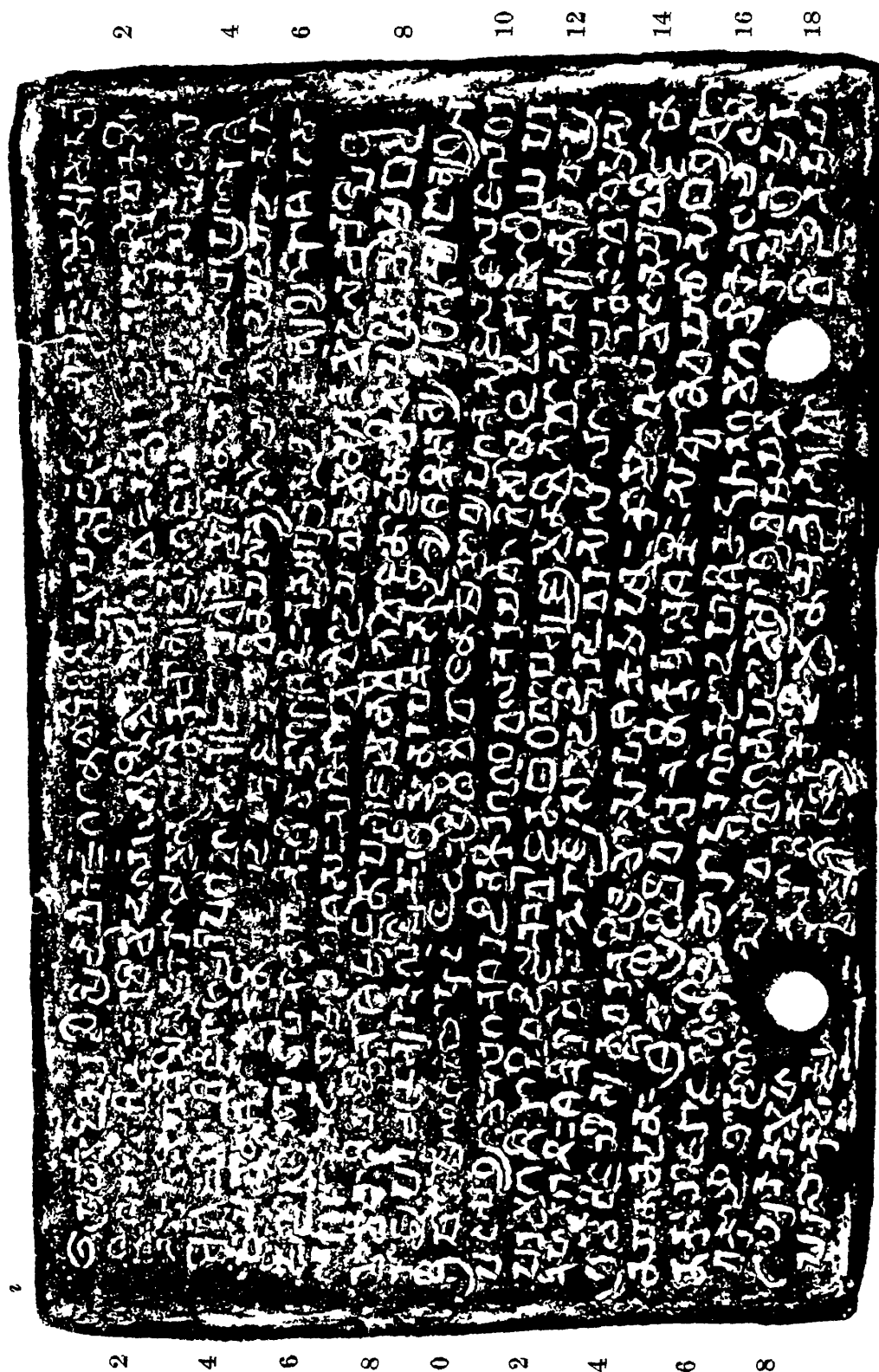
¹⁶ Read —चचला च राज्यश्रीरितीद—.

¹⁷ Read —वृत्तमति—.

¹⁸ Read स्यादिति । उक्त च.

¹⁹ Metre of this and the following three verses *Anushtubh*

BAGUMRA PLATES OF ALLASAKTI (KALACHURI) YEAR 406



20

22

24

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38

Handwritten text in a script, likely a form of Indic script, covering the entire page. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and dense, with many characters appearing to be in a single character set. The page is dark, and the text is written in a lighter color, possibly ink or a different material. There are two large circular holes on the left side of the page, suggesting it was once bound in a book. The page number 'ii' is written in the top left corner.

20

22

24

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38

- 34 [य हर*] ति¹ ये ।। [३॥*] षष्टि वर्षं (र्षं) सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता
चा[नुमन्ता*] च तान्येव नरक(के)
35 वसे[त् ॥४॥ स्वदत्ता पर*] दत्ता(त्ता) व(वा) यनाद्रष² युधिष्टि(ष्टि)र (1*) मही(ही)
महिमता [श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो*] नुपालन(नम्) ॥ [५॥*]
36 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थ्य[श*]स्कराणि [1*] नि[र्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति*]मानि
तानि को
37 नाम [साधु] पुनराददीत³ ॥ [६॥*] सवत्सरशतचतुष्टये षडुत्तरे [भाद्रपदशुद्ध]पञ्चदश्या-
(श्या)
38 दूतकोत्र श्रीवल्लभब[र्ष] [1*] महाबलाधिक्रि(कृ)तमासमादेशाम⁴ लिखितमिद तस्यैवानु-
39 [जे]न स(स)धी(धि)विग्रहाधिक्रि(कृ)तदेवदिज्ञेनेति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May the orb of the sun, the large lotus of the lake of the first (*i e. eastern*) quarter, the coral leaf of the ocean of the firmament, the fresh jasmine flower of the gods, grant you victory !

(Line 2) Hail ! In the great lineage of the **Sēndraka** kings, which is firmly established, excellent and elevated like the peak of the mountain Mēru, (*and*) whose fame has become expanded, (*there was*) the illustrious **Bhānuśakti**, the lord of men, who obtained victory in the clash of fight by means of the arrays of troops of many four-tusked elephants, who conquered the multitude of all his foes, who obtained the circle of the earth by the might and prowess of his arms, whose lotus-like feet were scratched by the diadems on the heads of all feudatories who bowed to him, who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, character, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, courteousness and excellent fortune

(L 6) His son (*was*) **Ādityaśakti**, the illustrious lord of men, who meditated on his feet, whose glory was spotless like the orb of the clear autumnal moon, who, being possessed of prosperity and having (*his*) kingdom devoted to him, resembled the sun which (*also*) rises and has a red orb, who, with his wealth desired and enjoyed by all people, was like the wish-fulfilling tree, who took away the kingdoms of all powerful (*kings*) as Janārdana⁵ took away the entire kingdom of Bali, and whose fortune was fond of the enemies' kingdoms⁶

(L 9) His son, the illustrious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Nikumbha* **Allaśakti**,—who meditates on his feet, who is glorious (*and*) is capable of protecting the earth with his staff-like right arm, whose canopy of glory, which is whiter than the rays of the autumnal moon (*shining*) in

¹ The *akṣharas* marked with an asterisk in rectangular brackets in this and the following lines have been almost completely damaged by rust

² Read यत्नाद्रक्ष

³ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁴ Perhaps like the scribe, this officer also was the same as in the *Kāsārē* plates. If so, the reading should be -वासवसमादेशात्

⁵ *I e.*, Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation. There is a play on the word *bali* meaning (1) 'a powerful prince' and (2) 'Bali, the king of demons'

⁶ This means, as Buhler has suggested, that 'his Fortune was not contented with his empire, desired to possess those of his foes and induced him to conquer them'.

the sky from which water-laden clouds have disappeared, has stretched beyond the ocean, who is extremely deep in intellect, whose wealth is being enjoyed by gods, Brāhmanas, friends and relatives, who, like the son of Bhava,¹ has his progress unchecked, who, like Śakti,² has obtained a kingdom, whose gait is graceful like that of a choice rutting elephant, who, like Arjuna, has obtained victory in all battles, who is endowed with unfailing prowess, energy, and might, who, like Cupid, delights the eyes of love-lorn ladies³,—addresses the (following) order to all the kings, *Rājasthānīyas*, *Chaurōddharanīkas*, *Dāndapāśīkas*, *Dūtas*, *Gamāganīkas*, *bhātas*, *chātas*, servants and so forth, merchants and residents of the Janapada, the foremost of whom are Brāhmanas, and others, heads of *vishayas*, those of *rāshtras* and villages, *Ayuktakas*, *Mahattaras*, officials and others, according as it might concern them⁴ —

(L 18) “Be it known to you that having regard to the other world and having heard of the great reward (*of gifts of land*), I have granted, on the full moon day of **Bhādrapada** with a libation of water, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, the village **Balisa** situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of **Trēyanna**,—together with duties on commodities manufactured or imported (*into the village*), with *udranga*, with *upanikara*, being exempt from all dues, gifts, forced labour, and special rights, which is not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhātas*, according to the maxim of waste land, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the *dīkṣhita* Bappasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who is a student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā (or White Yajurveda) and a resident of the victorious **Aniruddhapurī**, for the maintenance of *balu*, *charu*, *vaisvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other (*religious*) rites

(L 26) Wherefore, future kings whether born in our family or others, having realized that wordly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as reeds, bamboos and plantain trees (*possess sap*), and that life is (*evanescent*) like a water-bubble, and having considered that youth is liable to fade like a *śrīṣha* flower, that prosperity slips away like water of a mountain stream, and that fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an Aśvattha tree which is struck by a very strong wind, should consent to this our gift and preserve it! But he who with his mind shrouded by the veil of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with minor sins!”

(L 31) And the holy Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, the redactor of the Vēdas, has said—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L 37) In the year four hundred increased by six, on the fifteenth (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Bhādrapada**. The *Dūtaka* for this (*charter*) is **Srīvallabha Bappa**. By the order of the *Mahābalādhikṛita* [Vāsava]⁵ this (*charter*) has been written by his own younger brother, the *Sandhuvigrahādhikṛita* **Dēvadinna**.

¹ I e, Kārttikēya

² The Purānas mention Śakti as a son of Vasishtha by his wife Arundhatī, but there is no particular legend about his having obtained a kingdom. If the reading is *śakti=av-ōpāttarāyyah*, it would mean ‘who obtained his kingdom only by his prowess’

³ Buhler’s rendering ‘who, like Cupid, is the joy of the eyes of the courtezans’ is incorrect. It was based on the mislection *samāna* for *sa-madana*.

⁴ Buhler’s translation ‘however they may be connected with him’ does not appear to be correct. The royal order is addressed to all who may have anything to do with the donated village

⁵ See above, p 118, n 1

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF GUJARAT

No 27, PLATE XX

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 421

THESE plates were found at Navsārī, the headquarters of the Navsārī division of the Surat District, in the Bombay State. They were first edited, with a lithograph and a translation, by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XVI, pp 1 ff. They were subsequently published, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr E Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VIII, pp 229 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-lithograph.

Dr Fleet has given the following description of the plates —

“The copper-plates are two in number, each about $8\frac{5}{8}$ ” long by 5” broad at the ends, and $4\frac{7}{8}$ ” in the middle. The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims. The plates are substantial; and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side at all. The engraving is good. The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver’s tool. The ring is about $\frac{3}{8}$ ” thick and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ” in diameter. It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Srī-āśraya*. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs, and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz, total, 2 lbs $5\frac{1}{2}$ oz¹”

The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. There are small knobs at the top of the letters. *V* and *dh* appear closely similar in some places, compare, e g, *v* in *vīkrama*, l 6 with *dh* in *yudhi*— in the same line; *b* is rectangular in *bala*—, l 5 and roundish in *brahmachārī*, l 15. A final consonant is indicated by a slanting stroke or a curve at the top, see *phalam*, l 20. The sign of the *jihvā mūliya* occurs in l 12 and the numerical symbols for 400, 20 and 1 in l 21.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the *mangala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and one benedictive verse at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The inscription is very carelessly written. Not only have rules of *sandhi* been frequently neglected, but letters and even words have in some places been omitted, as will be seen from the transcribed text. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for *ri* as in *Mātristhāvira*, l 15, and of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* in *vinśaty*—, l 21.

The plates were issued from Navasārīkā by the *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince) *Sryāśraya-Śilāditya*, the son of *Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman* of the *Chālukya* family². The *Chālukyas*, we are told, were sons (*i e*, descendants) of *Hārītī* and belonged to the *Mānavya gōtra*. They are said to have been brought up by the seven Divine Mothers, to have attained continuous prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya* and to have obtained the boar ensign. About *Dharāśraya-Jayasimha* we are told that his prosperity

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 230

² As in the following grant (No 28), the dynastic name occurs here as *Chalukya*.

was increased by his elder brother, the illustrious **Vikramāditya** who bore the *birudas* **Satyāśraya** and **Prthivīvallabha** and the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Bhattāraka*. Vikramāditya is further described as the conqueror of the **Pallavas** and as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Nāgavardhana** and was the son of the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha**. Vikramāditya and his father Pulakēśivallabha are plainly identical with Vikramāditya I and Pulakēśin II of the Early Chālukya dynasty. The former was the suzerain of Dharāśraya—Jayasimha whom he placed in charge of South Gujarat. As for Nāgavardhana, Mr. A. M. T. Jackson thought that he was a successor of Pulakēśin II, and ruled in the period between 640 A. C. and 669-70 A. C. Pandit Bhagvanlal, on the other hand, accepted Dr. Fleet's opinion that Nāgavardhana may be the name of a god or *guru*.¹ The use of *paramamāhēśvara* in addition to *Nāgavardhana-pād-ānudhyāta* as an epithet of Vikramāditya indicates that Nāgavardhana was probably the *guru*.² of Vikramāditya I.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the donation of the village **Āsaṭṭi** in the **Kaṇhavalā āhāra** of the **Bāhīrikā viśhaya**. The donee was the Brāhmana Bhōgīkka-svāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, a student of the Adhvarayu (vēda)³ who was residing at Navasārikā. The charter was written by the *Sāndhviagrahika*, the illustrious Dhanañjaya.

The date of the grant is given both in words and numerical symbols as the **thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 421** of an unspecified era. The grant was evidently made during the reign of Vikramāditya I, who is the last king mentioned in it with imperial titles and who flourished from about 654 A. C. to 680 A. C.⁴ Its date must, therefore, be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A. C., it would correspond, for the expired year⁵ 429, to the 28th January 671 A. C. It does not admit of verification, but it clearly falls in the reign of Vikramāditya I.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Navasārikā** is clearly Navsārī where the plates were found. I identify **Kaṇhavalā**, the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which the donated village was situated, with Kanhi, 6 miles south of Bārdōli. The village **Āsaṭṭigrāma** was identified by Dr. Buhler with Astgām⁶ which lies only about 10 m. south-west of Kanhi. The **Bāhīrikā viśhaya** of which Kanhavalā *āhāra* was a subdivision means the Outer District. It was probably so called with reference to the neighbouring one, *viṣṇu*, *Antarmandalī viśhaya* mentioned in the Pārdī plates of Vyāghrasēna, which bordered it on the east. To the north of Kanhavalā *āhāra* lay the Trēyanna *āhāra*, mentioned in the Bagumrā plates of Allasakti⁷ and the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta Dhruva⁸ which was probably another sub-division of the Bāhīrikā *viśhaya*.

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 111-2.

² Similarly in his Nāsik plates (below, No. 28, line 12) Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman is described as meditating on the feet of his parents and of the illustrious Anivārīta. The latter was evidently his *guru*.

³ *I. e.*, the Yajurveda.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 24.

⁵ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 9th January 670 A. C.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 198. Fleet objected to the identification on the ground that "in the Bombay Postal Directory the name is spelt 'Ashtgām,' which suggests Ashtagrāma, not Āsaṭṭigrāma". *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 231, n. 4. I find the name as Astgām in the Degree Map No. 46 H. Besides, the fact that Astgām is situated not far from Kanhi (ancient Kanhavalā), and no other village of a similar name can be traced in the neighbourhood, supports the identification proposed by Buhler.

⁷ Above, No. 26.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] स्वस्ति [1*] जयत्याविष्कृत विष्णोर्व्वाराह क्षोभिताण्ण[व*]म् [1*] दक्षिणोन्न-
तद(द)ष्ट्राग्रवि-
- 2 शा(श्रा)न्तभुवन(न) वपु³ (॥१॥*) श्रीमता सकलभुवनसस्तूय[मान*]मानव्यसगोत्रा-
णाम्(णा)
- 3 हारीतीपुत्राणा सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभि[रभि*]वर्द्धितास⁴ कार्तिकेयप-
- 4 रिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरपराणा भगवन्नाराय[ण*]प्रसादसमासादितवराहल-
- 5 ञ्छनिक्षणे रक्षणे वशेकृताशेष⁵महीभृता चलिक्क्यानामान्वये⁶ निजभुजबलपराजिता-
- 6 खिलरिपुमहिपालसमेतिविरामयुधिष्ठोपमान⁷ सत्यविक्रम[*] श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभ [1*] तस्य
- 7 पुत्र परममाहेश्वरमातापितृश्रीनागवर्द्धनपादानुद्धचातश्रीविक्रमादित्यसत्य(त्या)-
- 8 श्रयपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरममाहेश्वरभट्टारकेन⁸ अनिवारितपौरुषा-
- 9 क्रतु⁹पल्लवान्वयेन ज्यायसा भ्रात्रा समवर्द्धितविभूतिर्द्धा(र्द्ध) राश्रयश्रीजयसिह-
- 10 वम्मं(म्मि) [1*] तस्य पुत्र शरदमलसकलशशधरमरीचिमालावितानविशुद्धकीर्त्तिपताका-

Second Plate

- 11 विभासितलमन्तदिगतराह.¹⁰ प्रदाता रोजराज¹¹ [इ*]व रु[प*]लावण्यसौ-
- 12 भाग्यसम्पन्नःकामदेव [द्व*] सकलकलाप्रवि(वी)णः पौरुषवान्विद्याधरचक्र-
- 13 वर्त्तिव¹² श्रयाश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराज(जो) नवसारिकामधिवसत्(न्) नवसारि-
- 14 काव(वा)स्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रगोमिस्वामिन¹³ पुत्र स्वा(सा)मन्तस्वामी । तस्य पुत्रा-
- 15 य¹⁴ मात्रि¹⁵स्थविर[*] तस्यानुजभ्राता¹⁶ किक्कस्वामिन¹⁷ भोगिक्कस्वामिने अध्वर्यु[स]ब्रह्म-
चारि-
- 16 णे बाहिरिका¹⁸विषयान्तर्गतकण्हवलाहारविषये¹⁹ आसट्टिग्राम सोद्वज्ज सप-

¹ From the photo-lithographs facing p 232 in *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ Read -वर्द्धिताना

⁵ Read -वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणवशीकृताशेष- as in No 28, below p 129

⁶ Read -मन्वये

⁷ Read -रिपुर्महीपालसमिति रामयुधिष्ठिरोपमान

⁸ Read -भट्टारकेण

⁹ Read -क्रान्त-

¹⁰ Read -समस्तदिगन्तराल

¹¹ Read राजराज.

¹² Read -चक्रवर्त्तिव

¹³ Both Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr Hultzsich read -सगोत्रागामिस्वामिन, but I think the stroke connected with त्र properly belongs to गा, though owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver it is not connected with it

¹⁴ Read पुत्र Dr Hultzsich however construes this with भोगिक्कस्वामिने which occurs later on

¹⁵ Read मातु-

¹⁶ Read तस्यानुजभ्रातु.

¹⁷ Some word like पुत्राय is omitted here Dr Hultzsich proposes to supply शिष्याय.

¹⁸ Pandit Bhagvanlal read the name as *Thāharikā*, but in several other records we meet the round *b* as here

¹⁹ The second विषये seems to be superfluous Read कण्हवलाहारे. Pandit Bhagwanlal read the name as कण्डवलाहार-, but the subscript letter in the second *akshara* is exactly like the fifth *akshara* in this expression which is undoubtedly हा

- 17 रिकर उदकोत्सर्गपूर्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये दत्तवान् [1*]
 18 वाताहतदीपशिखाचञ्चला(ला) लक्ष्मी(क्ष्मी)मनुस्मृत्य सर्व्वैरागामिनृपतिभि धम्मदायो¹—
 19 नुमन्तव्य [1*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[.] सगरादिभि[1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भू—
 20 मि[*] तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्² [11२11*] माख(घ)शुद्धत्रयोदश्या लिखितमिद सान्धिविग्रह—
 (हि)कश्रीधन(न)जयेन
 21 सवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकविंशत्यधिके³ ४०० २० [१]⁴ [11*] सिद्धम्⁵[1*]

Seal

श्रीआश्रय [1*]⁶

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishnu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean, and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk.

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious **Chalikiyas**,—who are of the *Mānavya gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world; who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of *Hārītī*, who were brought up⁷ by the Seven Mothers,⁸ who are the mothers of the seven worlds, who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya*, who have 11 kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) *Nārāyana*,—there was the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)** who possessed unfailing prowess, who, by the might of his arms, vanquished all his foes, and who, in the assembly of kings, could be compared to *Rāma* and *Yudhishtira*

(L. 7) His son (*is*) **Dharāśraya**, the illustrious **Jayasimha**, whose prosperity has been augmented by his elder brother, the *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Bhattāraka*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya Satyāśraya**, the devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father who were devout worshippers of *Mahēśvara* and (*on those of*) the holy *Nāgavardhana*, and who has overcome the family of the *Pallavas* by his unchecked prowess

(L. 10) His son, **Śryāśraya**, the illustrious **Śīlāditya**, the crown-prince, who has brightened the regions between all quarters by the banners of his glory, white like the spreading multitude of rays of the spotless full moon, who is liberal like *Subhāra*, endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness like the god of love, proficient in all arts and valorous like the Emperor of the *Vidyādhara*s,⁹—(*he*) residing at *Navasārikā*,

¹ Read —नृपतिभिर्धम्मदायो Dr Hultzsch proposed to read नृपतिभिरयमस्मदायो as in line 29 of the *Uttar* plates (No 29), but this is unnecessary

² Metre *Anushtubh*.

³ Read एकविंशत्यधिके

⁴ There are faint traces of the unit visible in the photo-lithograph

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Read श्रयाश्रय

⁷ *I.e.* made prosperous

⁸ The seven divine mothers are named as *Brāhmī*, *Māheshvarī*, *Kaumārī*, *Vaisnavī*, *Vārāhī*, *Indrānī* and *Chāmundā* Some enumerate eight divine mothers, adding *Charchikā* or *Kālasankarshinī* to the above list See *Kshurāsvamin's* and *Bhānuji Dikshita's* commentaries on *Amarakōśa* I, 1, 35 *Halāyudha* says they are only seven in number

⁹ *I.e.*, *Naravāhanadatta*, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, p 513

NAVSARI PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA (KALACHURI) YEAR 421

Seal



2

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

22

[illegible]

has granted, with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*his*) mother and father and of himself, the village **Āsatti** in the **Kaṇhavaḷa āhāra**¹ which is situated in the *Bāhīrikā vishaya*, together with *udranga* and *uparikara*, to Bhōgikkasvāmin, (*the son*) of Kikkasvāmin, the younger brother of Mātristhavira (*who is*) the son of Sāmantasvāmin, (*who is himself*) the son of Gōmisvāmin² of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who is a student of the Adhvaryu (*Vēda*) and a resident of **Navasārikā**.

(L 18) (*This*) religious gift should be consented to by all future kings, bearing in mind that wealth is as unsteady as the flame of a lamp struck by wind

(*Here follows a benedictive verse*)

(L 20) This (*charter*) has been written by the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious **Dhanañjaya**, on the **thirteenth** (*tithi*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Māgha** in the **year four hundred increased by twenty-one**, (*in figures*) 400 (*and*) 20 (*and*) 1. Success !

Seal

Śrīāśraya

NO 28, PLATE XXI

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

THESE plates were discovered at Nāsik the head-quarters of the Nāsik District of the Bombay State. They were brought to light by Rao Saheb G S *alias* Babasaheb Deshpande of Poona, who made them over to the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala, Poona. They have been published before, with lithographs, by Mr G H Khare in the *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol I (1930), pp 8ff. I am grateful to the authorities of the Mandala for permission to include them in this volume. I edit them here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

The **copper-plates** are **two** in number, each measuring 8" broad, 4 7" high and 1" thick. They are held together by a ring which passes through a hole 4" in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. This ring has a circular seal with the **legend** *Srī-Dharāśraya* in relief. The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. A few *aksharas* have, however, been damaged by verdigris in lines 10-14 and 25-29, and some more have been completely lost by the breaking away of a small piece in the upper right corner of the first plate and the perforation of a large hole in lines 2-4. Fortunately, nothing of historical interest has been lost. The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which fifteen are inscribed on the first, and the remaining fourteen on the second plate. The average size of the letters is 2"

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the Ābhōna and other grants of the Early Kalachuris. The record has been carelessly written, the rules of *sandhi* and the distinction of long and short vowels not being properly observed in several places. Some *aksharas* have, again, been irregularly or imperfectly formed, see, e g, *āmīndyāy-* for *āchchhīndyād-* in l 21, and *-la (?) -tudēv-* for *-vaisvadēv-* in l 17. A final consonant is shown by a horizontal stroke at the top in *vasēt*, l 24. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in l 21, and the **numerical symbols** for 400, 30, 10 and 6 in l 28.

¹ See above, p 125, n 19

² *Loc cit*, n 13

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for a verse in praise of the boar incarnation in the beginning and three benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r*, the use of the dental for the lingual sibilant in *varsa-*, l 23, and that of the guttural nasal for the *anusvāra* before *h* in *Jayasinha-*, l 13.

The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, which generally occurs in the beginning of the grants of the **Early Chālukyas**.¹ This is followed by a description of the Chālukya family as in the preceding grant (No 27). The first historical member of this family mentioned here is **Kirtivarman (I)**. He bore the *biruda* **Prithivīvallabha** and the Imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and had his body sanctified by the *avabhritha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. His dear son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, who obtained the title of *Paramēśvara* by defeating the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of Uttarāpatha (North India). His son **Jayasimhavarman** granted the present plates. He is said to have obtained victory in several battles with four-membered armies² and to have vanquished and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows, the entire army of **Vajjaḍa** in the country between the **Mahī** and the **Narmadā**. He was a devotee of a saintly person whose name has been partially lost in line 11. The ending *-śiva* which can still be read shows that he was an ascetic probably of the Śaiva, as distinguished from the Pāśupata, sect. He is described as the author of a (Sanskrit) play entitled *Harapārvatīya*. As its name signifies, the play treated of some incident in the life of Śiva and Pārvatī, probably their marriage. Jayasimha is further said to have been meditating on the feet of his father, mother and the illustrious **Anivārīta**, who was probably his *guru*.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jayasimha, of the village **Ḍhōṇḍhaka** in the **Nāsikya viśhaya** on the occasion of the **Vishuva** or vernal equinox which fell on the **tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Chaitra**. The donee was the Brāhmana **Trivikrama**, the son of **Pritūsarman**, who belonged to the **Bharadvāja gōtra** and the **Vājasaneyā śākhā**. The record was written by **Māna (?)**, the son of the **Bhōḡika Nāgabhata**.

The inscription contains a **date** in line 28, which has not been noticed before. It is expressed in numerical symbols only, as the **10th (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year 436** of an unspecified era. As **Dharāśraya-Jayasimha**, who made the present grant, was a son of **Pulakēśin II** who flourished in the first half of the seventh century A C, this date must evidently be referred to the **Kalachuri era**. It corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 436, to the 21st March 685 A C, but as no week-day or *nakshatra* is mentioned with it, it does not admit of verification. But the statement in line 19 that the grant was made on the occasion of the vernal equinox which fell on the same date, *i e*, on the **10th tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra**, is important, for it gives us some details for verification. This *tithi* in the current Kalachuri year 436 ended 12 h 45 m after mean sunrise on the 21st March 685 A C³, but the **Vishuva** or **Mēsha-sankrānti** had occurred 5 h. 15 m after mean sunrise on the previous day, *i e*, the

¹ The dynastic name occurs here as *Chalukya*. See also, above, No 27.

² See below, p 131, n 1.

³ This is according to the epoch of 248-49 A C, which suits other verifiable early dates of the era. In the expired year 436, the sankrānti occurred 11 h 20 m after mean sunrise on the 20th March 686 A C, but the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra had ended ten days before, 16 h 45 m after mean sunrise on the 10th March 686 A C.

20th March The sankrānti thus did not take place during the *tithi* of the date, but such slight discrepancies in regard to the moment of sankrāntis are not infrequently met with Besides, the auspicious moment (*pr̥nya-kāla*) of the Mēsha sankrānti extends to as many as fifteen *ghatikās* before and after the sankrānti¹ It would seem, therefore, that though the sankrānti took place a little before noon of the 20th March 685 A C, the gift was made in the evening when the tenth *tithi* was current² Hence the latter is coupled with the sankrānti in the present grant³

Of the **geographical** names occurring here, the rivers **Mahī** and **Narmadā** are too well-known to need identification **Nāsikya** is plainly identical with Nasik, the well-known holy place in the Bombay State **Dhōṇḍhaka**, the donated village, is, as already pointed out by Mr Khare, clearly identical with Dhōṇḍēgāon, 12 miles north by west of Nasik

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृत विष्णा(ष्णो)वा(व्वा)राह क्षोभितार्णव(वम्) [1*] द[क्षि]-
गोन्नतदष्टा[ग्र][विश्रा*]-
- 2 न्तभुवन वपु⁶ [11१11*] श्रीमता सकलभुवनसा(स)स्तूय[मानमा]न⁷व्य[सगोत्राणा*]
- 3 हारि(री)तीपुत्राणा(णा) सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा[तृ][भिरभि*]वद्विताना का[त्तिके]-
- 4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराण(णा) भगव[न्नारा*]यणप्रसादसमा[सा]-
- 5 दित[वा]राहलास(छ)नेक्षणस(क्ष)णवशि(शी)क(कृ)ताशेषमहीभृ [ता] च[लि]क्यना⁸कुलमल-
(ल)क-
- 6 रिष्णोरश्वमेधावभूय(थ)स्नानपावित्रिक्रित⁹गात्रस्य पृथिवि(वी)वल्लभमहाराजाधिरा-
- 7 जपरमेश्वरश्चि(श्री)किर्त्तिवर्मराजस्य¹⁰ प्रियात्य(त्म)जा(ज) उत्तराप[था]धिपतिश्चि(श्री)हर्ष-
वद्ध(द्ध)नपरा-
- 8 जयोपल[ब्ध]परमेश्वरापरनामध(धे)य[*] सा(स)त्याश्रया(य)श्चि(श्री)पुलकेशिवल्लभमहा-
राजस्त-
- 9 त्सु[तोने]कचातुर्दन्त्युद्धलब्धविजयो महि(ही)नर्मदान्तरालधवलफलगि(शि)लि(ली)मु-
- 10 खजालविजितवि[नि]हृतवज्जड¹¹समस्तसैन्या(न्यो) हरपावर्त्ति(ती)यनाटककरणवि-
- 11 ख्यातकवि . ¹² शिवभट्ट(ट्टा)रका(क)भिक्षवयर्चनमुद्रा¹³विधानमसृणितकरत-

¹ Cf. मेघे सूर्यसङ्क्रान्तौ प्रागूर्ध्वं च पञ्चदश पञ्चदश घटिका पुण्यकाल । See *Dharmasindhu* (Nirnayasāgar Press), p 160

² It began 12 h 45 m after mean sunrise on the 20th March 685 A C.

³ For a similar case of a sankrānti occurring before the commencement of the stated *tithi*, see the date of the Bijapur stone inscription of the Western Chālukya Sōmēsvara II, *Ind Ant*, Vol XXIII, pp 115 ff

⁴ From photographs

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁷ The curve on *na* has been cancelled

⁸ Read चलिक्क्याना.

⁹ Read -पवित्रीकृत-

¹⁰ Read -कीर्त्तिवर्मराजस्य

¹¹ In the photograph before me, this *akshara* appears like *pa*, but it is clearly *da* in the lithograph accompanying Mr Khare's article in *S M H D*, Vol I, pp 8 f

¹² About four *aksharas* are gone here.

¹³ Read शिवभट्टारकभिक्षवेर्चनमुद्रा-. The sign of the medial *ā* in *drā* is clear in Mr Khare's lithograph

- 12 लाजु(ञ्ज)लि परम[ब्रह्म]ण्य¹ मातापितृश्रीमदनिवारितपादानुद्धचातो धरा-
 13 श्रयश्रि(श्री)जयसिद्धवर्मराज² सा(स)व्वनिव विषयपा(प)तिग्रामकूट-
 14 महत्तराधिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति³ [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिन्ना(र्त्ता)सि-
 15 क्यविषये ढोण्डकग्राम. सोद्रङ्ग सपरिवार⁴ पूर्वाघाटनवि-

Second Plate

- 16 शुद्ध आचन्द्राकर्काण्णवक्षतस्थति⁵समकालीन पुत्र[पौ]त्र(त्रा)न्द(न्व)य(यो)प-
 17 भोग्य बलिचर[ल]तुदेवा⁶ग्निहोत्रक्रियोत्सप(पं)णाय मातापित्रोरा-
 18 त्मन[श्च] पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये नासिक्यवास्तव्या(व्य)वाजसनेयभरद्वाजस-
 19 गो⁷त्राया(य) [णि](प्री)तिशर्मपुत्रत्रा(त्रि)विक्रमाया(य) [चै]त्रमासशुद्धदशम्या विषुए(वे)
 उदक-
 20 पूर्वं प्रतिपादित [1*] या(य)तोस्मद्वश्यैरन्यैर्वागामिनृपतिभिरयमस्मदायो-
 21 नुमन्तव्यरूपालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला⁸वृतमतिरामीन्द्राया⁹-
 22 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभि[र्म]हापातकैस्सयुक्तस्स्यादित्युक्त¹⁰
 23 च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि(ष्टि) वसं(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वाग्ने¹¹ मोदति भू-
 24 मिद. [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्यो(न्ये)व नरके वसेत्¹² ॥ [२॥*] विन्ध्याटवि(वी)ष्य-
 (ष्व)तोयासु
 25 शुष्ककोटरवासि[न] (1*) कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदाय हरन्ति ये ॥ [३॥*] ब-
 26 हुभिर्व्वसुधा [भुक्ता] राजभिस्सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-
 27 स्य तस्य तदा फ [ल](लम्) ॥ [४॥*] पूर्वदत्ता [द्विजा*]तिभ्यो यत्नाद्रष(क्ष) युधिष्ठिर [1*]
 मही महिम-
 28 ता(ता) श्रेष्ठ दा[नाच्छे]योनुपालन(नम्) ॥ [५॥*] स ४०० ३०¹³ ६ [चै] शु १० ॥
 लिखितमिद न(ना)-
 29 गभट [भोगिक] पुत्रमा[ने?] नेति ॥

Seal

श्र(श्री)[ध]राश्रय [1*]¹⁴

¹ Read परमब्रह्मण्यो

² Read -श्रीजयसिद्धवर्मराज

³ Read -महत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयति

⁴ Usually the reading is सोपरिकर

⁵ Read -क्षितिस्थिति-

⁶ Read -वैश्वदेवा- as in other plates of the time

⁷ There is a redundant *visarga* after गो

⁸ There is a redundant dot after ला

⁹ Read -राच्छिन्दादा-

¹⁰ Read -स्यादिति। उक्त

¹¹ Read स्वर्गो

¹² Metre of verses 2-5 *Anushtubh*

¹³ This symbol is slightly different from the usual one for 30. It occurs exactly in this form on Kshatrapa coins. See the first and fifth symbols for 30 in Plate LXVI, *A R A S I* for 1913-14

¹⁴ Mr. Khare says that there are two lines on the seal, the second of which contains the *aksbara śrī*, but I fail to see clear traces of any *aksbaras* in that line. On the other hand, the first *aksbara* of the legend appears to be an imperfectly preserved *śrī*, its upper curve denoting medial *ī* being now damaged. The following *aksbara dha* is also partly mutilated by a depression which has since been formed in its place. It may be noted that the legend on the seal of the Surat plates (No 29, below) of *Ymvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya* also is *Śrī-Dharāśraya*

NASIK PLATES OF DHARASRAYA-JAYASIMHA (KALACHURI) YEAR 436

Seal



2
4
6
8
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12
14

22

16
18
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Al: 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishnu's manifested boar form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) (*There was*) the *Mahārāja Satyāśraya*, the illustrious *Pulakēśivallabha* (II), who obtained the other title of *Paramēśvara* by vanquishing the illustrious *Harshavardhana*, the lord of *Uttarāpatha* ; who was the dear son of the *Prithvīvalabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Kīrtivarmarāja*, who had his body sanctified by the *avabhrutha* (*bath*) in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice ; who adorned the family of the illustrious *Chalikyās* who are of the *Mānavya gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world, who are the sons (*i.e.* descendants) of *Hārīti* ; who were brought up by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds ; who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya*, who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) *Nārāyana*.

(L 9) His son, *Dharāśraya*, the illustrious *Jayasimhavarmanarāja*,—who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother, father and the illustrious *Anivārīta* ; (*who is*) very pious ; who has obtained victory in several battles with four-membered¹ armies ; who defeated and exterminated with (*his*) bright-tipped arrows the whole army of *Vajjaḍa* in the country between the *Mahī* and the *Narmadā* ; the palms of whose folded hands were softened by performing the *mudrās*² for the worship of the religious mendicant *Bhāttāraka-śiva*, a poet who has attained celebrity by his composition of the play *Harapārva-tīya*,—addresses all heads of the *viśhayas* (districts), the headman of the village, *Mahattaras*, officials and others (*as follows*):—

(L 14) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and *Ourselves*, We have granted, on (*the occasion of*) the *Vishuva* (vernal equinox) on the tenth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra*, by previously (*pouring a libation of*) water, the village *Dhōṇḍhaka* in the *Nāsikya viśhaya*, together with the *udranga* and (*other*) appurtenances,—which has clear previously (*determined*) boundaries ; which is to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth would endure ; which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons,—to *Trivikrama*, the son of *Prīṭisārman* of the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and *Vājasanēya* (*śākha*), who is a resident of *Nāsikya*, for the performance of the (*religious*) rites of *balī*, *charu*, *vaśvadeva* (*and*) *agnihōtra*

(L 20) Wherefore, future kings, whether born in our family or others, should consent to and preserve this our gift. Whoever, with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins !”

(L 22) And it has been said by the holy *Vyāsa*, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—
(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L 28) The year 400 (*and*) 30 (*and*) 6, (*the month*) *Chaitra*, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10. Written by *Māna* (?), the son of the *Bhōgika* *Nāgabhata*.

Seal

The illustrious *Dharāśraya*.

¹ See *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, p 178, n. 4. In line 3 of the Bagumrā plates of Allasakti, *chāturdanta* qualifies *gaja* and has, therefore, to be taken to mean ‘four-tusked’

² *Mudrā* is a particular position of fingers practised in religious worship.

No. 29, PLATE XXII

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA:
(KALACHURI) YEAR 443.

THESE **copper-plates** were found in the possession of a merchant at Surat, the chief town of the Surat District in the Bombay State. They were published together with the Navsārī plates of Pulakēśīrāja¹ by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Aische Section, pp. 211 ff. His article on them was accompanied by a lithograph and a translation. I edit the inscription here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India through the good offices of the Curator of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, where the plates are now deposited.

‘The plates are **two** in number and measure 10½" by 7½" The outer sides are left blank, on the inner sides the lines run breadth-wise as on the Valabhī plates. Two rings, a plain one and one with a seal attached, held the plates together, passing through the holes in the bottom of the first and in the top of the second. The former has been lost, while the latter remains in its proper position. The seal has the shape of an inverted cone with a round top, 1½" in diameter. It bears the inscription *Śrī-Dharāśraya*, the name of the donor’s father. Below this is the representation of a flower resembling a blown lotus’² To judge from the impressions the plates are in a state of excellent preservation throughout.

The **characters** are of the western variety of the southern alphabets. They closely resemble those of the Navsārī plates of the same donor³. There are small knobs at the top of letters. The initial *ē* which is open on the left closely resembles *l* which has everywhere a short vertical and is distinguished from it only by the absence of a knob at the top. The forms of the rare initial *ō* in *Ōsumbhalā*, l 21, and of the looped *d* in *Sāndilya*, l 19 are noteworthy. The sign of the *jhvāmūliya* occurs in ll 10 and 26, and that of the *upadhmāniya* in ll 13, 14 and 29. Punctuation is marked by single or double dots, in ll. 1, 23, 36 *etc.*, by a small circle in l 32 and by the vertical strokes in ll 1, 18 *etc.* The **numerical symbols** for 400, 40 and 3 occur in l 36 and those for 10 and 5 in l 37.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for two verses in the beginning, one in praise of the boar incarnation and the other glorifying the donor’s suzerain Vinayāditya, and four benedictive and imprecatory ones at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the formal part of the grant contains in ll 26-28 several expressions copied *verbatim* or with slight changes from the earlier Sēndraka records,⁴ and in ll. 28-29 some more taken from the Kalachuri grants⁵. The record is correctly written almost throughout, solecisms being very few. As instances of the latter, we may notice that the gender of *puṇyē* in l 25 does not agree with that of the noun *tithau* which it qualifies, and the affix of the comparative is prefixed (and not suffixed) to the adjective *subhaga* in l 31. As regards **orthography**, we may note that the class-nasal is almost always used in place of the *anusvāra*; the *visarga* after *vikrama* in l 2 is dropped in accordance with *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII 3 36, the guttural nasal is incorrectly used for *anusvāra* in *Narasinha*, l 2,

¹ No 30, below

² P. V O C, pp 211-212

³ Above, No 27

⁴ In place of *nala-vēnu-kadalī-sāram* in l 27 of the Bagumtā plates of the Sēndraka Allaśakti (No 26, above), the present plates have *kadalī-garbha-sāram*, the following expressions up to *rājya-lakṣmīb* (a variant for *rājya-śrīb*) being the same in both.

⁵ These are *śaśi-kara-ruchī am* *yaśaś=chicchibubbh* See Nos 12, 14 and 15 above

-Jayasinha-, l 14 and -chatvārinsad-, l. 36, and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *y* and *r* are doubled in some places, see *Kāṁmanēyō*-, l. 3, -*anuddhyātō*-, l 11 and -*chakṛa*-, l. 15

The plates were issued by the *Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya* from his victorious camp at **Kusumēśvara** near **Kārmanēya**. The record opens with the verse in praise of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, which generally occurs at the beginning of the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas. The next verse eulogizes **Satyāśrayavallabha**, the illustrious **Vinayāditya**. In the prose portion which follows, we are told that in the family of the Chālukyas¹ there was the *Mahārāja Satyāśraya*, the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha**, whose head was sanctified by the *avabhritha* bath in the *Bahuswarnaka* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices, and who obtained the war-standard of the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha (North India). His son was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya-Satyāśrayavallabha**, who exterminated the family of the Pallava ruler of Kāñchī, and conquered the three kingdoms². His son was the illustrious *Prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Bhattāraka* **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya**. His paternal uncle was **Dharāśraya**, the illustrious **Jayasinha**, who attained pure fame by his victories in many battles, and who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. His son was the *Yuvarāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya* who made the present grant.

The first three princes mentioned in ll 3-12 of the present inscription with the title *Mahārāja* or *Mahārājādhirāja* are evidently Pulakēśin II, his son and successor, Vikramāditya I, and the son and successor of the latter, Vinayāditya, of the **Early Chālukya Dynasty**. The last of these, who is identical with the Vinayāditya glorified in the second verse in the beginning of this record, was clearly the suzerain of Dharāśraya-Jayasinha and his son the crown prince Śryāśraya-Silāditya, when the present grant was made. The title *Yuvarāja* of the latter prince and the legend *Śrī-Dharāśraya* on the seal indicate that Jayasinha was then living and Śryāśraya was making the grant on his behalf.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of a field situated on the eastern boundary of the village **Ōsumbhalā** in the *āhāra* and *viśaya* of **Kārmanēya** to the Brāhmana, the *dīkṣhita* **Matrīśvara**, the son of the Brāhmana **Nannasvāmin**, who belonged to the *Sāndilya* *gōtra* and the community of the *Chaturvēdins* of **Kārmanēya** and was a religious student of the *Kānva sākhā* of the *Adhvaryu*, *i e*, *Yajurveda*. In connection with the boundaries of the field is mentioned the village **Allūrala**. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The **Dūtaka** was the *Balādhukṛita* **Ammagōpa**. The charter was written by the *Balādhukṛita* **Chēlla**.

The grant is dated in ll 36-3, both in words and numerical symbols, on the **fifteenth tithi** (*paurnamāsī*) of the **bright fortnight of Śrāvana** in the year **443** of an unspecified era. As the known dates of Vinayāditya range from 687 to 695 A C, the date of the present grant must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A C, it would correspond, for the expired³ year 443, to the 23rd July 693 A C. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Kārmanēya** was identified by Pandit Bhagvanlal⁴ with Kamrēj, about 10 m north-east of Surat. Further, Dr Buhler has shown⁵ that **Ōsumbhalā** is modern Umbhēl, about 7 miles south of Kamrēj, and

¹ The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* in this and the next grant (No 30)

² These were the Chēra, Chōla and Pāndya kingdoms of South India

³ If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 2nd August 692 A C

⁴ *P V O C*, p 215. *Kammanijja*, the Prakrit form of the place-name, occurs in the Bagumrā plates (two sets) of Indra III, *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp 32 and 36

⁵ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII, p 198

Allūraka which bounded it on the east is still called **Alurā** and lies about 4 miles from **Umbhēl Kusumēśvara**, which has so far remained unidentified, is probably **Kōsmārā**, about 6 m south-west of **Kamrēj**¹ and 3 m. north-west of **Umbhēl**.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृत विष्णोर्व्वाराहङ्क्षोभिताण्णवम् । दक्षिणोन्नतदष्टाग्रविश्रान्तभुवन
वपु⁴ ॥ [१॥*]
- 2 नरसिङ्गह⁵विक्रम स्तुतविमलयशा जगति विजयते वीर [1*] स्थिरबलविनयादित्य सत्याश्रयव—
- 3 ललभ श्रीमान्⁶ ॥ [२॥*] स्वस्ति [1*] कार्मणेयोपकण्ठकुसुमेश्वरावासितविजयस्कन्धावा—
राच्छ्रीमतां स—
- 4 कलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणा हारीतीपुत्राणा सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमा—
- 5 तृभिरहरहरभिवर्द्धितानाङ्घ्रार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरम्पराणाम्भगवन्नाराय—
- 6 णप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषे (ष) महीभृताञ्चलुक्यानाङ्कु—
- 7 लमलङ्करिणुर्ब्बहुसुवर्णकाश्वमेधयागावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतशिरा नृगनहुषययाति—
- 8 धुन्धुमाराम्बरीषप्रतिमस्सकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनलब्धयुद्धपताकस्सत्याश्रय—
- 9 श्रीपुलकेगिवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्धचातोनिवारितवीर्य्यविलङ्घितान्या—
- 10 लङ्घ्यारिभूपालबलकाञ्चीपुरीशपल्लवान्वयप्रमाथी परिगृहीतत्रैराज्यराज्य श्री—
- 11 विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्य पुत्रस्तच्चरणानुद्धचातो विनयाद्यसाधारणरा—
- 12 जगुणालङ्घृतो विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीप्रिथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टा—
- 13 रकस्तस्य पितृव्यस्यानेकसमरविजयसमुद्भूतविशुद्धकीर्त्तं परममाहेश्वरस्य धराश्र—
- 14 यश्रीजयसिङ्गह⁷वर्मण पुत्रस्तच्चरणकमलाराधनपरो नयप्रतापविजृम्भितान्यमहीपा—
- 15 लचक्रस्सकलकलाप्रवीणो रतिचतुरविलासिनीजनमनोहारिरूपलावण्यसौभाग्यस—
- 16 मेतो विद्याधरचक्रवर्त्तीव श्याश्रयश्रीशीलादित्ययुवराजस्सर्व्वानेव राजसामन्तविष—
- 17 यपतिग्रामभोगिकमहत्तरादीन्यथासम्बद्धमानकान्समाज्ञापय—
- 18 त्यस्तु वस्सविदितम् ॥ मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये

Second Plate

- 19 कार्मणेयचातुर्व्विद्यशालासामान्यशाण्डिल्यसगोत्राध्वर्य्युकाण्वस—
- 20 ब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणनणस्वामिपुत्रदीक्षितमातृश्वराय⁹ भूमिच्छिद्र—

¹ This identification may be opposed on the ground that it is not near enough to **Kamrēj** to suit the statement in the present grant, but we must remember that **Tēnna**, which is described as situated near **Kammanijja** in the **Bagumrā** plates (second set) of **Indra III**, is as much as 13 miles distant from it

² From impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁵ Read नरसिंह—

⁶ Metre *Āryā*

⁷ Read —पृथिवी—

⁸ Read —श्रीजयसिंह—.

⁹ Read —मात्रीश्वराय.

SURAT PLATES OF YUVARAJA SRYASRAYA SILADITYA (KALACHURI) YEAR 443

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 36

- 21 न्यायेन कर्मण्येयहार¹विषयान्तर्गतओसुम्भलाग्रामे² पूर्वस्या सीम्नि क्षेत्र यस्य पूर्वत अ-
 22 लूरकग्रामसीमा ।³ दक्षिणत. शमीवृक्षवल्मीकतडाकिकापालि पश्चिमतोम्बिलकावृक्षौ उत्त-
 23 रतो मल्लावितडाकपालिमधुकतडाकिकाग्रामदेवीक्षेत्रसीमा ।³ एवमेतच्चतु सीमाभ्य-
 24 न्तरप्रतिष्ठितम्पञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यमाचन्द्रावर्काणवक्षिति-
 25 स्थितिसमकालीन सर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकादिपरिहीन⁴ पुण्ये तिथौ⁵ श्रावणपौर्णमास्या-
 26 मुदकातिसर्गणे प्रतिपादितम् । यतोस्मद्वद्वश्यै⁶रन्यैव्विगमिभद्रनृपतिभिः⁷कदलीगर्भसार्-
 27 ससार जलबुद्बुदोप[म*]ञ्च जीवितमवधार्य शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायञ्च यौवन गिरिनदीस-
 28 लिलगतवराणि चश्चर्याणि ।⁷ प्रबलपवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचञ्चला च राजलक्ष्मीरिति शशिकर-
 29 चिरं स्थास्तु यशश्चिचीषुभिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्य ऽपालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
 30 वृतमतिराच्छिन्दादाच्छिद्यमान वानुमोदेत ।⁷ स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्त
 31 स्यादपि चोक्तमृषिप्रवेकेन⁸ विकच [कु] वलयदलनिकरतरसुभग⁹वपुषा सत्यवतीनन्दनेन भग-
 32 वता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 33 तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹⁰ ॥ [३॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्का¹¹कोटरवासिन. [1*] कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदा-
 34 य हरन्ति ये ॥[४॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यस्य¹² यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 तदा फ-
 35 ल(लम्) ॥ [५॥*] पूर्व्वदत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीम्महिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे-
 योनुपालनं(नम्) ॥[६॥*]
 36 सवत्सरशतचतुष्टये त्रिचत्वारिंशद्वि¹³दधिके श्रावणशुद्धपौर्णमास्या(स्याम्) ॥ सवत्सर ४००
 ४० ३ श्रावण-
 37 शु दि १० ५ [1*] दू[त]को बलाधिकृताम्मगोप [1*] लिखितञ्च बलाधिकृतचेल्लेनेति ॥

Seal

श्रीधराश्रय [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishnu's manifested boar form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(V 2) Triumphant in the world is the illustrious Satyāśrayavallabha-Vinayāditya of firm valour, a hero of renowned (and) stainless fame, who is like Narasimha in heroism !

¹ Read कर्मण्येयहार—

² Read —गतौसुम्भलाग्रामे

³ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous

⁴ Read —परिहीण

⁵ Read पुण्यतिथौ

⁶ Read —स्मद्वश्यै—

⁷ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

⁸ Read स्यात् । अपि चोक्तमृषिप्रवरेण.

⁹ Read —निकरसुभगतर—

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following three verses *Anushtubh*.

¹¹ Read शुष्क—

¹² Read —स्सगरादिभि । यस्य

¹³ Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके

(Line 3) From the victorious camp fixed at **Kusumēśvara** near **Kārmanēya**,¹—

Adorning the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the *Mānavya gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world, who are the sons (*īe*, descendants) of *Hārīti*, who were brought up² day by day by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of the seven worlds, who have obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of *Kārttikēya*, who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the grace of the divine (god) *Nārāyana*,—there was the *Mahārāja* the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, whose head was sanctified by the *avabhritha*³ bath in the *Bahusuvārnaka* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices, who is equal to *Nṛiga*, *Nahusha*, *Yayāti*, *Dhundhumāra* and *Ambarīsha*, who has won the war-standard from the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of the entire **Uttarāpatha**⁴ (North India).

(L. 9) His son (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya (I)**, **Satyāśrayavallabha**, who meditated on his feet, who, by his irresistible valour, vanquished the armies of hostile kings unconquerable by others, who exterminated the family of the *Pallava (keng)*, the lord of the city of **Kāñchī**, and who conquered the three kingdoms

(L. 11) His son (*is*) the illustrious *Prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Bhattāraka* **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya**, who meditates on his feet and is adorned by humility and other uncommon royal excellences.

(L. 13) The son of his paternal uncle, the illustrious **Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman**, whose pure fame has sprung from his victories in many battles, and who is a devout worshipper of *Mahēśvara*,—(*viz*) the crown-prince the illustrious **Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya**,—who is intent on worshipping his lotus-like feet, who has defeated⁵ the armies of other kings by his political wisdom and valour, who is proficient in all arts, who, like the Emperor of the *Vidyādhara*⁶, is endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, attractive to the minds of coquettish women clever in amorous sports,—addresses the (*following*) order to all kings, feudatories, heads of *vishayas*, *Bhōgikas* of villages, *Mahattaras* and others, according as they may be concerned⁷ —

(L. 18) “Be it known to you (*that*) for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of *Myself*, I have granted with a libation of water on the holy day, (*viz*) the full-moon day of **Śrāvaṇa**, a field on the eastern boundary of the village **Ōsumbhalā** situated in the *āhāra* (*and*) *vishaya* of **Kārmanēya**,—to the east of which is the boundary of the village *Allūraka*, to the south, a *śamī* tree, an ant-hill (*and*) the dam of a small tank, to the west, two *ambilakā*⁸ trees, to the north the dam of the *mallām* goddess,—the field lying within these four boundaries, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons, according to the maxim of waste land, as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure, exempt from all gifts, forced labour and

¹ The sentence is continued below in the words ‘the son of his paternal uncle’ in l. 13

² *īe*, made prosperous

³ *īe*, the final bath, taken after the sacrifice is over

⁴ *Rājasekhara* (*K M*, p. 94) says that the country beyond *Prithūdaka* (modern *Pēhoā* in the Karnal District of the Panjab) is *Uttarāpatha*. Here, however, the whole of North India is meant

⁵ *Vijrmbhita* ‘expanded, manifested’, appears to be used here in the unusual meaning of ‘defeated’. Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, translates the expression as ‘who has pleased the multitude of other kings’

⁶ This is *Naravāhanadatta*

⁷ Pandit Bhagvanlal translates *yathā-sambadhyamānakān* by ‘wherever posted’

⁸ These are tamarind trees according to Pandit Bhagvanlal.

special rights,—to the *dīkṣhita* Matriśvara, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Nannasvāmin, who is of the Sāndilya *gōtra* and a student of the Kānva (*śākhā*) of the Adhvaryu (*i.e.*, Yajurveda), and belongs to the community of the Chaturvēdins of Kārmaṇēya, for the performance of the five great sacrifices and other (*religious*) rites.

(L 26) Wherefore, gracious kings, whether born in our family or others, having realized that wordly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as the interior of a plaintain tree (*possesses sap*), and that life is (*evanescent*) like a water-bubble, and (*having considered*) that youth is liable to fade like a *śirīṣha* flower, that prosperity is as fleeting as the water of a mountain stream, and that royal fortune is as unstable as the leaves of an *aśvattha* tree which is struck by a very strong wind, and being desirous of accumulating lasting fame lovely like moonbeams, should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, will incur the five great sins together with the minor sins.”

(L 31) And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the son of Satyavatī, the best of sages (*and*) the redactor of the Vēdas, whose body was more lovely than an assemblage of the petals of a full-blown lotus.—

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(L 36) On the full-moon day in the bright (*fortnight*) of Śrāvaṇa in the year four hundred increased by forty three—the year 400 (*and*) 40 (*and*) 3, (*the month*) Śrāvaṇa, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. The *Dūtaka* (*of this charter is*) the *Balādhikṛita* Ammagōpa. And (*this charter*) has been written by the *Balādhikṛita* Chēlla.

Seal

The illustrious Dharāśraya.

No 30, PLATE XXIII

NAVSARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA (KALACHURI) YEAR 490.

THESE copper-plates, two in number, were sent to Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji by a Parsi gentleman of Navsārī. They were published, with photo-types and a translation, by Pandit Bhagvanlal in the *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*, Arische Section, pp 211 ff. They are edited here from the same photo-types. The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The plates, which are inscribed on the inner sides only, measure each 11½" by 9½". They are held together by two rings, one of which has a seal, showing two figures in relief, 2" in diameter, which, according to Pandit Bhagvanlal,¹ were intended to represent the donor's parents. The seal bears the legend *Śrī-Avanjanāśrayaḥ*, on the left of the male figure. Except for some letters here and there which have become much worn, the inscription is fairly well preserved. The record consists of fifty-one lines, of which twenty-five are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining twenty-six on the second. The average size of the letters is 12"

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the grants of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya. As regards individual letters, we may notice that the rare *jh* occurs in *śarajha-*, l 23; the subscript *th* has a notch in *sthātavyam-*, l 41, but not in *-sthitā* in the same line, the superscript *r* is horizontal like the *mātrā* for medial *ē* in *-vimardyamāna-*, l 26, and the sign for *l* occurs in *-Kāñchalē* and *-Gōvīndal-*, in l 38. A

¹ P V O C, p 212. Pandit Bhagvanlal did not notice the legend on the seal.

final consonant is indicated by its short form with a horizontal line at the top, see *vasēt*, l 45 The sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in ll. 7, 16, 28 and 30, and that of the *upadhmānya* in ll. 7, 10, 14, 17 and 20 The sign-manual of the donor is in the northern characters with wedges at the top

The language is good and, on the whole, correct Sanskrit The fierce fight with the Arab invaders is graphically described in ll. 23-33 It is noteworthy that in its eulogistic part the inscription contains in ll. 18-19 one long compound expression, copied for the first time from Gurjara records No such borrowing from Gurjara grants is noticed in the earlier inscriptions of the Sēndrakas, nor even in those of Pulakēśin's elder brother Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya Except for the *mangala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the close, the record is in prose throughout As regards orthography, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in many cases, see, e.g., *Vishnōr=vvārāham*, l 1, *-Kīrtivarmma-*, l 6, etc The guttural nasal is used for the *anusvāra* before *ś* in *-mstrinśa-*, l 19, *gh* for *h* in, *Jayasingha-*, l 17 and the *jihvāmūliya* for *sh* in *-mhkrayīkṛita-*, l 28 The vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in *-mstrinśa-*, l 8 and *vice versa* in *-Prīhvi-*, l 34 On the other hand, the somewhat rare *sandhis* in *-vaksha-sthala*, l 22, and *-dashtōshtha-*, l 28; are in accordance with the *vārttikas* on Pāṇini's rules VIII, 3, 36 and VI, 1, 94 respectively

The plates were granted by the illustrious **Avanījanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja** of the **Gujarat branch of the Early Chālukyas**. The inscription opens with the usual verse in praise of the boar incarnation Then comes the genealogy of the donor In the family of the Chālukyas¹ who are described here as in the grants of Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya,² there was the *Prīthvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Kīrtivarmarāja**, whose body was sanctified by the *avabhritha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice His son was the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Pulakēśivallabha**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and obtained formidable power by his defeat of the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the lord of the Uttarāpatha His son was the *Paramabhattāraka*, the illustrious **Satyāśraya-Vikramāditya** who also was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara He regained his kingdom with the help of his excellent horse *Chitrakantha* and vanquished the three kingdoms, Chēra, Chōla and Pāndya His younger brother was the *Paramabhattāraka*, the illustrious **Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarमारāja**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara His son was the *Paramabhattāraka*, the illustrious **Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and reconquered his own dominions by the might of his arms His younger brother, the *Paramabhattāraka*, the illustrious **Avanījanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja**, who was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, made the present grant.

Of the six princes mentioned above, the first three, Kīrtivarman, Pulakēśivallabha and Vikramāditya, are plainly identical with Kīrtivarman I, Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I respectively, of the Early Chālukya Dynasty The next three, viz., Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasarāja and Avanījanāśraya-Pulakēśin, though here mentioned with the high-sounding title *Paramabhattāraka*, were of a feudatory rank and owed allegiance to the Imperial house of Bādāmi The name of Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya, whose Navsārī and Surat plates bear earlier dates, is omitted here, probably because he predeceased his father Dharāśraya-Jayasimha

In ll. 23-33 the record describes graphically the Arab invasion of the Chālukyan kingdom and the fierce fight which was fought in the *visḥaya* of Navasārī. We are told

¹ See above, p. 133, n. 1

² Nos. 27 and 29, above

at the Tājika army which had conquered the Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Saurāshtra, Āvōṭaka, Maurya, Gurjara and other kings, invaded the district of Navasārikā ring the course of its campaign to conquer all southern kings. There they were opposed Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśin. A fierce battle was fought, in which Pulakēśin won a decisive victory. Thereupon the illustrious Vallabha-narēndra, who was plainly the contemporary Chālukya suzerain, in token of his appreciation of Pulakēśin's heroism, conferred upon him the following four titles, viz., *Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra* (the Pillar of the ocean), *Chalukkekulāṅkārā* (the Ornament of the Chalukya family), *Prithivīvallabha* (the lover of the Earth), *Anvartakanvartayitri* (the Repeller of the unrepellable).

The vigorous style of the description of the battle, which is unique in inscriptional literature, suggests that the present record dated K. 490 was composed soon after it was fought. Again, as shown above, in its eulogistic portion, the record has, for the first time, incorporated a passage which is known to occur only in Gurjara grants. This makes it probable that it was composed after the Gurjara kingdom was annexed. The last date of the Gurjaras is K. 486 (736 A.C.). The Arab invasion must therefore be dated during the period K. 486-490 (736-739 A.C.)¹ and may have taken place in 737 A.C. The contemporary Chālukya Emperor, who appreciated Pulakēśin's heroism, was probably Vikramāditya II (circa 734-747 A.C.).

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Padraka** the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of **Kārmanēya** on the Mahākārttikī (i.e., the full-moon day Kārttika) for the performance of *balī*, *charu*, *vasīvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Gōvindalī, the son of the Dvivēda Brāhmaṇa Kāñchalē, who belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā*. He had emigrated from **Vanavāsī**.

The grant was intended to be dated both in words and numerical symbols, but the former have, for the most part, been omitted through inadvertence, and the date is given in numerical symbols as the **fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 490**. Like the dates of Sryāśraya-Silāditya's grants, this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-249 A.C., it would correspond, for the uncorrected² year 490, to the 21st October 739 A.C. It does not admit of verification.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, **Vanavāsī**, from which the donee had emigrated, is a well-known place of the same name in North Kanara. **vasārikā** and **Kārmanēya** have been already shown to be identical with the modern **vasāri** and **Kamrēj**.³ The village **Padraka** may be represented by the modern **Pārdi**, 4 miles east of Navsāri.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [१*] जयत्याविष्कृत विष्णोर्व्वाराह क्षोभिता[र्ण]व(वम्) । दक्षि[णोन्नतद]ष्टात्र-
[वि]श्रा[न्त]भुवन व[पु]⁶ ॥ [१॥*]

¹ The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata IV were dated towards the close of the *ttikādi* Kalachuri year 486, while the present inscription was incised in the beginning of the Kalachuri year 490. Hence there is a difference of only three years between the Christian equivalents of two dates.

² If the year is applied as current, the date would correspond to the 1st November 738 A.C. There was a lunar eclipse on that day, but there is no mention of it in the present grant.

³ Above, pp. 124 and 133.

⁴ From the photo-types accompanying Pandit Bhagwanlal's article.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre *Anushtubh*.

- 2 श्रीमता सकलभुवनसस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणा स[त्तलोक]मातृभिस्स[त्तमातृभि]रभिव-
 3 द्विता[ना] [का]त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणा भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादि-
 4 तवराहलाक्षनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषभूभृता चलुक्यानां कुलमलकरिष्णु[रश्वमेधा]वभृता¹-
 5 स्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रोनेकनरपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगणकिरणसमु[ल्लसितो]द्योतित²चर-
 6 णकमलयुगलस्सत्याश्रयप्रिथिवी³वल्लभ⁴महारा ⁵जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकीर्तिवर्मराजस्तस्य
 7 सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यात⁶परम⁶देवताविश (शे) षवद्वंदनीयतमस्सकलशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञ⁷ऋकरिक-
 8 रनिष्ठुरप्र[कोष्ठ]करकलितनिशितनिस्तृश⁸प्रहारदलितप्रमुखागतवैरिवारणकुभस्थलोच्छल-
 9 त्प्रत्यग्रधवलनिर्मलमुक्ताफलप्रकरकुभस्तबकसमभ्यर्चितसमरधरित्रीतल श्रीमदुत्तराप-
 10 [थाधि]पतिश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धोन्नप्रताप⁹परममाहेश्वरोपरनामा सत्याश्र-
 11 य⁹ श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातोनेकनरपतिसामन्तमकुटकोटिघृष्टचर-
 12 णारविन्दयुगलो मेरुमलयमन्दरविध्यसमानधैर्योहरहरभिवर्द्धमानवरकरितुरगरथ-
 13 पदातिबलो मनोजवैकचित्रकठाख्यप्रवरतुरगमेणोपाज्जितस्वराज्य[*] विजितचेरचोलपा-
 14 डचक्रमागतराज्यत्रय¹⁰परममाहेश्वर¹⁰परमभट्टारकस्सत्याश्रय श्रीविक्रमादित्यराजस्तस्या-
 15 नुजो विजितसकलारातिपक्षश्चतुरुदधिपर्यन्तमालामेखलाया क्षितेर्मण्डनभूतो मत्ते-
 16 भकुभमण्डलविदारण¹¹केसरिकिशोरै¹⁰रिव विक्रमैकरसस्समस्तदिडमडलप्रख्यातकीर्ति. प-
 17 [र]ममाहेश्वर¹¹परमभट्टा ¹¹रकधराश्रय श्रीजयसिंह¹²वर्मराजस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
 18 ध्यातस्सकलजनमनानद¹³भूतोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमुखागतनिहतशत्रुसामन्तकुलवधू-
 19 प्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंश¹⁴प्रतापो निजभुजप्रभावोपाज्जितस्व-
 20 कीयभूभागमण्डल¹²परममाहेश्वर¹²परमभट्टारकजयाश्रयश्रीमङ्गलरसराजस्तस्यानु-
 21 जस्तत्पादपकजा[रा]धनानुध्यात[*] प्रतिदिनमुपचीयमानोदय शैशवादेव समस्तगुणगणा-
 22 धिष्ठानभूत स्वयवरयैव राजलक्ष्म्या समासादितवक्षस्थलो धवलयशोवितानविमलीकृतस-
 23 कलजगन्मण्डल परममाहेश्वर परमभट्टारक शरज्ञ¹⁵षिर¹⁶मुद्गरोद्गारिणि तरलतरतारत-
 रवारिदा¹⁷
 24 रि[तोदित]सैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्र[चा]वोटकमौर्यगूजर्जरा[दि]रा[जे] नि शेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षिति-
 पतिजि-

¹ Read -धावभृथ-

² Read -तोद्योतित-

³ Read -पृथिवी-

⁴ The engraver first incised *b* and then corrected it into *bb*

⁵ This *visarga* is superfluous

⁶ Between परम and देवता there appear two dots horizontally placed which indicate that the engraver at first wanted to incise some letter there, but changed his mind afterwards

⁷ Read -तत्त्वज्ञ-

⁸ Read -निस्त्रिंश-

⁹ Read -माहेश्वर सत्याश्रयापरनामा

¹⁰ Read -किशोर इव.

¹¹ This *visarga* is superfluous Read -भट्टारक-

¹² Read श्रीजयसिंह-

¹³ Read -मनजानदभूतो-

¹⁴ Read -निस्त्रिंश-

¹⁵ There appears only one dot after *jha* Pandit Bhagvanlal, however, read शरज्ञ and took it as referring to Pulakēśirāja

¹⁶ Bhagvanlal read this word as सौर-. *Jhashira* is derived from √ *jhash* to hurt.

¹⁷ There is some mistake here Perhaps the intended reading is तारतरासिदारितोदित-.

NAVASARI PLATES OF PULAKESIRAJA (KALACHURI) YEAR 490



26

28

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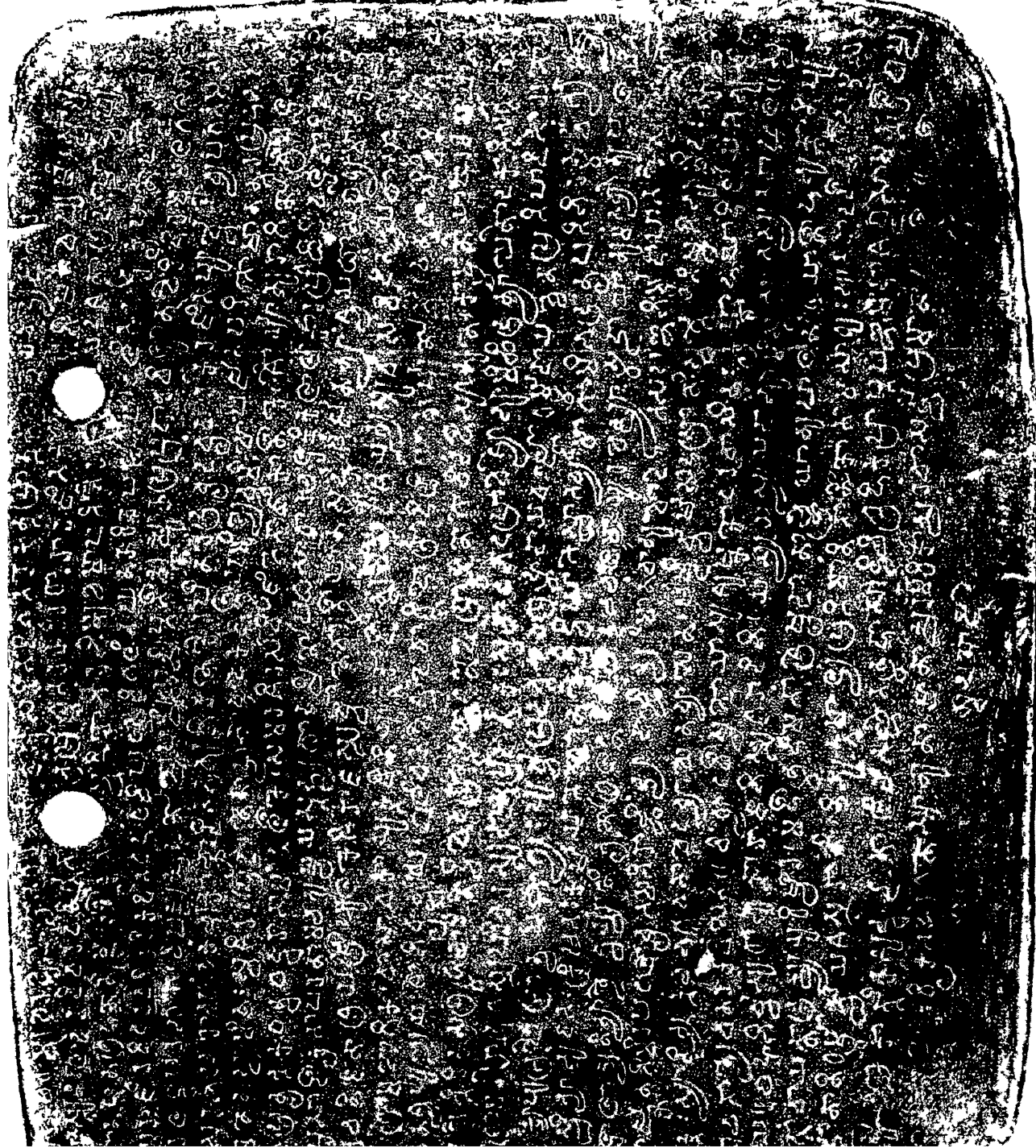
42

44

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48

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Seal



From a photograph

- 25 [गी]ष[या दक्षिणापथप्रवेशा]भिलाषिणि¹ ॥ प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषयप्रसाधनायागते
[त्वरित]—

Second Plate

- 26 तुरगखरमुखरखुरोत्वातधर[णिधू]लिधूसरितदिगन्तरे कुन्तप्रान्तनितान्तविमर्द्यमानर[भसाभि-
धावि]तो—
27 द्रुटस्थूलोदरविवरविनिर्गतात्रप्रोथु²तररुधिरधारारजितक[वच]भीष[ण]वपुषि ।³ स्वामिमहा—
28 स[न्मा]नदानग्रहणनिः⁴क्रयीकृत⁵स्वशिरोभिमुखमापतितैर[द]यदशनाग्रदष्टोष्ठ⁶पुटैरने—
29 कसमराजिरविवरवारि(वैरि)करिकटितटहृ⁶(?) विघटनविगलितघनरुधिरप[टल]पाटलितपटु—
कृपाणपट्टैरपि महा—
30 योधैरलब्धपरभागै विपक्षक्षपणाक्षेपक्षिप्रक्षिप्ततीक्ष्णक्षुरप्र⁷प्रहारविलूनवैरिशिरः⁸कमलगलनालैरा—
31 ह्वरसरभसरोमाचकचुकाच्छादिततनुभिरनेकैरपि नरेद्रवृदवृदारकैरजितपूर्व्वे ।⁸ व्यपगतमस्माक—
32 [मृ]णमनेन स्वामिन स्वशिर प्रदानेनाद्य तावदेकजन्मीयमित्येवमि[वो]पजातपरितोषानन्तरप्र—
हतपटुप—
33 टहरवप्रनृत्तकबन्धवद्वरासमडलीके ।⁸ समरशिरसि विजिते ताजिकानीके शौय्यनिरागिणा श्रीव-
ल्लभनरे—
34 द्रेण प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापथसाधारचलुक्किकुलालकारप्रिथिवी⁹वल्लभानि—
वर्त्तकनिव—
35 तैयित्रवनिजनाश्रयश्रीपुलकेशिराजस्सव्वनिवेवात्मीयानस्मद्व(नात्मव)शजानन्याश्च यथासबध्यमान—
कान्विष
36 [य]पतिग्रामभोगिक ।⁸ वासावकायुक्तविनियुक्तकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु¹⁰ व सविदित(तम्) ।
यथास्माभिर्मतापि—
37 त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।⁸ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं ।⁸ वनवासि¹¹—
विनिर्गतवत्स—
38 सगोत्रतैत्तिरि¹²सब्रह्मचारिणे द्विवेदब्राह्मणकाञ्चळे¹³ ब्राह्मणगोविदळि¹⁴सूनुने¹⁵ । कर्मण्येयाहार—
विषयातर्गत—
39 पद्रकग्रामस्सोद्वगस्सपरिकर¹⁶स्सदानप्रदानक. अचाटभटप्रावेश्यो भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनोदकातिसर्गेण
महा—

¹ Bhagvanlal read भिलाषमाना, but the correct reading given here was suggested by Buhler
The following marks of punctuation are superfluous

² Read —पृथुतर—

³ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁴ Read निष्क्रयीकृत.

⁵ Bhagvanlal read —दष्टौष्ठ—, but the medial vowel of the second *akshara* is certainly not *au*

⁶ Perhaps हस्त is intended

⁷ Bhagvanlal read —क्षुरप्र—, but the second *akshara* is clearly *ru* Read —क्षुरप्र—

⁸ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous

⁹ Read —पृथिवी—.

¹⁰ Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु

¹¹ Read वनवासी—.

¹² Read —तैत्तिरीय—

¹³ Read —काञ्चळाय—.

¹⁴ This is probably the intended reading, though the last *akshara* of the name appears more like *di* than *li*

¹⁵ Read —सूनुवे The following mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁶ Read —स्सोपरिकर—

- 40 कार्तिक्या पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य. पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मदायवज्जो धर्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितो(त ।) यतोस्या—
 41 ग्रहारस्थित्या भुजत क्रिषत.¹ कर्षयतो वा न कैश्चिद्विघाते स्थातव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वश्यै-
 रन्यैर्वी
 42 विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचलमायुरवेक्ष्यास्मदायोनुमतव्योनुपालयित-
 व्य—
 43 इच [1*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमान² वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महा-
 पातकैस्सो[प]पातकै—
 44 स्सयुक्त स्यादित्युक्त³ च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि⁴ स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः
 [1*] आच्छेत्ता चा—
 45 नुमता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्⁵ ॥ [२॥*] विध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन. [1*] कृष्णाहयो
 हि जायन्ते भूमिदाय
 46 हर[न्ति] ये ॥ [३॥*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि[.]* । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥ [४॥*]स्व[द]त्तां
 47 परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्रक्ष्य⁶ युधिष्ठिर । महीन्महिमा⁷ श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन(नम्) ॥ [५॥*]
 यानीह भुक्तानि⁸ पुरा न—
 48 रेद्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददी[त]⁹
 ॥ [६॥*] सम्वत्सरश¹⁰—
 49 त ४०० ९० कार्तिकशुद्ध १० ५ [1*] लिखितञ्चैतन्महासान्धिविग्रहिकप्राप्तपञ्चमहाशब्द-
 सामन्तश्रीवप्प[भ]—
 50 [टि] [ना¹¹ महाबला]धिकृतहरगणसूनुना [।] न्यूनाक्षरमधिकाक्षर वा सर्व्व प्रमाणं(णम्) ।
 सिद्धम्¹² ॥ सिद्धम्¹² [॥*]

51

स्वयमाज्ञा [1*]

Seal

श्रीअवनिजनाश्रय [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishṇu's manifested boar-form which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) Adorning the family of the illustrious Chalukyas,—who are of the Mānavya *gōtra*, which is being praised by the whole world, who were brought up¹³ by the Seven Mothers (*who are*) the mothers of the seven worlds, who have attained continuous prosperity

¹ Read कृषत .² Read -दाच्छिद्यमान.³ Read -स्यादिति । उक्त च.⁴ Read षष्टि वर्ष—.⁵ Metre of this and the following three verses *Anushtubh*⁶ Read -द्रक्ष.⁷ Read महीम्महिमा.⁸ Read दत्तानि.⁹ Metre *Indravajrā*¹⁰ Read सवत्सर-. The writer has inadvertently omitted many words here Read सवत्सरशतचतुष्टये नवत्यधिके कार्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्या सवत्¹¹ Perhaps -भट्टिना was intended.¹² Expressed by a symbol¹³ *I.e.*, made prosperous

through the protection of Kārttikēya, (*and*) who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyana,—(*there was*) the *Prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Satyāśraya*, the illustrious **Kīrtivarmarāja (I)**, whose body was sanctified by the *avabhritha* bath in an *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, (*and*) the pair of whose lotus-like feet shone and looked resplendent with the rays of clusters of jewels set on the sides of the crowns of many kings

(L 6) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the illustrious **Pulakēśivallabha (II)**, whose other name was *Satyāśraya*; who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was most adorable like a great and pre-eminent god, who knew the import and the principles of all *śāstras*, who worshipped the surface of the battle-field with clusters (*of flowers poured out*) from pots, in the shape of multitudes of fresh, white and spotless pearls from the frontal globes of attacking hostile elephants, which were rent with the strokes of the sharp sword wielded by his hand, the forearm of which was hard like an elephant's trunk, (*and*) who attained formidable power by defeating the illustrious **Harshavardhana**, the illustrious lord of Uttarāpatha (North India)

(L 11) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Paramabhattachāraka* **Satyāśraya**, the illustrious **Vikramādityarāja (I)**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the pair of whose lotus-like feet were rubbed by the edges of the crowns of many feudatory princes, whose firmness was like that of the Mēru, Malaya, Mandara and Vindhya (*mountains*), whose army, (*consisting of*) excellent elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, was increasing day by day, who acquired his kingdom by means of his excellent and peerless horse, Chitrakantha, which had the speed of the mind, (*and*) who conquered the three hereditary¹ kingdoms **Chēra**, **Chōla** and **Pāṇḍya**.

(L 14) His younger brother (*was*) the *Paramabhattachāraka* **Dharāśraya**, the illustrious **Jayasimhavarmanrāja**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who conquered all allies of his enemies, who was an ornament of the earth which has the flowery girdle of the surrounding four oceans, who, like a lion's cub, rent open the frontal globes of rutting elephants, who took delight only in valour, (*and*) whose glory is well-known in the circuit of all quarters.

(L 17) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Paramabhattachāraka* **Jayāśraya**, the illustrious **Maṅgalarasarāja**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was the joy of the minds of all people; the prowess of whose spotless sword was celebrated in songs in the guise of the morning lamentations of the virtuous wives of the hostile neighbouring kings who were killed when they opposed him in many dangerous battles², and who, by the might of his arms, acquired his own territory

(L 20) His younger brother, who is intent on propitiating his lotus-like feet, (*is*) the *Paramabhattachāraka* **Avanijanāśraya**, the illustrious **Pulakēśirāja**, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, whose power is increasing day by day, who has, since his very childhood, become the abode of all good qualities; whose breast is occupied by the goddess of royal fortune who was quite free to choose her lord; who has made the whole-world spotless by spreading his white fame; who was favoured by the illustrious king **Vallabha** who is fond of heroism, with the following four titles, *viz*, the Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha (South India), the Ornament of the family of the Chalukyas, the Beloved of the Earth, the Repeller of the unrepellable,

¹ With *krama-āgata* used here, compare *krama-prāpta* (inherited) in *krama-prāpta-ṛṇṇa-sṛyab* of the Vākātaka seals

² This expression is copied from a Gurjara grant See, *e g*, lines 26-27 of the Kaṇa plates (first set) of Dadda II-Praśantarāja

when the army of the **Tājikas**,—which poured forth arrows, javelins¹ and iron-headed clubs, which destroyed, with its rapidly brandished and glittering swords, the prosperous **Saindhava**, **Kachchhēlla**, **Saurāshtra**, **Chāvōṭaka**, **Maurya**, **Gurjara** and other kings; which, desiring to enter **Dakshināpatha** (South India) with a view to vanquish all Southern kings, came,² in the very first place, to conquer the *vishaya* of **Navasārikā**; which rendered the regions between the quarters dusky with the dust of the ground raised by the hard and noisy hoofs of its galloping horses, the bodies (*of warriors*) in which appeared dreadful as their armours were reddened by very large streams of blood (*gushing*) from the intestines which came out of the cavities of their big bellies, as they impetuously rushed forth and were completely pierced by spear-heads, which had not previously been vanquished even by numerous eminent chiefs among hosts of kings, who offered their heads in return for high honour and gifts they had received from their lord, who opposed it, biting mercilessly both their lips with the tips of their teeth; who, though they were great warriors and had their sharp swords reddened by the mass of blood that flowed when the sides of the loins and the trunks of hostile elephants were rent on several extensive battlefields, could not attain success, who cut off the necks of their enemies' heads, as though they were plucking the stalks of lotuses, hitting them with their horse-shoe-shaped sharp arrows which were quickly discharged for the destruction of their adversaries, whose bodies were covered with a coat of bristling hair on account of their martial spirit and excitement,—was defeated¹ in the forefront of the battle in which headless trunks began a circular dance to the accompaniment of the loud noise of drums beaten continuously in joy caused, as it were, by the thought 'To-day at least we have, by laying down our heads, paid off the debt we owed to our lord in (*this*) one life!'

(L 35) (*He*) addresses the (*following*) command to all his officers born in his family and others according as they may be concerned,—to the heads of *vishayas*, headmen of villages, residents, *Vāsāvakas*, *Āyuktas*, *Vimuktakas* and others —

“Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of *Ourself*, we have given, as a religious gift with a libation of water on the *Mahākārttikē*, the village **Padraka** situated in the *āhāra* and *vishaya* of **Kārmanēya**,—together with *udranga* (*and*) *uparikara*, together with (*the right to*) minor and major gifts, not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons according to the maxim of waste land, exclusive of gifts previously made to gods and **Brāhmanas**,—to the **Brāhmana Kāñchala** who has studied two *Vēdas*, the son of the **Brāhmana Gōvindalī**, of the *Vatsa gōtra*, who is a student of the *Taittirīya śākhā* (of the *Black Yajurveda*) and has emigrated from **Vanavāsī**.

(L. 40) Wherefore, none should cause an obstruction while he is enjoying, cultivating or causing it to be cultivated in the manner of an *agrahāra* Gracious kings of the future, whether born in our family or others, considering that fortune is impermanent and unsteady like a flash of lighting, and that life is as inconstant as a drop of water adhering to the tip of a blade of grass, should consent to and preserve this *Our* gift And he, who, with his mind obscured by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, will confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins together with the minor sins”

And it has been said by the venerable **Vyāsa**, the redactor of the *Vēdas*—

(*Here follow five benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

¹ *Jhashira* is derived from *jhash* to hurt, and means some weapon like a javelin which could be thrown against the enemy

² The subject is 'the army of the **Tājikas**', above, p 143

(L. 48) The year —hundred,¹ 400 (*and*) 90, (*the month*) Kārttika, the bright (*fort-night*) (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5 This (*charter*) is written by the illustrious Bappabhaṭṭi, the Mahāsāndhviḡrahika and Sāmanta, who has attained the *pañchamahāśabda* and is the son of the Mahābalādhikṛita Haragaṇa. All (*in this charter*) (*is*) authoritative, whether (*any*) letters are wanting or redundant. Success ! Success !

Our own command

Seal

The illustrious Avanijanāśraya.

¹ Some words are inadvertently omitted here See above p. 142, n 10.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DYNASTY OF HARISCHANDRA

No. 31; PLATES XXIV-XXV

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI : (KALACHURI) YEAR 461

THIS set of three copper-plates was discovered, together with two others¹ in 1936, in the possession of the Shid family of Anjanēri, a village near Trimbak in the Nasik District. The inscriptions were brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology. The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

The plates, except the first, are inscribed on both the sides. They measure each 12.5" broad and 8" high. Their ends are slightly raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. On the outer side of the first plate is incised an ornamental lotus-like figure with a diameter of 3.6". On the second sides of the second and third plates there appear inscribed, in the midst of letters, the small figure of a boar running to the right and the large one of a conch² respectively. The plates are held together by two rings passing through the holes near their upper side. The ends of one of them are not soldered, while those of the other are secured into the bottom of a seal, having the shape of an inverted cone, the round surface of which, measuring 1.5" in diameter, contains in high relief, in the centre of a circle of knobs, the figure of a lion with the right front paw raised, and the tail twisted over his back. The weight of the plates together with the rings and the seal is 308 *tolas*. There are sixty-four lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on each side, except the second sides of the second and third plates which have thirteen and nine lines respectively. The size of the letters varies from .2" to .4". The letters on the second side of the third plate which were written subsequently and by another hand, are bolder and more deeply incised than those on the other sides.

The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. The letters are in most cases embellished with small circles as in the Bannahalli plates³ of the Kadamba king Krishnavarman II. These circles appear not only at the top of letters like the box-heads in Vākātaka inscriptions, but also at the corners and lower ends, in *hā* of *-mahā-pātakaḥ* =, l. 46, for instance, as many as five circles are used to embellish the *akshara*. The letters in ll. 56-64, however, do not show these circles, but have instead knobs at their top as in other early inscriptions from the Nasik District. As regards individual letters we may notice that the rare lingual *dh* occurs clearly in *vōdhavyah*, l. 48, the lingual *d* shows in some places a looped curve as in the Kaira plates⁴ (of K. 380) of Dadda II, see *-mandal-* l. 5, *-shaṇḍa-*, l. 19 and *khanda-*, l. 32, *b* is round in *brahmanya-*, l. 12, but rectangular

¹ These were the following grant of the same king and the grant (dated K. 460) of the Gurjara king Jayabhata III, (above, No. 22). The present plates have since been edited by Messrs Vats and Diskalkar in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f. and 292 f.

² The figure of the conch appears inverted with reference to the letters, because the inscription on that side is a post-script which was subsequently incised on the plate turned upside down. It may be noted that the figure of a conch is incised on the second side of the Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 97), the first side of which contains the figure of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, the plates facing pp. 18-9.

⁴ No. 16, above.

with a notch on the top or the left side in other places, see *-bala-*, l 9 and *-bōdhitō*, l 20, similarly *th* is round in *-yūth-*, l 18, but rectangular in *-sthati-*, l 28, the initial *ē* is distinguished from *l* by lengthening its vertical or by giving it a turn to the right, see *ēva*, l 11, and *ētām*, l 49 The medial *ū* (long) as added to *r* appears in as many as three different forms, see *rūpaka* in ll 36, 38 and 39 A final consonant is indicated by a horizontal line at the top, see *bhūbhrit*, l 21 The sign for the *upadhmānīya* occurs in line 44 and the numerical symbols for 400, 200, 100, 60, 50 and 1 in lines 54, 38 and 39

The language is Sanskrit Except for the initial verse in praise of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu and four benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll 50-53, the record is in prose throughout The initial *mangala-slōka* and the description of the Chālukya family that follows are taken from the records of the Early Chālukyas The eulogy of the donor **Bhōgaśakti** *alias* **Prithivīchandra** is couched in an ornate *kāvya* style resembling that of the Gurjara and Sēndraka records As regards orthography, we may notice that the consonant, which precedes or follows *r*, has been doubled, see e g, *Vishnōi=vvārāham* l 1-, and *-parākkam-ākkām-*, l 14, the guttural nasal is wrongly used in place of the *anuvāra* when followed by a sibilant or *h*, see *vanśasy-*, l 6, *śrī-Sinhavarmma-* l.9 *etc.*, the *visarga* is superfluously retained in *=ālamkārabhūtah=śśarat-*, ll 6-7, and wrongly elided when followed by a sibilant in ll 49, 58 *etc.*

After the usual *mangala slōka* in praise of the boar incarnation and the description of the Chālukya¹ family, the record mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya** It then proceeds to state that the illustrious **Svāmichandra**, who was an ornament of the family of **Harīschandra** and was treated as his own son by the Chālukya Emperor **Vikramāditya**, ruled over the entire **Purī-Kōṅkaṇa** country comprising fourteen thousand villages² His son was the illustrious **Simhavarmarāja**. The latter's son **Bhōgaśakti**, who had the second name **Prithivīchandra**, made the present grant His eulogy, to which as many as fourteen lines (11-25) are devoted, is wholly conventional. The only important information we glean about him is that he was always devoted to the worship of Vishnu and, like **Bhīmasēna**, had gained his entire dominion by valour.

The royal order is addressed to (the residents of) **Gōparāshṭra**, **Eastern Trikūṭa**, **Āmrarājī**, **Mainkā**, the **Eastern and Western Mahāgīrihāras** and **Pallusūḍhāmbaka** district extending as far as **Prētaḥraḍa** (?) The object of the inscription is to record the grant, by **Bhōgaśakti**, of eight villages, viz, **Jayagrāma**, **Ambē-Avangana**, **Pālittapāṭaka**, **Kōkīlākshaka**, **Kalahaka**, **Mudgāhṭaka**, **Kshēmāgīraka** and **Ānnagrāma**, for providing materials for the worship of the god **Nārāyana**, for the repairs of his temple and for the maintenance of a *sattrā* in the town of **Jayapura** The god was named **Bhōgēśvara**, which suggests that he was installed by **Bhōgaśakti** and named after himself The record next assigns, in ll 35-39, certain rights, dues and taxes in favour of the god The amount of taxes levied in each case is stated in *Krishnarāja-rūpakas* which were plainly the silver coins of the Kalachuri Emperor **Krishnarāja** The record next enjoins that five or ten merchants (who were evidently elected as representatives of the town) should celebrate according to the prevailing custom, the annual *yātrā* festival of the god for a fortnight in the month of **Mārgaśīrsha**. The temple was entrusted to

¹ The dynastic name occurs as *Chalukya* here as in Nos 29, 30, above, and 32, below

² In some later inscriptions, the number of villages in North Kōṅkan are stated to be fourteen hundred only, see, e g, *chaturddasa-grāma-sat-ōpalakshita-Kōṅkana* in line 56 of the *Bhādāna* grant of *Aparājita*, *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 274, and *Purī-pramukha-chaturdaśa-grāma-sa(sa)ta-samanvitām sama-sta-Kōṅkana-bhuvam samanuśāsati* in ll 64-65 of the *Khārēpātan* plates of **Anantadēva**, *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, p 35

(the representatives of) the town of merchants and they were enjoined to look after the service and property of the god. The merchants were in return exempted from the payment of octroi duties and the obligation to provide for the boarding (of royal officers). The charter was written by **Bharatasvāmin** who was a resident of **Kallivana**.

The inscription is dated in the year 461, expressed both in words and numerical symbols in l. 54. No era is specified, but the mention of the Early Chālukya king **Vikaramāditya** (I) as the suzerain of **Bhōgaśakti**'s grand-father plainly indicates that it must be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 709-10 A.C. if the year 461 was current, and to 710-11 A.C. if it was expired. It does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details.

The original royal order seems to have ended with l. 55, at the lower end of the inner side of the third plate. There is, however, a postscript added on the outer side of the same plate, which registers certain endowments of **Tējavarṇarāja**. He was presumably a royal officer in charge of the country round **Jayapura**¹. He donated a pasture-land in the village **Pālitapāṭaka** which was situated to the south of **Jayapura**. It was marked in four directions by boundary slabs with the figures of **Durgādēvī** and cows sculptured on them². He also deposited a hundred *rūpakas* with the guild of merchants in the town of **Jayapura**, the interest of which was to be spent in providing *guggula* (bdellium) for (the worship of) the god **Bhōgēśvara** every year.

The mention of *Krishnarāja-rūpakas* or the silver coins of **Krishnarāja** in the present record is interesting, for it shows that these coins of the Kalachuri king remained in circulation for more than a hundred and fifty years after **Krishnarāja** who probably flourished from *circa* 550 to 575 A.C.

There are several geographical names occurring in the present grant, but few of them can now be definitely identified. **Purī** which in the present record is coupled with **Kōṇkaṇ**, probably to distinguish the latter from the Southern **Kōṇkan**, has not yet been satisfactorily located. Some identify it with **Ghārāpurī**, but the identification is opposed on the ground that the island is too small for a capital. Besides, it shows no traces of fortifications. **Purī** seems to have been situated not far from **Sthānaka** or **Thānā**, as the **Silāhāra** king **Aparājita** retired to it when pressed by the enemy³. It may have been identical with **Rājpurī** in the former **Janjira** State, which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast.⁴ **Gōparāśhṭra** is mentioned in the **Nirpan** plates of **Nāgavardhana**⁵ and probably comprised the country round modern **Igatpurī**, as the village **Balēgrāma** situated in it has been shown to be identical with **Belgaon Tarhālā**, about 12 m. north-east of **Igatpurī**⁶. The genuineness of the **Nirpan** plates has rightly been questioned⁷, but that need not make the proposed identification doubtful. In fact the mention of **Gōparāśhṭra** as a territorial division, on which a tax was levied for the maintenance of

¹ He figures in the other **Anjanēri** plates (No. 32, below) of this very king as the executor of the charter.

² It may be noted that a pillar found at **Sitābaldī** near **Nagpur** (now deposited in the Central Museum, **Nagpur**) which contains an inscription recording the gift of a pasture-land for the grazing of cows (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.), has also the figures of some cows and calves in addition to those of the gods **Brahmā** and **Vishnu** sculptured on it. The pillars mentioned in the present inscription were probably of a similar type with the figure of **Durgādēvī** sculptured on them.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 41.

⁴ *P. I. H. C.*, (Fourth session), pp. 86 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 123 f.

⁶ *E. H. D.*, p. 73.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 358, n. 1.

a temple near Nasik shows that the identification is most probable. The identification of **Trīkūṭa** the home-province of the Traikūtakas has, for a long time, been a matter of controversy. That it was in Aparānta or North Kōnkaṇ was of course known from the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa¹, but its exact location was uncertain. The mention of the Eastern Trīkūṭa district in connection with and for the same purpose as Gōparāshtra makes it plain that it comprised the western portion of the Nasik District. Trīkūṭa was, therefore, probably the name of the range of hills that borders the Nasik District on the west. The districts of **Āmrārājī**, **Mairikā** the Eastern and Western **Mahāgīrihāras**, and **Pallusūḍhāmbaka** cannot be definitely identified. **Mahāgīrihāra** may be identical with **Māhīrihāra** mentioned in lines 56-57 of the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita². It must, in that case, have comprised the country round Bhādāna (near Bhiwandī in the Thānā District) **Jayapura**, where the temple of Bhōgēśvara was situated, is probably represented by Jarvar Budrukh, 9 m south by west of Anjaneri. Of the villages granted by the present charter, **Jayagrāma** may be Jaikhērā in the Dindōri *tālukā*. Some of the other villages can be located in the vicinity of Jaikhērā. Thus **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa** may be Ambēgaon, about 3 m west by south, **Kokilākshaka**, Kokar, about 3 m to the north-east, and **Kalahaka**, Kalasgaon, 2 m east of Jaikhērā. **Mudgāhitaka** is likely to be Maganpārā, 5 m north-west of Jaikhērā. **Kshēmāgiraka**, **Ānnagrāma** and **Pālittapātaka** cannot now be traced in the neighbourhood. **Kallivana**, which was the place of residence of the scribe Bharatasvāmin, is undoubtedly Kalvan³ in the Nasik District.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [1*] जयत्याविष्कृत विष्णोर्वराह क्षोभितार्णव (वम्) [1*] दक्षिणोन्नतदष्टाग्र-
विश्रान्तभुवन वपु⁶ [11११*]
- 2 श्रीमता सकलभुवनस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणा सप्तलोकमातृभि सप्तमातृ-
- 3 भिरभिर्वद्विताना ।⁷ कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरपराणा भगवन्नारायण-
- 4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृता हारीतीपुत्राणा च-
- 5 लुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीविक्रमादि-
- 6 त्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्विशेषो हरिश्चन्द्रवडशस्यालकारभूत श्शर⁸-
- 7 दुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येने-
- 8 द चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रसख्य⁹ सकलमपि पुरीकोङ्कण भुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञ [1*] श्रीस्वा-
- 9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रम श्रीसिद्धहवर्म¹⁰राजस्तस्यार्प श्रीसिद्धहवर्म¹⁰राजस्य पुत्र-
- 10 चतुर्दधिलतरगालिङ्गिताया पृथिव्या चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजा पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-
- 11 मधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिय्योसौ बाल एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वय समुत्पन्नज्ञानो

¹ Canto IV, vv 58-9

² *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 274.

³ It is mentioned in No 12, l 21, above

⁴ From the original plates

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁷ This mark of punctuation is redundant.

⁸ Read हरिश्चन्द्रवडशस्यालकारभूतश्शर-.

⁹ It would be better to read चतुर्दशसहस्रसख्यग्राम.

¹⁰ Read श्रीसिद्धवर्म-.

- 12 भगवतो वासुदेवस्यार्चनविधि प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च ।¹ युधिष्ठिर इ—
 13 व नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलकृत सत्यवादी च ।¹
 14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्क्रमाक्क्रान्ताशेषस्वराज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाब[ल]श्च

Second Plate . First Side

- 15 अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च
 16 बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्पर
 17 क्षण विक्रातश्च ।¹ प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहर वपुर्द्धारियन्नपि² पर—
 18 कलत्रनिस्पृह वनवा³रणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रिकृतकर. पद्मो—
 19 त्पलकुमुदषण्डमण्डित. स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिना तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी
 20 उदितदिवसकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियां निवासभवन ।¹
 21 जलधिरिव रक्षितस्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपर[.] परमगम्भीरो⁴ महासत्त्वश्च⁴ ॥¹
 22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसत्त्रप्रपाधर्मविक्रयानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु—
 23 स्मरणतत्परश्च ।¹ कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णो पुरीकोङ्कणविषयस्यालकारभूत⁵ भारत—
 24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्व⁶निपुण प्राज्ञः पटु पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति—
 25 हत⁷बलपराक्क्रमोत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवनाङ्कुशो राजा श्रीभोगशक्ति सवर्वा—
 26 नेवात्मीयपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादी(दीन्) स्वभुजबलपराक्क्रमाधिष्ठिता(तान्) गोपराष्ट्रपूर्व—
 27 त्रिकूटाम्भराजीमैरिकामहागिरिहारद्वयपल्लुसूडा[म्ब]कविषया(यान्) प्रेतह्लादा⁸—
 28 मर्यादा(दान्) सवर्वा(व्वान्) समाज्ञापयति [।*] अस्तु वो विदित यथा सृष्टिस्थितिसङ्ग्रह⁹—
 कारण

Second Plate Second Side

- 29 देवातिदेव सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्त्वा नान्या विशिष्टदेवतास्ती—
 30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय¹⁰ पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव—
 31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपसन्मार्ज्जनो¹¹पलेपविक्रयार्थं ।¹² नृत्तगीतवाद्यो—
 32 पेतसगीतकार्थं ।¹² सत्त्रार्थं खण्डस्फुटितसस्कारार्थं च ।¹² मातापितृवोरात्मनश्च पुण्य—
 33 वृद्धये अष्टौ ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादितानि । तेषाम्नामानि जयग्राम¹³ अम्बे—
 34 अवङ्गणं ।¹² पालितपाटक कोकिलाक्षक¹⁴ कलहक मुद्गाहितक क्षेम—
 35 गिरक आन्नग्रामश्च । आदानानि आपणेषु आवारा करणे कोवेर ।¹² सार्थवहित्रेषु
 36 प्रवेशे निर्गमे च प्रत्येक रूपक देवस्य यात्रोत्सवे दातव्य¹⁵ गोपराष्ट्राम्भराजीमै—

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

² Read -द्धारियन्नपि.

³ वा, which was at first omitted, was incised in a smaller size later on

⁴ Read महासत्त्व—.

⁵ Read -भूतो

⁶ Read तत्त्व—

⁷ Read मेधाव्यप्रतिहत्—

⁸ Perhaps प्रेतह्लादमर्यादान् is meant

⁹ Read -संहार—.

¹⁰ Probably प्रतिष्ठितभोगेश्वराय is intended

¹¹ Read -सम्मार्ज्जनो—.

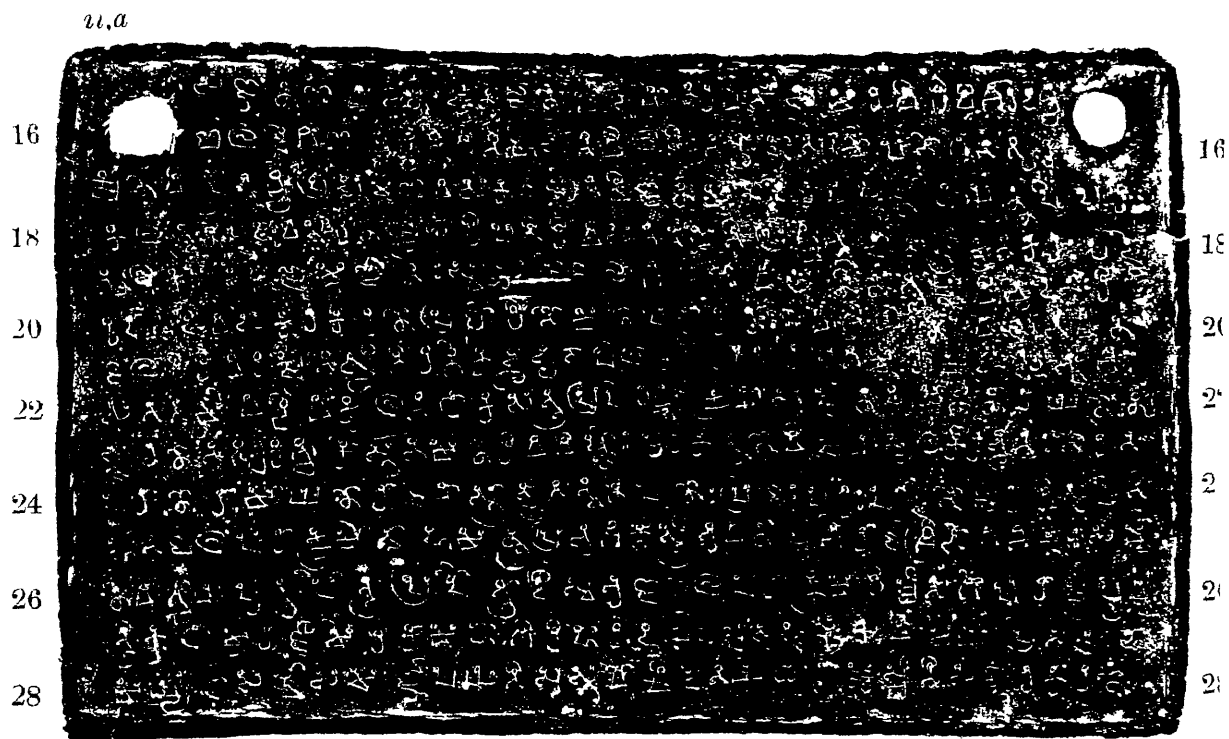
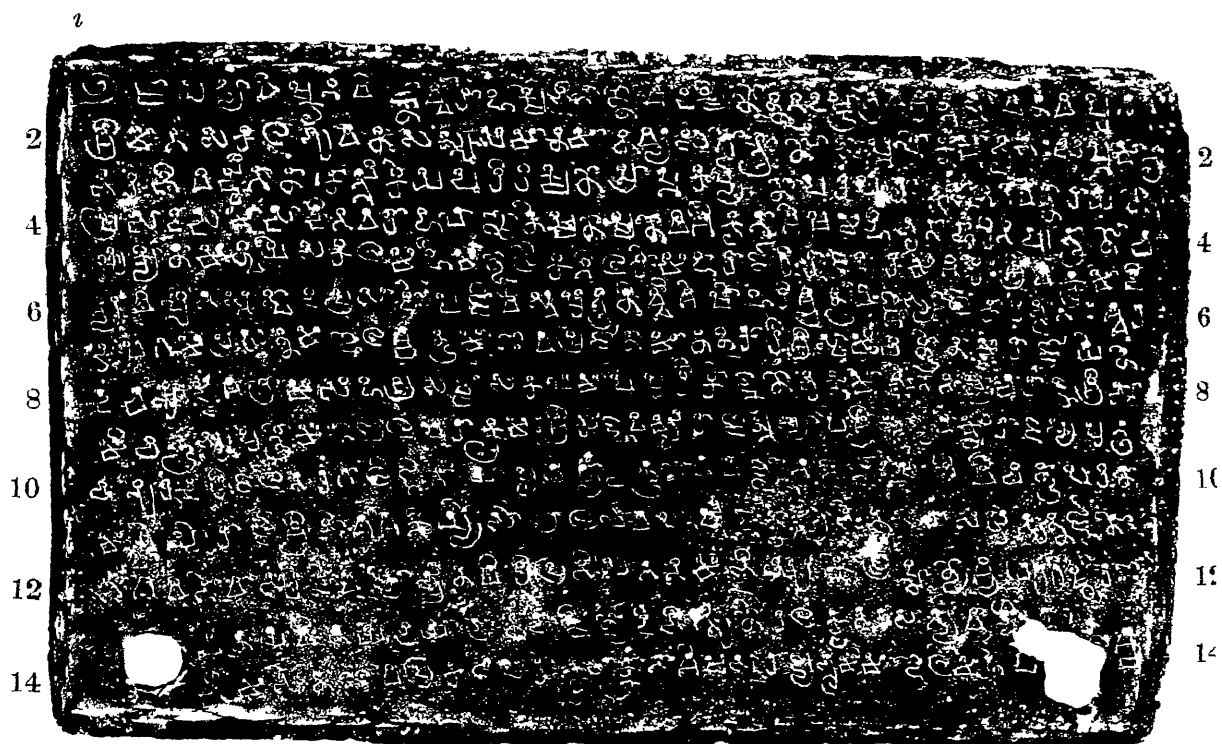
¹² This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹³ Here and in some places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

¹⁴ After this word there is a figure of a boar running to the right

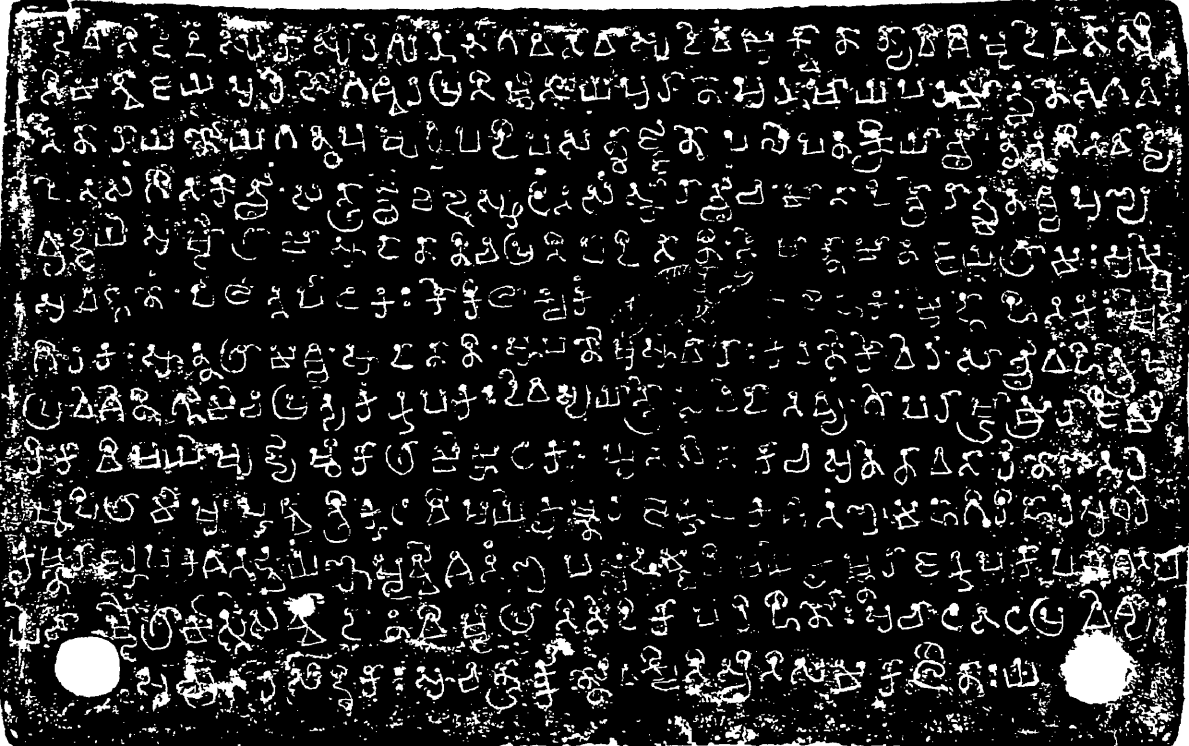
¹⁵ Read दातव्य so as to agree with रूपक or दातव्यानि corresponding to आदानानि

ANJANERI PLATES (FIRST SET) OF BHOGASAKTI (KALACHURI) YEAR 461



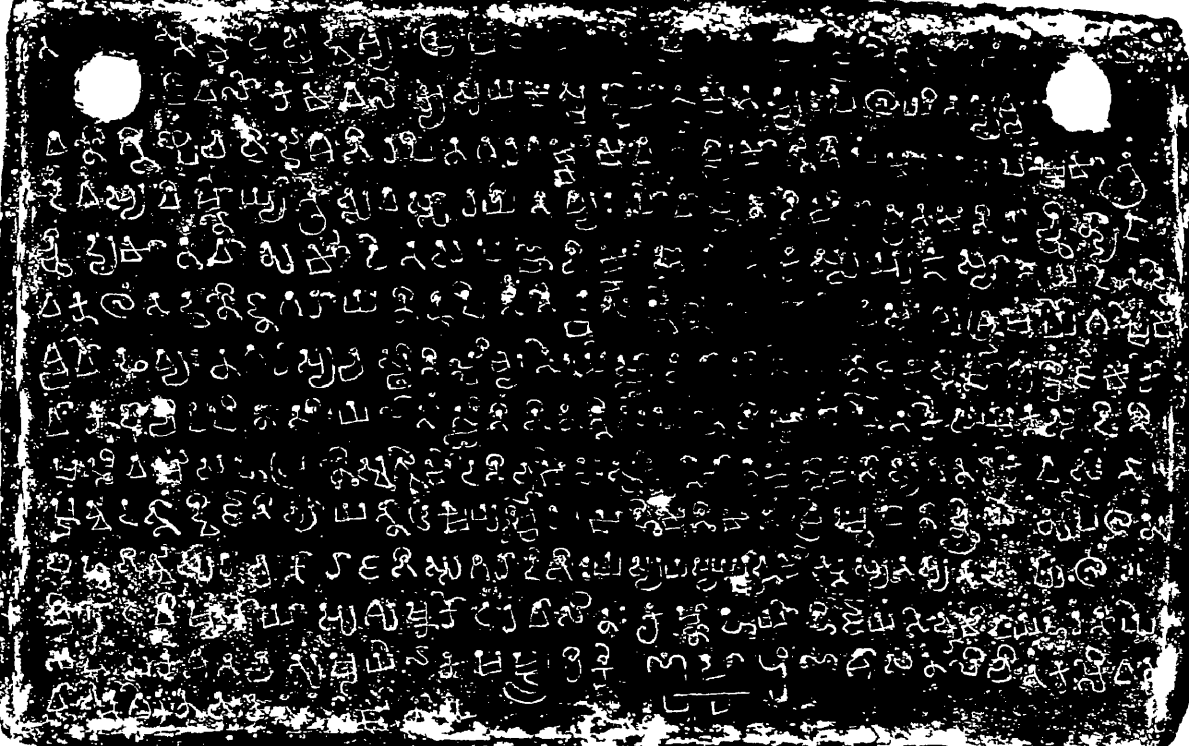
ii, b

30 30
2 32
4 34
3 36
3 38
40



iii, a

42
44
46
48
50
52
54



Seal



- 37 रिकाविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्रामे मूटकः घृतमातिका च अनेनावतारेण इतरे—
 38 ष्वपि ग्रामेषु । पूर्वत्रिकूटविषये कृष्णराजरूपकशत १०० ।¹ महागिरिहारे अपरे
 39 कृष्णराजरूपकशतद्वय २०० पूर्व शत १०० पल्लूढम्ब² विषये [१*] कृष्णराजरूपका पञ्चाशत् ५० [१*]
 40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्वदानविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणा अचाटभटप्रवेश्या
 41 अभ्यतरसिद्धिका आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीना. य—

Third Plate First Side

- 42 तस्तस्मादस्मद्वयै प्रबलपवन[प्रे]³रितोद[धि]जलत[र]ग[च]चल
 43 जीवलोकमवलोक्य अयमस्मद्वायोनुमतव्य पालयितव्यश्च
 44 वणिग्भिः पचभिर्दशभिरपि नगरधर्ममवलव्य मार्गशीर्षमासस्य पक्षमात्र
 45 देवस्य विष्णोर्ग्यात्रोत्सवस्सारयितव्य [१*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरावृतमतिराच्छिन्धादा—
 46 च्छिद्यमान वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सयुक्त [१*] स्यात् [१*] यदेतदे—
 47 वकुल तद्वणिङनगराय निरूपित(तम्) (१*) तैश्च सर्वैर्भगवतो देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगक्षेम—
 48 श्च वोढव्य [१*] नगरस्य च स्थितिलिख्यते । ये स्थानवासिनो वाणिजकास्तेषां शुल्क जेमको
 49 वा कदाचिदपि नास्ति । य एता स्थिति भिनत्ति स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै [१*] सयुक्त [१*] स्या—
 दिति ।
 50 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद [१*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥⁴
 [२॥*]
 51 पूर्वदत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर⁵ । मही मतिमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं (नम्) । [१३॥*]
 52 बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल—
 (लम्) ॥ [४॥*]
 53 विध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायते भूमिदायं हरति ये⁶ ॥ [५॥*]
 54 सवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकषष्ट्यधिके ४०० ६० १ शासन लिखित कलिलवन—
 55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ॥

Third Plate Second Side⁷

Inscription of Tējavarman

- 56 सिद्धम्⁸ [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीतेजवर्मराज्ञा⁹ जयपुरस्य दक्षिणाया¹⁰
 57 पालित्पाटको¹¹ गोप्रचारो मुक्तः [१*] तस्य च प्र—
 58 माण चतुर्दिक्षु दुर्गादेवि(वी)सहिता [१*] शैलिमा¹² गावो(व) स्थापिता [१*] सीम—
 59 स्य(म्न) तदेव प्रमाण¹³ तस्य गोप्रचारस्यार्थे [१*] भोगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि—

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

² This name occurs as पल्लुसूढाम्बक in l 27 above

³ The *mātrās*, curves and *anusvāras* over the letters in square brackets in this line have been damaged by verdigris

⁴ Metre of this and the following three verses *Anushtubh*.

⁵ धि, which was at first omitted, was incised later on in a smaller size.

⁶ What looks like a curved stroke to the right on the top of *y* is accidental.

⁷ The lines are written on this side of the plate turned upside down

⁸ Expressed by a symbol

⁹ Read -राजेन

¹⁰ Read दक्षिणस्या

¹¹ Read पालित्पाटके

¹² शैलिमा is an incorrect form for शैल्य For the use of शैलीप्रतिमा in an inscriptional record, see line 4 of the Deopāni Vishnu image inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol XVIII, p 330.

¹³ म of which was first omitted is incised below

- 60 ष्क्रयार्थं जयपुरवणिङ्¹नगरस्य रूपकशत² दत्त(त्तम् ।*) तस्य च रूपक—
 61 शतस्य वृद्धि गुग्गुलमूल्य भोगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्ष
 62 नगरेण यावदान्द्रावर्कतारक³ दातव्य(व्यम् ।) यो वास्या—
 63 न्यथा कर्ष्यति⁴ स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सयुक्तो भ⁵—
 64 विष्यति ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) Victorious is Vishnu's manifested boar-form, which agitated the ocean and which had the world resting on the tip of its projecting right tusk !

(Line 2) In the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas**,—who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* which is being praised by the whole world, who are the sons (*i e*, descendants) of Hārītī, who were brought up⁶ by the Seven Mothers⁷ who are the mothers of the seven worlds, who obtained continuous prosperity through the protection of Kārttikēya, who have all kings submitting to them the moment they see the boar-emblem which was obtained by the favour of the divine (god) Nārāyana,—(*there was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya-vallabha**, the sole fore-head mark of the whole earth. Dependent on the favour of his feet and (*treated by him*) in no way different from his (*own*) son, (*there was*) a king named the illustrious **Svāmichandra**, an ornament of the family of **Harischandra**, who caused delight to the people like the moon whose orb has become clear on the advent of autumn, (*and*) by whom this entire Kōnkana (*country*) with **Purī** (*as the chief city*), the villages in which number fourteen thousand, was governed. A son of that king, the illustrious Svāmichandra, (*was*) the illustrious king **Simhavarman** of great strength and prowess

(L 9) Again, a son of that illustrious king **Simhavarman**, (*viz*) the king, the illustrious **Bhōgaśakti**,—who, having, like the moon, well-known splendour on the earth embraced by the waves of the water of the four oceans, had the second name of **Prithivichandra** (the Moon on the Earth), who, even as a boy, had knowledge spontaneously produced through the discipline of (*his*) previous life, who is always engaged in the worship of the divine (god) Vāsudēva, and is devoted to sacred knowledge, who, like Yudhishtira, is adorned by excellences such as political wisdom, humility, compassion, charity and courteousness, and (*always*) speaks the truth, who, like Bhīmasēna, has brought under his rule the whole territory of his dominions by (*his*) displayed valour, and is possessed of great strength, who, like Arjuna, acts in accordance with the knowledge and teaching (*imparted*) by Janārdana,⁸ and is skilled in fighting, who like Balarāma, is eagerly engaged in the enjoyment of the pleasures of dancing, singing, laughing, dallying, and sporting, and is (*also*) valiant in a moment, who, though, like Pradyumna, is possessed of a charming form attractive to the minds of all young women, has no desire (*for the enjoyment of*) another's wife, who, like the leader of a herd of wild elephants (*which has his trunk always moistened with the continuously flowing water*⁹), has his hand always wet through making

¹ The engraver at first wrongly incised the superscript letter as *b*, and later on altered it to *n*

² त, which was omitted at first is written below the line

³ Read either यावच्चन्द्रावर्कतारक or आचन्द्रावर्कतारक.

⁴ Read करिष्यति

⁵ There is the figure of a large inverted conch in the middle of lines 60-63

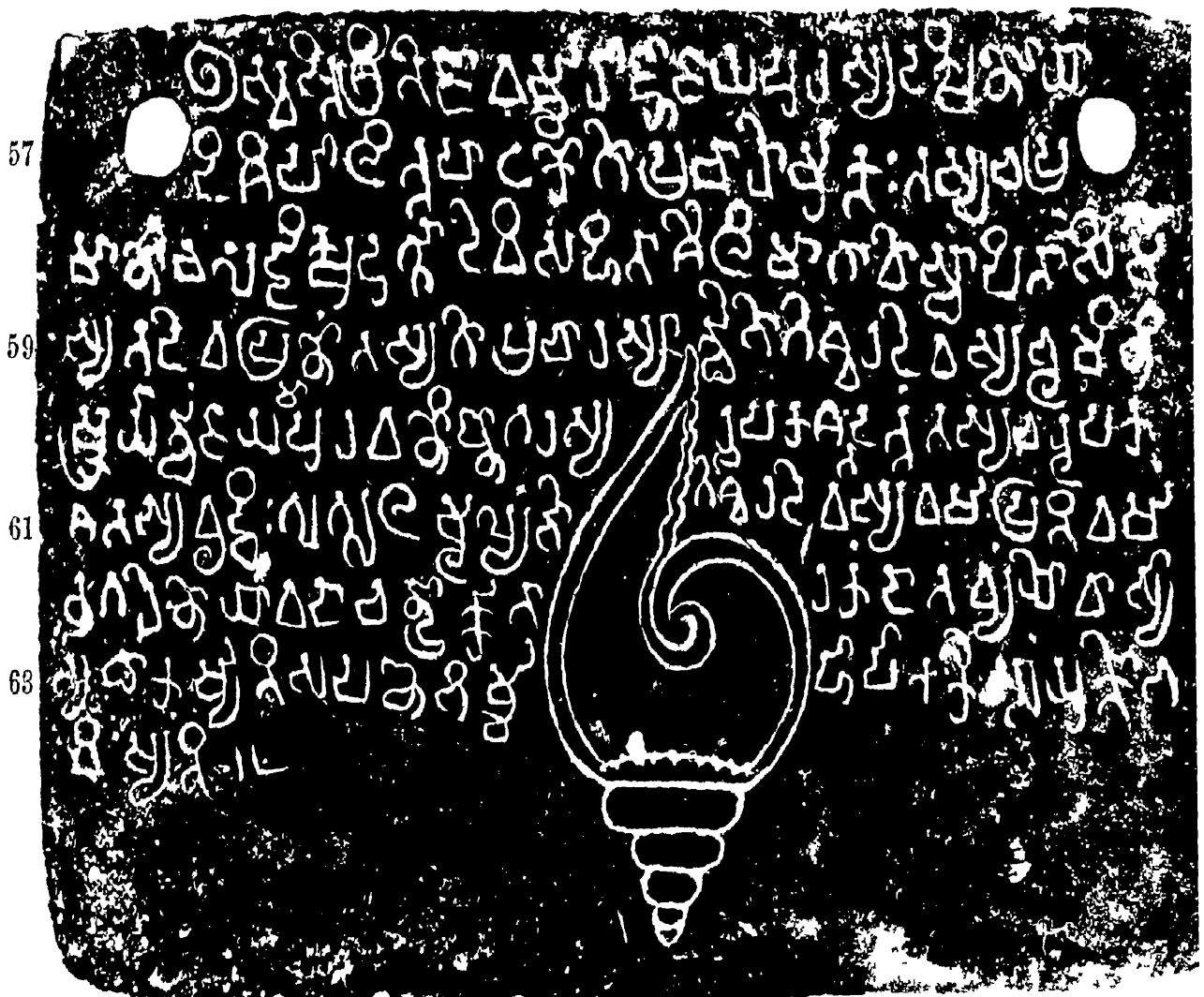
⁶ *I e*, made prosperous

⁷ See above p 126, n 8

⁸ The reference here is to the teaching of the well-known work *Bhagavadgītā*, in which Krishna, (an incarnation of Janārdana), expounded his philosophy of selfless action

⁹ The adjectival expressions in ll 18-21 admit of a double interpretation owing to the use of *ślēṣha*

INSCRIPTION OF TEJAVARMAN



gifts continuously, who, like a reservoir of sweet water beautified with clusters of day-lotuses, blue-lotuses and night-lotuses, (*which quenches the thirst of animals*), destroys the greed of living beings, who, like a large assemblage of lotuses, made to bloom by the rays of the rising sun (*which becomes an abode of beauty*), is the place of resort for Fortune; who, like the ocean (*that always keeps itself within bounds, is engaged in giving protection to several mountains, is very deep, and contains large aquatic animals*), has maintained established customs, is intent on giving protection to many princes, and is possessed of great serenity and courage, who is always occupied with the construction of religious works, (*such as*) temples, tanks, charitable feeding houses and water-sheds, and is intent on meditating on Nārāyana, who is an ornament of **Kōṅkaṇa** with **Purī** (*as the capital*), even as the Kaustubha jewel is of Vishnu, who is proficient in (*understanding*) the import and principles of the *Bhūrata*, the *Rāmāyana* and (*the works on*) the science of politics, (*who is*) wise, clever, learned (*and*) intelligent, whose strength, prowess and powers derived from personal energy, counsel and royal position, are unimpeded, (*and who is*) the goad (*i e*, *the controller*) of the three worlds—addresses the (*following*) command to all his sons, sons' sons and sons' sons' sons and so forth, (*as well as*) (*all people living in*) the *vishayas* of **Gōparāshṭra**, **Eastern Trikūṭa**, **Āmrarājī**, **Mairikā**, both the **Mahāgīrīhāras**¹ (*and*), **Pallūḍhāmbaka**,² extending as far as **Prēṭahrada**, which have been acquired by the might of his arms and valour —

(L 28) “Be it known to you that realizing that there is no pre-eminent god except the divine Vāsudēva, the lord of (*both*) gods and demons, the supreme god of gods, the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction (*of the world*), (*I have*) donated for the increase of the religious merit of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, the (*following*) eight villages and rights to the divine (god) Nārāyana, the primeval Being and Supreme Spirit (*called*) Bhōgēśvara installed³ in **Jayapura**, for providing perfume, flowers, incense, light, bathing and anointing (*of the god*), for symphonic entertainment combined with dancing, singing and music, for (*maintaining*) a charitable feeding-house, and for repairing (*what may be*) damaged or broken. The names of them (*i e*, the villages) are (*as follows*) — **Jaya-grāma**, **Ambē-Avangana**, **Pālitapātaka**, **Kōkīlākshaka**, **Kalahaka**, **Mudgāhitaka**, **Kshēmagīraka** (*and*) **Ānnagrāma**. And the rights are (*as stated below*) — stalls in market places, *kōvēra*⁴ in a written document, a *rūpaka* to be paid for each cart⁵ of the caravan on ingress and egress (*at Jayapura*) at the time of the *yātrā* festival of the god, a basket⁶ (of corn?) and an offering of ghee in the principal villages⁷ in the *vishayas* of **Gōparāshṭra**, **Āmrarājī** (*and*) **Mairikā**; in the same manner in other villages (*of the aforementioned districts*), in the *vishaya* of **Eastern Trikūṭa**, a hundred *rūpakas* of Krishnarāja, (*in figures*) 100, in the **Western Mahāgīrīhāra**, two hundred *rūpakas* of Krishnarāja, (*in figures*) 200, in the **Eastern (Mahāgīrīhāra)**, one hundred (*rūpakas*), (*in figures*) 100, in the *vishaya* of **Pallūḍhamba**, fifty *rūpakas* of Krishnarāja, (*in figures*) 50. As for the eight villages,

¹ These were the Eastern and Western Mahāgīrīhāras as appears from ll 38-39

² This is to be taken as one name in view of *Pallūḍhamba*, mentioned in l.39 below, with which it is plainly identical

³ See above, p 150, n 10

⁴ The meaning of this is not clear to me

⁵ *Vahitra*, *lat* an instrument of conveying, is clearly used here in the sense of a cart or some similar vehicle

⁶ M Williams on the authority of the *Kārandavyūha* gives *muta* or *mūta* in the sense of a basket. The Arthūnā inscription of Chāmundaarāja (*Ep Ind*, XIV, p 302) mentions the tax of a *mānaka* on each *mūtaka* of salt. Cf *mudā* in Marathi and *mude* in Kannada

⁷ The reference to ‘other villages’ in the sequel shows that *Jyēsthikā-grāma* is used here in the sense of the headquarters of a *vishaya* etc

they are all to be exempt from all dues, forced labour and special rights, (*they are*) not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhatas*, are to be self-contained,¹ (*and*) are to continue (*as donated villages*) as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure

(L. 41) Wherefore, our descendants, seeing that the living world is fickle like the waves of the ocean-water agitated by strong wind, should consent to and preserve this Our gift (*And*) the merchants (*of the town Jayapura*), five or even ten (*in number*), should celebrate the *yātrā* festival of the god Vishnu for a whole fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrsha But he, who, with his mind shrouded in the darkness of ignorance, would confiscate it or allow it to be confiscated, would incur the five great sins As for this temple, it is entrusted to the town of merchants² They should all perform the service and take care of the property,³ of the god. The (*following*) regulation is laid down for the town —The merchants residing at (*this*) place will never have to pay the octroi duty, or to provide for the boarding⁴ (*of royal officers*) He, who will violate this regulation, shall incur the five great sins.”

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L 54) In the year four hundred increased by sixty-one, (*this*) charter was written by Bharatasvāmin a resident of Kallivana.

Inscription of Tējavarman

(L 56) Success! Hail! The illustrious Tējavarmanarāja has relinquished a pasture-land in Pālittapāṭaka to the south of Jayapura. And in evidence of it, stone sculptures of cows, together with (*the image of*) the goddess Durgā, have been put up in (*all*) the four directions (*to mark*) its boundary That is the defining limit of the pasture-land For purchasing land (*in honour*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, a hundred *rūpakas* have been deposited with the merchant town of Jayapura The interest on the hundred rupees should be paid by (*the guild of merchants in*) the town as the price of bdellium (*for the worship*) of the god Bhōgēśvara, year after year, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars will endure He, who will do otherwise, shall incur the five great sins.

NO 32, PLATE XXVI

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

THIS is a set of two copper-plates discovered together with two others⁵ in the possession of the Shid family of Anjaneri near Trimbak in the Nasik District of the Bombay State The inscription was brought to my notice by Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, Director General of Archæology The plates were kindly sent to me for examination by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, who has also supplied me with their ink impressions.

¹ The expression *abhyantara-siddhi* occurs in several grants, sometimes with a prefix like *tri-bhōga* or *sarva*, see *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 271 It is generally used in the instrumental case denoting the manner in which the grant is made *Abhyantara-siddhyā* has been variously translated —(1) by Dr Fleet as ‘with (full) rights of enjoyment (*loc cit*), (2) by Dr D R Bhandarkar as ‘with heart-felt devotion’ (*Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 40), and (3) again by the same scholar as ‘for the purpose of internal adjudication’ (*ibid*, Vol XVIII, p 257) The context shows that the expression is used here in the sense of ‘self-contained’, *i e*, the donated villages will not be dependent on others for the decision of law-suits *etc*, but they will have full powers of adjudication The same idea is expressed by *sa-danda-das-āparādhah* which sometimes takes its place The Hānsōt plates of Bhartrivaddha have *sab-ābhyantara-siddhi*, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, p 203.

² *Vṛk*, the town of Jayapura

³ *Yōga* means acquisition of new property and *kshēma*, preservation of what is acquired.

⁴ See p 156, n 2, below

⁵ Nos 22 and 31, above

They are two copper-plates, the first of which measures 11 9" broad and 7 8" high, while the second, though of the same breadth, is slightly less in height. They are held together by two rings, 6" in diameter, passing through two holes at the top of each plate. The ends of the right-hand ring are not joined, but those of the left-hand one are secured into the socket of a seal having the shape of an inverted cone, 3" in length, on the round surface of which, about 1 7" in diameter, appears in high relief the figure of a lion in the midst of a circle of knobs. The lion closely resembles that on the seal of the cognate Anjanēri plates of K 461. The weight of the plates, the rings and the seal is 178 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both the sides. Their rims are slightly thickened with a corresponding depression running all round for the protection of the writing. The plates have suffered considerable damage by corrosion. There are a few holes in the third line on the first plate and near the lower edge of the second. Nearly twenty *akṣharas* in l 27 and about a dozen in l 28 have been either partially or wholly damaged by the corrosion of the surface. Some of them, especially those in l 27 can, however, be supplied from the other Anjanēri plates of the same king. Further, lower down on the same side, several *akṣharas*, especially in the middle of ll 34-38, have been almost obliterated by wear and tear, but they can be read with patience and perseverance from their faint traces on the original plate. There are thirty-eight lines of writing in all, of which twelve appear on each inscribed side, except the first side of the second plate which has fourteen lines.

The **characters** closely resemble those in the cognate Anjanēri plates, except that the circles appear here only at the top of letters. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory *mangala ślōka* in praise of the boar incarnation, which is borrowed from the inscriptions of the Early Chālukyas, the record is in prose throughout. Down to l 27 it is identical with the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates, and shows the same palæographical peculiarities. As shown below, the object of the present inscription was not to record any religious gift but to register certain rights and privileges granted to merchants, and to lay down punishment for offences committed in certain towns and villages which were resettled by the king. The usual imprecatory and benedictive verses do not naturally find a place in this record¹. Their absence does not, therefore indicate that the charter is incomplete. In fact the mention of the executive officer and the use of *iti* at the end of the last line shows that it was duly completed.

The inscription begins with a verse in praise of the boar incarnation. It then gives the usual description of the **Chālukya**² family and mentions the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramādityavallabha**. It proceeds to state that the illustrious **Svāmichandra**, an ornament of the family of **Harīśchandra**, who was treated like his own son by Vikramāditya, ruled over the whole **Purī-Kōṅkaṇa**, consisting of fourteen thousand villages. His son was the illustrious **Simharāja**, and the latter's son, the illustrious **Bhōgaśakti** who had the other name **Prithivīchandra**. The description of these kings is given exactly as in the other Anjanēri plates. **Bhōgaśakti** was always devoted to the worship of the god **Vāsudēva**, and was an ornament of the province **Purī-Kōṅkaṇa**.

From ll 29-31 of the present grant we learn that the king **Bhōgaśakti** resettled the town **Samaguripaṭṭana** together with (its suburb) **Chandrapurī** as well as the villages—**Ambayapallikā**, **Savānēyapallikā**, **Maurēyapallikā** and **Kaṁsārīpallikā**, which had previously been devastated. The name of the enemy, who had laid them waste, is not men-

¹ That it was customary to omit such verses in charters which registered only exemptions from toll *etc*, is shown by the Khārēpātan plates of the Śilāhāra king, Anantadēva (Śaka 1016), *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, pp 33 ff. See also, *loc cit*, p 38, n 51.

² See above, p 147, n 1.

tioned. The **object** of the present charter, which was made over to Ēla *śrēshṭhin*, Kara-puta *śrēshṭhin*, and others of the afore-mentioned town, was to record the rights, privileges and exemptions granted to the merchants and other residents of the resettled town Samagiri, as well as to lay down fines in the case of certain offences committed by the residents and young merchants evidently of the same town. The merchants were, for instance, exempted from octroi duty in the whole kingdom; the property of those who died sonless was not to escheat to the crown,¹ the residents were not required to provide lodging and boarding for royal officers.² As for fines imposed for offences, we are told in ll 34-38 that a violent offence against unmarried girls³ would be punished with a fine of 108 *rūpakas*, and that of adultery with 32 *rūpakas*. For an assault consisting of the boxing of the ears, a fine of sixteen *rūpakas*, and for that which resulted in an injury to the head, one of four *rūpakas* was laid down. If a young merchant had illicit intercourse with a labour woman, he was fined 108 *rūpakas* or whatever was fixed by eight or sixteen Mahallakas (respectable men) of the town. The charter was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

The inscription is **not dated**, but the mention of Tējavarmarāja, who is clearly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the other Anjanēri inscription, shows that it must have been incised within a few years on either side of the Kalachuri year 461 (710-11 A. C.)

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present plates, **Samagripaṭṭana** cannot be traced, but it was probably situated near **Chandrapurī**, with which it is coupled in the present grant and which is probably represented by Chandrāchī Mēt, 12 m. south-west of Anjanēri. **Savāṇēyapallikā** may be Sāmundi and **Kamāsāripallikā** Karholi, five and six miles respectively, north by east of Chandrāchī Mēt. **Maurēyapallikā** may be Mōrwādī, 3 m. south-west of Nasik, but it is somewhat distant from Chandrāchī Mēt if the latter correctly represents Chandrapurī.

¹ The royal claim to the property of a person who dies sonless is mentioned in some charters as transferred to the grantee together with the donated village. See, e.g., the expression *kumārī-sāhas-āputrādi dhana samanvita* qualifying the name of the donated village in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita-dēva, *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p. 274. The *āputrikā-dhana* mentioned in line 12 of the Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva (*ibid*, Vol III, p. 266) is obviously a mistake for *āputra-dhana*. Readers of Sanskrit literature will recall a passage in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntala*, Act VI, where Dushyanta is informed by his minister that the property of a merchant, who died sonless, is to escheat to the crown.

² In ancient times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to provide for the boarding and lodging of touring royal officers and a small tax called *vasati-danda*, sometimes collected in kind, was levied for the purpose. In some charters the grantee is specifically exempted from it. Compare *a-kara-yōllaka-vinēsi-khattā-vāsam a-dūdha-dadhi-gabanam a-tana-kattha-gabanam* in the Pallava grants (*Ep Ind*, Vol I, p. 6, Vol VI, p. 87), *a-khattā-vās-audanam* in a Kadamba grant (*ibid*, Vol VI, p. 14) and *a-chār-āsana-charmm-āngārāb* in Vākātaka grants (*ibid*, Vol XXII, p. 173). The Paithan and Purushōttampurī plates of Rāmachandra mention the *vasati-danda*, (*Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p. 318, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV, p. 218).

³ The fine levied for *kumārī-sāhasa* is sometimes mentioned as transferred to the donee, see the expression in the Bhādāna grant cited above in note 1. The fines for the various offences are laid down here specifically to prevent the village authorities from extorting money from the offenders. For similar fines which village officers were empowered to impose, see Kōtavumachgi inscription of Vikramāditya V, *Ep Ind*, Vol XX, pp. 66 ff.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] जयत्याविष्कृत विष्णोर्व्वाराह क्षोभितार्णव(वम्) [1*] दक्षिणोन्नत[द]ष्ट्राग्र—
 2 विश्रान्तभुवन वपु³ [11१11*] श्रीमता सकलभुवनसस्तूयमानमान⁴मान—
 3 व्यसगोत्राणा सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धित[1]ना कार्तिके—
 4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरपराणा भगवन्नारायणप्रसादस—
 5 मासादितवराहलाछनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृता हारीतीपुत्रा—
 6 णा चलुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपर—
 7 मेश्वरश्रीविक्रमादित्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्व्विशेषो
 8 हरिश्चन्द्रवशस्यालकारभूत शरदु[प]⁵गमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्र—
 9 जानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येनेद चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्र—
 10 सख्य⁶ सकलमु(म)पि पुरीकोकण भुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रस्य
 11 पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रम[*] श्रीसिद्धहवर्म्म⁷राजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिद्धहवर्म्म⁷रा[ज]⁸स्य
 12 पुत्रश्चतुर्दधजलतरगालिगिताया पृथिव्या चन्द्र इव

Second Plate: First Side

- 13 विख्याततेजा[] पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्ति [1*] योसौ बाल
 14 एव पूर्व्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वय समुत्पन्नज्ञानो भगवतो वासुदेवस्या[चर्च]⁹नवि—
 15 धि प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि—
 16 ण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलकृतस्सत्यवादी च भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाक्क्रान्ताशेषस्वरा—
 17 ज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाबलश्च अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशवर्त्ती समरविधिविशा—
 18 रदश्च बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्पर क्षण वि—
 19 क्रातश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहर वपुर्द्धारयन्नपि परकलत्रनि—
 20 स्पृह वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्राकृतकर. पद्मोत्पल—
 21 कु(कु)मुदषडमडित स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिना तृष्णाविच्छेदकारी उदितदिव—
 22 सकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवन जलवि(धि)रिव रक्षित—
 23 स्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपर. परमगभीरो महासत्व(त्व)श्च सततमिव देवकुलतटा—
 24 कसत्रप्रपाधर्म्मविक्रयानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम—
 25 णिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोकणविषयस्यालकारभूत भारतपुराणरामायण—
 26 राजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्व(त्व)निपुण प्राज्ञ पटु पडितो [मे]धावी अप्रतिहतबलपरा—

¹ From the original plates² Expressed by a symbol³ Metre *Anushtubh*⁴ The *aksbaras* मान are unnecessarily repeated⁵ This *aksbara* was at first closed at the top, but the mistake seems to have been corrected.⁶ Read चतुर्दशसहस्रसख्यग्राम.⁷ Read श्रीसिद्धहवर्म्म—⁸ This *aksbara* is incised just above the ring-hole, and can be read clearly on the original plate⁹ The *rēpha* of this *aksbara* is indistinct

Second Plate Second Side

- 27 [क्कमो]¹त्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्ति[स्त्रिभु]वनाङ्कशो [राजा श्रीभोगशक्ति सव्वानेवात्मी*—]
 28 [य*]पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादी(दीन्) विषयपतिग्रामभोगिकम[हत्तरान् समाज्ञापय*]²—
 29 [ति*] विदितमस्तु वो यथा पूर्वमुत्सादित [स]मगिरिपट्टन चन्द्रपुरीसहि[त]
 30 ³म्बयपल्लिकासवाण्यपल्लिकामौरेयपल्लिकात्रयसहित कसा—
 31 [रि]पल्लिका च मया समावासित(तम्) । एलश्रेष्ठिकरपुटश्रेष्ठिप्रमुख—
 32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्त(तम्) [1*] समगिरिवास्तव्याना वणिजा चन्द्रावर्ककालिक शुल्कमादी—⁴
 33 य समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [1*] अपर च अपुत्रधन नास्ति⁵ उमुरभेद राजपुरुष[1]—
 34 णामावासको जेमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [1*] कुमारीसाहसे⁶ रूपकाणामष्टोत्तर
 35 शत(तम्) । सग्रहणे⁷ द्वात्रिंशतिरूपका [1*] कर्णत्रोडणिकोया⁸ षोडश रूपका [1*] शिर—
 36 स्फोटने च[त्वा]रि रूपका [1*] भा[रि]कायां वणिक्पुत्रस्याष्टोत्तर शत रूपकाणा
 37 नङ्गेगृहीतस्य⁹ [1*] यच्चाष्टौ षोडश वा नगरमहल्लका वि[चा]र्य्य वदते(ति) तदे—¹⁰
 38 तदेव प्रमाण(णम्) । श्रीतेजवर्मराजेन एतदनुष्ठितमिति [11*]

TRANSLATION

Success !

[For a translation of ll 1-28, see above, pp 152-3]

(Line 28) The illustrious **Bhōgaśaktī** . addresses (the following order to) all his sons, sons' sons, sons' sons' sons and so forth, (and to) the heads of *vishayas*, the *Bhōgikas* and *Mahattaras* of villages —

(L 29) "Be it known to you that I have settled (again) the **Samagiripattana**, which had been previously devastated, together with **Chandrapurī** (and) together with the three hamlets, (*viz*) **Ambēyapallikā**, **Savāṇēyapallikā** (and) **Maurēyapallikā**, and also **Kamsāripallikā**. (This charter is) made over to the whole town, of which *Ela śrēshthin* and *Karaputa śrēshthin* are the chief (representatives) The merchants residing in Samagiri are not to pay octroi duty in the whole kingdom as long as the moon and the sun will endure. Besides, there is not (to be escheat to the crown of) the property of a person who dies sonless. There is to be no distinction of wharfs¹¹ There is (to be) no (tax for the) lodging and boarding of royal officers For a violent offence against unmarried girls, (the offender will be fined) a hundred and eight *rūpakas*, for adultery, thirty-two *rūpakas*, for boxing of the ears, sixteen *rūpakas*, for injury to the head, four *rūpakas* If (the offence is committed) against a labour-woman, a merchant's

¹ The *aksbaras* in the square brackets in this and the following two lines have been damaged by rust. The starred ones in this line are supplied from the corresponding portion of the other Anjanēri plates (No 31) of the same king

² These nine *aksbaras* and the first *aksbara* of the next line have been restored conjecturally

³ One *aksbara* is damaged here. It may have been अ

⁴ Read —सादेय.

⁵ Read नास्ति.

⁶ Some letters in the middle of ll 34-38 have become very shallow by wear and tear, but they can be read with perseverance on the original plate

⁷ ह् which was at first omitted is written below the line

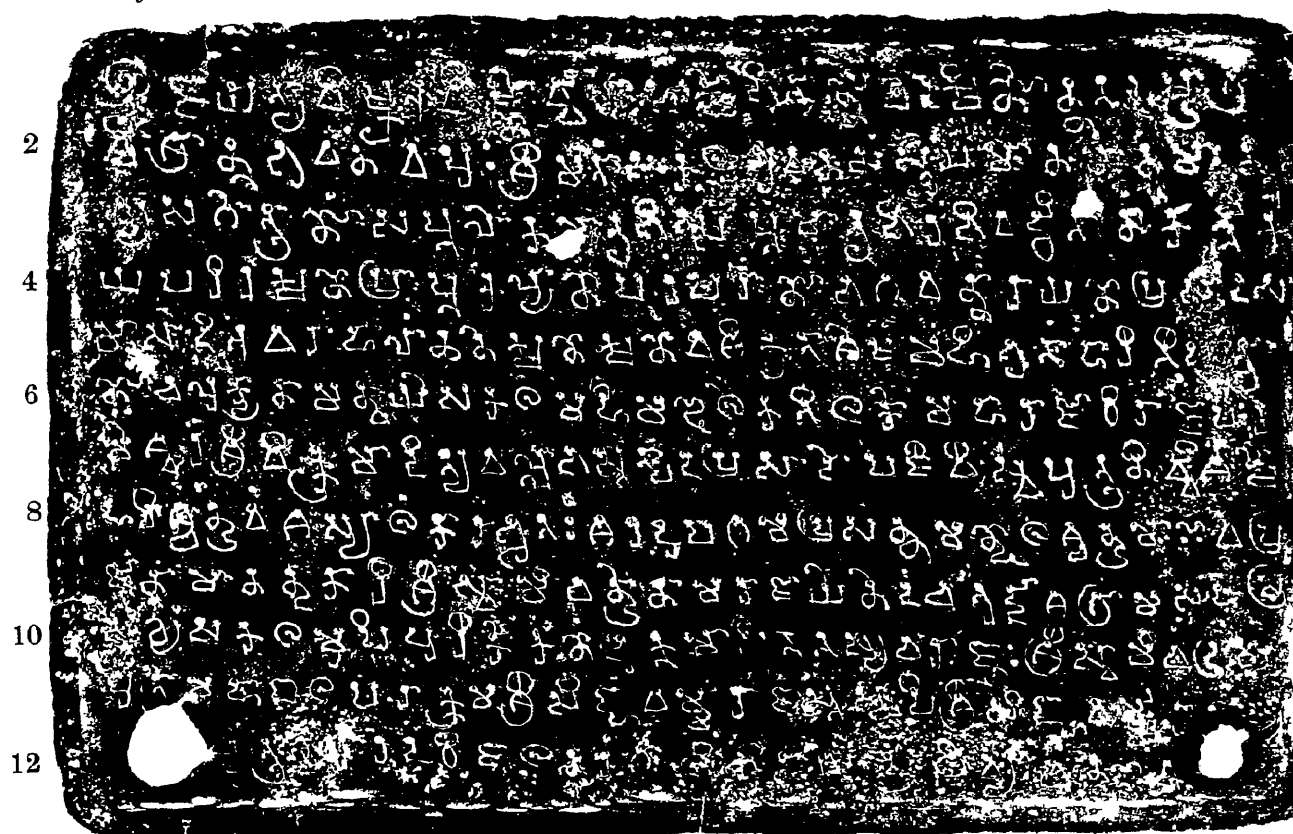
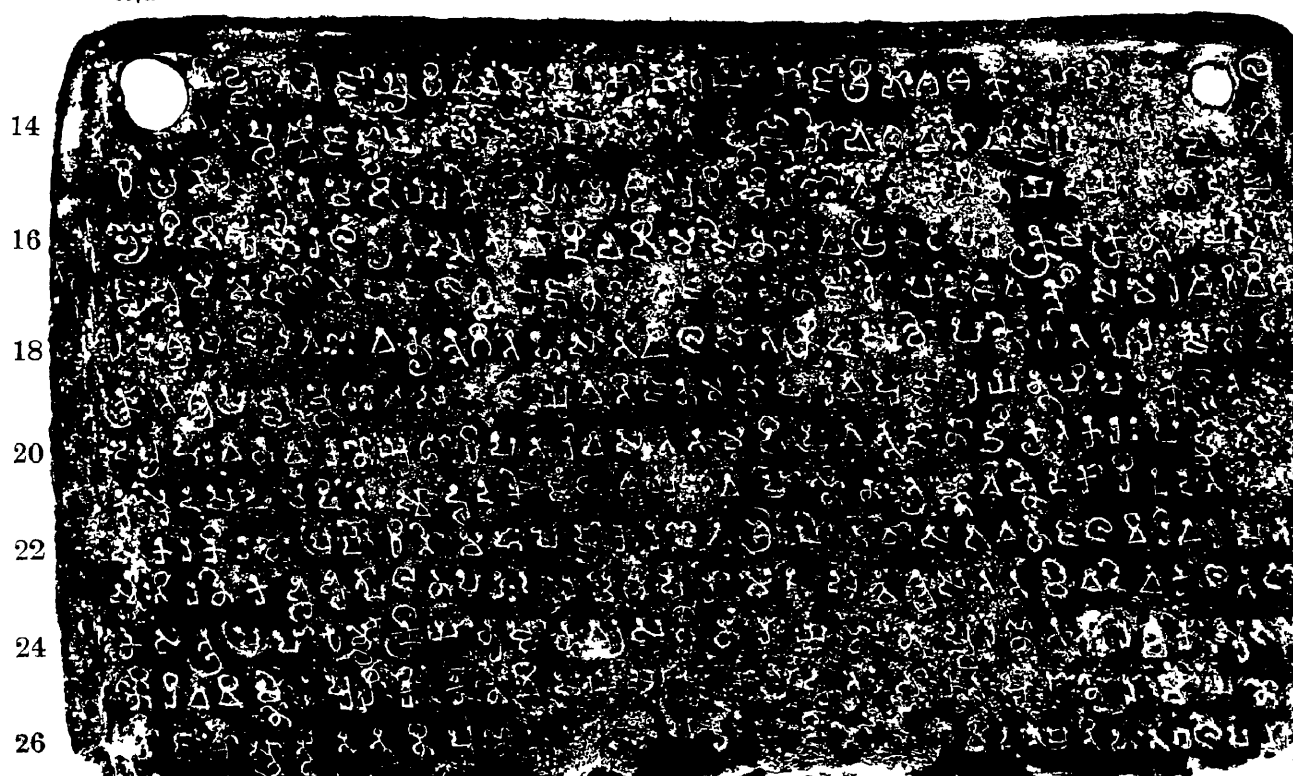
⁸ Read —त्रोडणिकाया.

⁹ Perhaps नग्नगृहीतस्य is meant

¹⁰ These two *aksbaras* are redundant

¹¹ The word used in the text is *umura* which is unknown to Sanskrit dictionaries. *Uma* occurs in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'a wharf' or 'a landing place'.

ANJANERI PLATES (SECOND SET) OF BHOGASAKTI

i*n,a*

u,b



Seal



(From Photographs)

son caught naked (?) will be fined one hundred and eight *rūpakas*. And whatever eight or sixteen Mahallakas (*respectable men*) of the town will declare after deliberation, will be the right standard (*of punishment*) ”

This was executed by the illustrious Tējavarmarāja.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 33; PLATE XXVII

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN : (KALACHURI) YEAR 346

OF the two copper-plates which, as shown below, purport to record a grant of Taralasvāmin, one was discovered as far back as 1864 somewhere in the Sankhēdā *Tālukā* in the Baroda District and has been edited with a lithograph, by Mr H H Dhruva in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, pp 19 f This plate contained only the concluding portion of the grant, including the benedictive and imprecatory verses, the name of the writer and the date The other plate, which was recently found in the possession of Patel Mathurabhai of Mānkaṇī, a village in the Sankhēdā *Tālukā* has been edited with a facsimile by Mr A S. Gadre in the *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp 4 f This plate contains the earlier portion of the grant, viz, the genealogy of the donor, the name of the donee and the object granted The text of the latter plate ends exactly where that of the former begins¹ Their characters also completely agree There is, therefore, no doubt that the two plates make one complete grant. The plate edited by Mr. Dhruva, the exact provenance of which has not been recorded, may therefore have come from Mānkaṇī itself That this grant is probably **spurious** was shown by me in an article published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol II, pp 389 f I edit the record here from excellent ink impressions of both the plates, which I owe to the kindness of Mr. A S Gadre.

The plates measure 8" in breadth and 3 4" in height. The first weighs 17¼ and the second 16¾ *tolas*. The writing on both is in a state of good preservation The plates contain two holes, .2" in diameter, at the top, for the rings which must have originally held them together, but no ring or seal has been discovered The record consists of twenty lines, of which ten are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The average size of the letters is 15"

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets, and resemble those of the grants of the Gurjaras and Early Kalachuris The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the initial *i* consists of two curves, one below the other, in *iv=ōddhūta*-l.3, while it has its usual form in *wa*, l 7, the length of medial *i* is indicated by a dot in a circle or by a double curve, see *-vichī-*, l.3, the curve of the subscript *t* is added to the right of its vertical in *bhuketā*, l 15; the subscript form of *th* shows a notch in *-sthiti-*, l.11, *v* is almost rectangular in *-vaiśvadēva-*, l.10 and the subscript *m* is cursive in *nurmmālya*, ll.18-19. Punctuation is marked by a short horizontal stroke in l 20 and by double vertical strokes in ll. 15-20.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *-kīrttib*, l 4, the substitution of the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *-vansair=*, l.13 and *-chatvārins-ōttarakē*, l.20, and the use of *ri* for *ri* in *krishatab*, l 12

¹ The record on the first plate ends with *pañcha-mahā-yajña-kriy-ōtsarppan-ārttham*, while that on the second plate begins with *ā-chandr-ārke-ārnnava-keshiti-sthiti-samakālinam*

The plates purport to record the grant, by **Taralasvāmin** of the **Katachchuri** (Early **Kalachuri**) family, of a rice-field situated on the northern boundary of the village **Mañkanikā**. **Taralasvāmin** is described as the son of *Mahārāja Nanna* and **Dadā** and the sister's husband of the illustrious **Sūrya**. The grant was made for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The donee was the Brāhmana **Jyēshthasēna**, who belonged to the **Jātūkarna gōtra**¹ and the *Vājasanēya sākhā*. The record was written by the *Sāndhuvigrahika* **Āditya** who was a *Bhōgiika*. It is dated in the year **346**, expressed both in words and in **decimal figures**. This is supposed to be the earliest epigraphic instance of the use of the decimal notation².

The **palaeography** of the grant makes it probable that it belongs to about the seventh century A.C. Its date has been referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 248-49 A.C., it would correspond to 594-95 A.C. if the year 346 was current, and to 595-96 A.C. if it was expired. As no further details are given, the date does not admit of calculation.

Taralasvāmin, who made the present grant, bears no royal title, though his father **Nanna** is called *Mahārāja*. He may have owed allegiance to the Kalachuri king **Śankaragana** whose *Ābhōna* plates were issued just a year after the date of the present grant³. That Gujarat was included in the dominion of **Śankaragana** is clear from the *Sankhēdā* plate of **Śāntilla**, which mentions him as the reigning king⁴. Like **Śāntilla**, **Taralasvāmin** also seems to have been holding a subordinate position, for like the former, he addresses his order to a king's officers (*īāja-pādīyas*) as well as to his own. This king may have been **Śankaragana**.

There are certain indications, however, which raise suspicion about the genuineness of this grant. Neither **Taralasvāmin** nor his father **Nanna** is known from any records of the Early Kalachuris. Even supposing that they were collaterals and need not, therefore, have been mentioned in those records, it looks strange that unlike **Śāntilla**, **Taralasvāmin** does not name his suzerain who, as we have seen, was **Śankaragana**. He and his father **Nanna** are praised in extravagant terms which would have been more appropriate in the case of an independent king like **Śankaragana**. Besides, we find that in this period **Śāntilla** also was holding this very part of Gujarat, for the village *Tandulapadraka* granted by him is identified with *Tāndaljā*, about 16 miles from *Sankhēdā*. It is, of course, possible to reconcile the two grants by supposing that **Taralasvāmin** either preceded or followed **Śāntilla** in the governorship of Gujarat, but in any case **Taralasvāmin**'s silence about his suzerain remains inexplicable.

The **decimal notation** also, used in recording the date, causes suspicion about the genuineness of the grant, for not only in the period to which the record refers itself, *viz.*, the end of the sixth century A.C., but for more than 150 years afterwards the prevailing custom in Gujarat as in other parts of India was to record dates in numerical symbols. The inscriptions of the Early Kalachuris, Gurjaras, *Sēndrakas* and *Chālukyas*,⁵ who held Gujarat from the sixth to the eighth century A.C., are invariably dated in this manner. Even

¹ The mention of this *gōtra* is interesting, for it shows that the name *Jātūkarnā* of the mother of the famous Sanskrit dramatist *Bhavabhūti* was derived from it. See also *Ep Ind.*, Vol XXII, p 108.

² *I P.*, p 83. See also Dr Sukhtankar's article 'Palaeographic Notes' in *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp 319 f.

³ They are dated in K. 347.

⁴ In his grant **Śāntilla** not only describes his suzerain **Śankaragana**, but also the latter's father **Krishnarāja**.

⁵ See the dates of Nos. 12-30 above.

the Hānsōt plates¹ of Bhartrivaddha which were issued as late as V 813 (756 A C) have their date expressed in numerical symbols. These plates were issued from Bharukachchha. Similarly the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates² of the Rāshtrakūta Karka, who succeeded the Chālukyas in Southern Gujarat, use similar symbols to express their date Ś 679 (757 A C). Except for the doubtful case of the present grant, the earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shērgadh Buddhist inscription³ of the Sāmanta Dēvadatta, dated V. 847 or 791-92 A.C. It would seem, therefore, that the decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols in North India about the last quarter of the eighth century A C.⁴ The present grant which purports to have been made as early as 595 A C and still has its date expressed in decimal figures, appears to be suspicious⁵.

There is another circumstance which strengthens the suspicion. The drafter of the present grant seems to have borrowed certain expressions from earlier Sēndraka grants. Compare, for instance, the expression *avanata-sāmant-āmala-mukuta-mani-nighrīṣṭa-charana-yugal-āravindab* in l 1 of the present grant with *pranat-āśēsha-sāmanta-śrō-muk[ta*]-nighrīṣṭa-pada-pamkajah* in ll. 45 of the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti. Similarly, *Kalpatarur=w=ōpabhujja(jya)mān-ākeshīna-vibhavah* in ll 5-6 of this grant bears unmistakable resemblance to *Kalpaumam=(druma)=w=ābhvā mchhit-āśēsha-jan-ōpabhujyama(mā)na-vibhavō* in lines 7-8 of the Sēndraka grant.⁶ As these expressions occur in more than one genuine Sēndraka record, we cannot doubt that they originally belonged to them. The Sēndrakas were ruling in Gujarat in the second quarter of the seventh century. The present grant, which seems to have borrowed these expressions from Sēndraka records, could not therefore have been made in 595 A C.

The evidence detailed above seems to point to the conclusion that the present plates were forged some time in the second half of the eighth century A.C. when the decimal notation came into vogue. The palaeography of the grant as well as the shape of the numerical figures do not militate against this conclusion. These characters were probably current in Gujarat till the close of the eighth century A C. The aforementioned Hānsōt plates of Bhartrivaddha dated V 813 (756 A C) and the Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka, dated Ś 679 (757-58 A C) are incised in similar characters. As for numerical figures, there are only three used in the present grant, *viṣ*, 3, 4 and 6. Of these, the symbol for 3 occurs in this very form in the Gōṇḍal plates (Set A),

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, pl facing p 203

² *J. B B R A S*, Vol XVI, pl facing p 108

³ See the plate of the date in the *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 351. The dates of some earlier inscriptions recorded in the Gupta era are supposed to be in decimal figures (See, e.g., G 347 of Bhāṇḍarkar's *I. N I.* No. 1357, G 365 of No 1361 and G 387 of 1368). But they cannot be verified for want of facsimiles. Besides, later dates from the same locality such as G 386 of No 1367, G 403 of No 1370, etc., are known to be in numerical symbols, which raises a strong presumption that the earlier dates also were in similar letter-numerals.

⁴ Dr G S Gai has recently drawn attention to two earlier northern records, the dates of which are given in decimal figures, *viṣ*, the Sakrai stone inscription (V 699) and the Dhiniki grant of Jāikadēva (V 794), *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Institute*, Vol VI, pp 306 f. The evidence of both these records is, however, doubtful. The date of the former has also been read as V 879 and V 749 (*I. N I.*, No 23 and *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum* for 1933-34, p 2), while the latter is regarded as a forged document, see *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 198 and Vol XIX, pp 370-71.

⁵ Kaye also says that 'the ninth century A C is about the time when these symbols ceased to be fashionable for Indian inscriptions', *Ind Ant*, Vol XL, pp. 44-45.

⁶ Some other ideas such as fame being white like the moon and crossing the ocean are also common, but they are quite conventional and therefore afford no conclusive evidence of borrowing.

dated G 405 (724-25 A.C), while that for 4 occurs in a similar shape in the Kāsārē plates of Allaśakti (653 A.C) and in a somewhat modified form in still later records such as the aforementioned Gōndal plates. The symbol for 6 has a peculiar form rarely noticed elsewhere in early records as remarked by Mr Kaye,¹ but a somewhat similar form of the numeral is seen in the Shērgadh inscription of Dēvadatta, dated V 847 (790-91 A.C) and the Ghumli plates of Jāika II, dated G 596 (915 A.C)² It seems therefore, that the Mānkanī plates of Taralasvāmin was **forged** some time in the **second half of the eighth century A.C.**³ It affords no sure proof that the decimal notation was in vogue for Indian inscriptions as early as the sixth century A.C.

There is only one **place-name** mentioned in the present plates, **मङ्कानिका**⁴ which Mr Gadre has already shown to be identical with Mānkanī, where one of the plates was found

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [1*] स्वस्त्यवनतसामन्तामलमुकुटमणिनिधृष्टचरणयुगलारवीद् (विन्द) धन-
तुहिनरजतश-
- 2 ह्वकुन्दकुमुदेन्दुकरनिकरप्रताना⁷वदातयशोधवलितदिगन्तराल कटच्चुरि[कुल]वेश्मप्रदीप
- 3 श्रीमहाराजगण⁸स्तस्य सूनु प्रभञ्जन⁹ इवोद्धूतवीची[च]लित¹⁰शब्दत्रस्तमीनकुलाकुल-
भ्रान्ति-
- 4 प्रक्षोभित¹¹सलिलविलघितोदधिकीर्त्ति शिवचरणकमलाराधनपर श्रीसूर्यभावुक
- 5 ददात्मज शत्रुवनितावदनकमलशोभाभ्रान्तनिकर कल्पतरुरिवोपभुज्ज(ज्य)मानाक्षीण[वि]भ-
- 6 व स्वच्छो गामीर्य्यवा¹²नकलितसार स्थित्यतिक्रमभीरुदधिरिव विजितारातितमोजाल-
- 7 चन्द्रमा¹³ इव श्रीतरलस्वामी सर्वानेव स्वा¹⁴ राजपादीयाश्च बोधयत्यस्तु¹⁵ व सवि[दित] यथा
- 8 मया मङ्गलिकाग्रामे उत्तरसीम्नि चतुर्दिशाघाट बृ[ह*]न्मानेन ब्रीहिपिटक[वा]प क्षेत्र सशि-
- 9 बर सोद्रा(द्र)ङ्ग भूतवातप्रत्यायरहित¹⁶ जेष्ठसेन¹⁷ब्राह्मणजातूकर्णसगोत्रवाजि(ज)सने-

¹ See Table, *Ind Ant*, Vol XL, p 52

² *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVI, pl facing p 224 This date is expressed in decimal figures and not in numerical symbols

³ Kaye also regards this inscription as doubtful, *Ind Ant*, Vol XL, pp 53-54, n 2

⁴ The *Mahābhārata*, (Śalyaparvan, *Adhyāya* 38, vv 38 f) gives the story of the sage Mankanaka. The Naysāri plates of Karka II also mention the Mankanikābhukti, *J B B R A S*, Vol XX, pp 131 f

⁵ From an ink impression supplied by Mr A S Gadre

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁷ प्रतान is out of place here. It should rather be connected with यशः. Cf यशप्रतान- in the Kaira plates of Dadda, No 16, l 26

⁸ Read गण्ण । तस्य

⁹ It would be better to read विलघितप्रभञ्जनोद्धूतवीचीचलितशब्दत्रस्तमीनकुलाकुलभ्रान्तिप्रक्षोभितसलिलोदधिकीर्त्ति

¹⁰ The first *akṣhara* of this word is indistinct. Mr Gadre reads दलित which does not suit the context

¹¹ Read प्रक्षोभित. Compare अभ्रभोधीना चटुलतिमिकूलक्षोभितान्तर्जलाना in the *Mudrārākṣha*, III, 24. The two dots which follow सलिल are superfluous

¹² Mr Gadre reads गाम्भीर्य्य, but I do not see any clear trace of the subscript *r* in the second *akṣhara* of this word. Read गाम्भीर्य्य-

¹³ Read -इचन्द्रमा इव.

¹⁴ Read स्वान्

¹⁵ Read बोधयति । अस्तु

¹⁶ Mr Gadre reads भूतवातप्रत्यायरहित, but the *ā* stroke of *yā* in *pratyāyā* is quite clear. Besides, the expression, as read here, corresponds to सभूतवातप्रत्याय which often occurs in land-grants, see l. 23 of No 26, above

¹⁷ Read ज्येष्ठसेन. In the records of this period the word ब्राह्मण generally precedes the personal name. Besides, ब्राह्मणज्येष्ठसेनाय should follow, not precede जातूकर्णसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिणे.

- 10 यसब्रह्मचारिणे बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रहवनपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थम्¹

Second Plate

- 11 आचन्द्रार्काण्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्य²मुदकातिसर्गेण
 12 प्रतिपादि[त] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये [1*] अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या कृषत करि—
 13 षापयतो³ वा न कौ (कै)श्चिद्व्याषे (से) धे वर्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्मद्वड्शैर्वा⁴ सामान्य भूमि—
 14 दानफलमवेत्यायमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्त⁵ च भगवता व्या—
 15 सेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसु[धा] भुक्ता राजभि सा(स)गरादिभि⁶ [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 16 तदा फलं (लम्)⁷ ॥ [१॥*] प्रष्टि⁸वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मौदती⁹ भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता
 चानुम[न्ता] च तान्ये—
 17 व नरके वसे[त्*] ॥ [२॥*] विध्या(न्ध्या)टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [1*] कृष्णसर्पा-
 भिजायन्ते¹⁰
 18 ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[] ॥ [३॥*] यानीह दत्ता[नि] पु[रा] नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धम्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*]
 निम्मर्मा—
 19 ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[] पुनराददीत¹¹ ॥ [४॥*] लिखित चात्र सान्धिवि-
 ग्रहिकेना—¹²
 20 दित्यभोगिकेन । सवत्सरशतत्रय¹³ षट्चत्वारिंशद्वत्त[र]के¹⁴ ॥ ३४६¹⁵

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail ! (*There was*) the *Mahārāja Nanna*, a light in the house of the *Katach-churi* family, the lotus-like pair of whose feet was scratched by the jewels on the bright-diadems of feudatories who bowed (*before him*), (*and*) whose fame, white like thick snow, silver, a conch, a *kunda* flower, a *kumuda*¹⁶ (lotus) and a mass of the moon's rays, brightened the space between the quarters

(Line 3) His son, the illustrious *Taralasvāmin*,—whose fame has crossed the ocean, the water of which is agitated by the confused darting of fishes terrified by the roar of surging waves produced by wind, who is intent on adoring the lotus-like feet of *Śiva*, who is the sister's husband of the illustrious *Sūrya* and the son of *Dadā*, who has caused the beauty of the lotus-like faces of (*his*) enemies' wives to fade, who resembles the wish-

¹ Mr Gadre reads *mā*, but the *ā* stroke is not distinct. Besides, the smaller form of the letter shows that it is a final consonant.

² Read भोज्य—

³ Read कृषत कर्षयतो

⁴ Read —स्मद्वश्यैर्वा

⁵ Read पालयितव्यश्चेति । उक्त

⁶ The dot in the circle denoting the medial *z* of *dz* and *bh* seems to be due to a fault in the copper.

⁷ Metre of this and the following verse. *Anushtubh*

⁸ Read षष्टि

⁹ Read मौदति

¹⁰ Read कृष्णसर्पा हि जायन्ते

¹¹ Metre *Indravagā*

¹² Read —विग्रहिकेणादित्य—

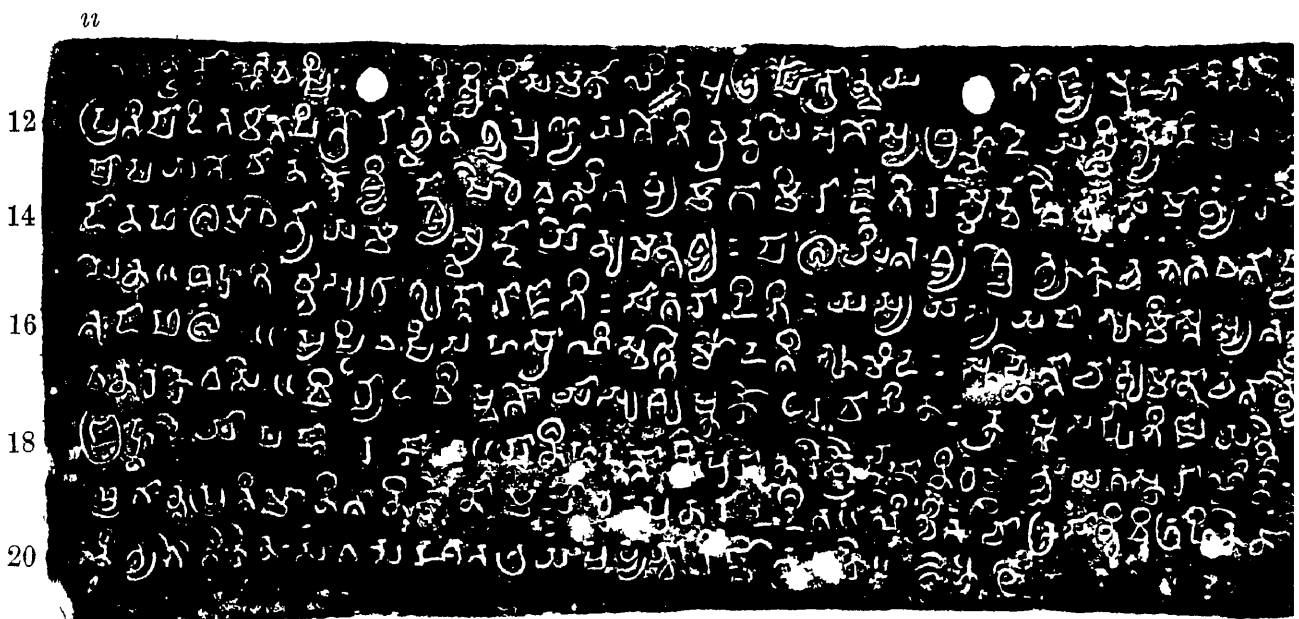
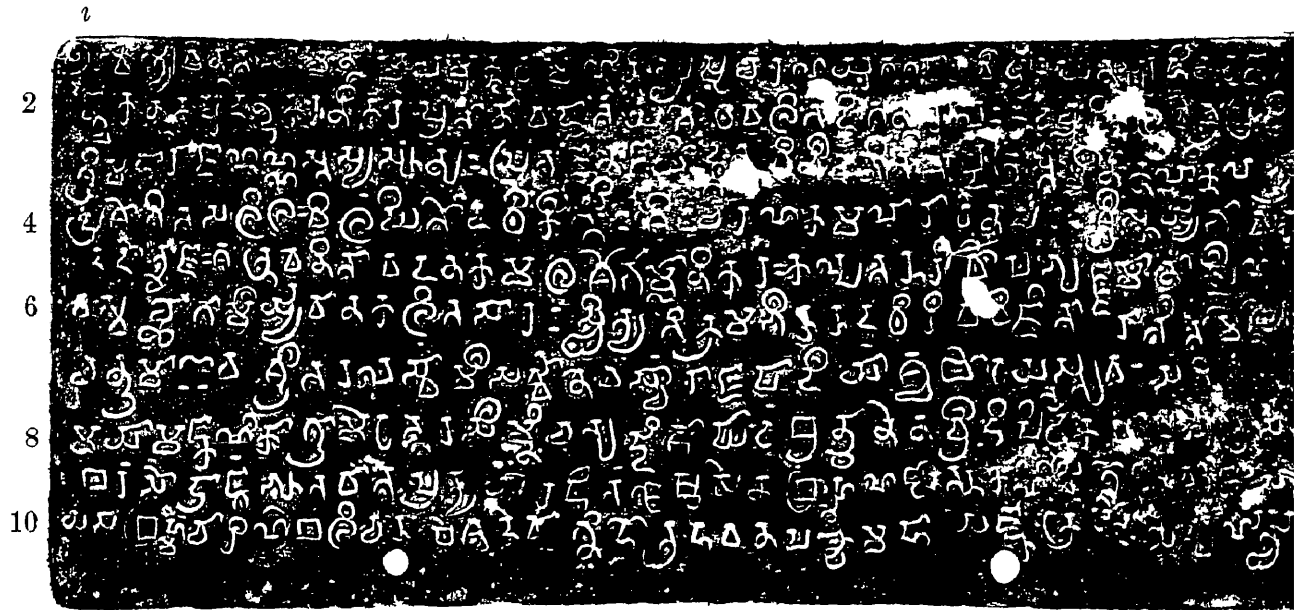
¹³ Read सवत्सरशतत्रये

¹⁴ Read षट्चत्वारिंशद्वत्तरे

¹⁵ For this date which is written in decimal figures, see above, p. 161

¹⁶ *Kumuda* is a white lotus

SPURIOUS MANKANI PLATES OF TARALASVAMIN (KALACHURI) YEAR 346



fulfilling tree as his undiminishing wealth is enjoyed (*by supplicants*); who resembles the ocean, being pure (*as the ocean is clear*), serene (*as the ocean is deep*), of ungauged strength (*as the ocean's wealth is unmeasured*), and afraid of transgressing the laws of moral conduct (*even as the ocean is afraid of overflowing the shore*), and who overcomes his foes even as the moon dispels a mass of darkness,—informs all his officers as well as those of the venerable King as follows —

(L 7) “Be it known to you that for the increase of religious merit and fame of (*My*) mother and father and of Myself, I have granted, with a libation of water, a field requiring for its seed-grains a *pitaka* of paddy by the large measure,—which is marked by boundaries in the four directions, (*and is situated*) on the northern boundary of the village **Mañkanikā**, together with *śibara* (*farm-house*) (*and*) *udranga*, octroi and excise duties, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmana Jyēsthāsēna of the Jātūkarna *gōtra*, (*who is*) a student of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*, for the performance of the five great sacrifices (*such as*) *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva* and *agnihōtra* offerings

(L 12) Wherefore, none should act in such a way as to obstruct him while he is cultivating it or causing it to be cultivated according to the manner of a gift made to a Brāhmana. And future kings, whether born in Our family or others, considering that the reward of a gift of land is shared in (*by him who for the time being is the ruler of the land*), should consent and preserve this Our gift”

(L. 14) And the holy Vyāsa has said —

(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 19) This charter has been written by the *Sāndhivagrahika*, the *Bhōgika* Āditya. In the year three hundred increased by forty-six, (*in figures*), 346

No 34, Plate XXVIII

SPURIOUS KAIRA PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA (KALACHURI?) YEAR 394

THESE copper-plates were found together with three other sets¹ of plates about 1827 in the town **Kairā**, the headquarters of the Kairā District in Northern Gujarat, Bombay State. They were published, with lithographs and a translation, by Prof J Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series), Vol I (1865), pp 247 ff. They were subsequently edited with fresh lithographs and a translation by Dr Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VII, pp 241 ff. The plates are now deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. They are edited here from excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Society.

Dr Fleet has thus described the copper-plates — “The plates are two in number, about 13½" long by 8¾" broad. Their edges are slightly raised, so as to form a rim to protect the writing. They are pierced with holes for two rings, but the rings are not now forthcoming, and I cannot trace any mention of them, or of the seal that must have been on one of them.” The plates are in a state of good preservation. The record consists of thirty-four lines, of which twenty-one are inscribed on the first plate and the remaining thirteen on the second. The average size of the letters is .15”

The characters belong to what Dr Buhler has called the archaic variety of the southern alphabet², which is found used in the charters of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

¹ Two of these were Nos 16 and 17 above. The third has not been traced

² I P, p 65

As regards individual letters, we may notice that the initial *u* which occurs in *uktam*, l. 28, is closely similar to *t* as in *Vindhyātavi*-, l. 29, the loop of the initial *ē* is closed on the left, see *ēsha*, l. 10, the length of medial *i* is denoted either by a curve curling to the left as in *-pīdita*-, l. 7, or by a double circle as in *Hārīti*-, ll 2-3, the curve of the medial *ri* is turned in some cases to the left, see, e g., *-pītri*-, l. 8, *-vridhayē*, l. 11, *-sadriś*-, ll 26-27, and in others to the right, see *-kripana*-, l. 8, *-patal-āvrita*-, l. 27, the stroke for the medial *ē* encircles the letter on the left, see *-amvayē*, l. 3, similarly the left-hand *mātrā* for the medial *ō* and the lower of the two *mātrās* representing medial *ai* also encircle their respective letters, see *-dāyō*-, l. 27 and *Vaiśākha*-, l. 11; in *narēndraś*, l. 32, on the other hand, the two left-hand strokes of the medial *ai* are placed one beyond the other, the medial *ō* is, in some places, shown with a loop, see *sva-bāhu-balō*-, l. 6, and consequently medial *au* is bipartite, *kh* appears without a loop except in the last two lines of the record, *t* has a flat horizontal stroke at the top; neither *t* nor *n* is looped, except in their subscript forms, see, e g., *-prasanna*-, l. 1, *-āgni*-, l. 24, = *samyukta*, l. 28 and *haranti*, l. 30, the subscript *th* is roundish in *stūty*-, l. 2 and curled in *-udayasthō*, l. 4, the subscript *v* is distinguished from *y* only by its right arm not being raised to the top-line. In some cases *m* appears similar to *sh*, which has misled the engraver into incising *-numēvi* for *-mshēvi* in l. 7. The final form of *n* occurs in l. 26, and that of *t* in ll 28 and 29. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* is seen in l. 32 and the numerical symbols for 300, 90, 10, 5 and 4 in l. 34.

The language is Sanskrit. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out,¹ the description of the donor's family in the first two lines of the present inscription is identical with that occurring in the beginning of the grants of the Early Kātachchuris.² Again, the description of Vijayarāja in ll 5-8 almost literally agrees with that of Sankaragana in the Kātachchuri grants.³ In copying the latter, the draftsman of the present inscription seems to have inadvertently omitted the expression *bhūri-dāyina-viśrānan-āvāpta-dharma-kriyā* after *samyak-prajā-pālan-ādhyagata* in l. 7. In its absence the latter expression cannot be satisfactorily interpreted. In the next two expressions *dīn-āndha-kripana-bhē(śa)nan-āgata-vatsalaś* and *yath-ābhilashita-phala-pradō* he has, to some extent, altered the original adjectives. Besides, in the formal part of the grant he has drawn upon some inscription, like the Bagumrā plates, of the Sēndrakas, for the expressions in ll. 25-27 of the present record agree almost literally with those in ll 27-29 of the Bagumrā plates.⁴ That the writer had a very imperfect knowledge of the Sanskrit language is shown by the expression *-kūvalaya-tara-yaśasaś*, in which, while comparing Jayasimha's fame with a blue lotus (!), he adds the comparative affix *tara* to a noun and uses the wrong grammatical form *-yaśasaś* for *-yaśāś*. As regards orthography, we find the consonant following *r* doubled in some cases, and *ri* used for the vowel *ri* in *prithivyām*, l. 5.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Vijayarāja, the son of Buddhavarman, who was himself the son of Jayasimha of the Chalukya dynasty. The plates purport to have been issued from the king's victorious camp at Vijayapura and to register the grant of the village Pariyaya which was situated to the east of Sandhiyara in the *viśaya* of Kāśākula. The land, or rather the revenue of the village, was divided into 55½ *pattikās*⁵ (shares) which were distributed among 63 Brāhmanas, each getting from one-half

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 296

² Compare ll 1-2 of the present inscription with ll 1-3 of the Ābhōna plates of Śankaragana, above, No. 12

³ Compare ll 5-7 of the present record with ll 10-13 of the Ābhōna plates, above, No. 12.

⁴ The draftsman has, to some extent, altered the original expressions and changed their order.

⁵ *Paṭi*, *pāṭi*, and *pattī* occur in the Hīrahadagallī grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Buhler derived them from Sanskrit *prāpti* 'produce' or 'income', see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 8, n. 17.

to three *pattikās*. The donees were all residents of **Jambūsara** and students of the **Kāṇva śākhā** of the **Vājasaneya** or White Yajurveda. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. The grant was made on the full-moon day of **Vaiśākha** in the year 394 of an unspecified era. Both the *tithi* and the year are expressed in words as well as numerical symbols. The *Dātaka* was the **Vāsāpaka Nanna**. The charter was written by the *Mahāsandhivigrahādhipakṛita* **Khuddasvāmin** and incised by the Kshatriya **Mātrīsimha**.

Most of the places mentioned in the present grant were identified by Dr. Buhler.¹ **Pariyaya**, the granted village, is the modern **Pariyā**, seven miles east of **Olpād**, the headquarters of the **Olpād tālukā** of the **Surat District**. **Sandhiyara**, which lay to its west, is identical with **Sandhiyar**, two miles to the west of **Pariyā**. The *vishaya* of **Kāsākula**, in which these places were situated, must have comprised the country on the northern bank of the **Tāpti**. The same *vishaya* is mentioned in the **Antrōli-Chhārōli** plates, dated **Śaka 679**, of the **Gujarat Rāshtrakūta** prince **Karkarāja**.² I identify **Kāsākula** with the modern **Kachchōl**, 4 miles to the south-west of **Olpād**. All these places are situated to the south of the **Kīm** which formed the northern boundary of the **Chālukyan** dominion in South Gujarat. **Jambūsara** still retains its ancient name unchanged, and lies about 30 m to the north of **Broach**. **Vijayapura**, from which the plates purport to have been issued cannot be definitely identified. It may be either **Vijāpur** of the **Panch Mahals**, or the headquarters of the **Vijāpur** sub-division in the **Baroda District**.³ In either case it lies to the north of the **Kīm** and, therefore, outside the **Chālukyan** territory. We shall, therefore, have to suppose that **Vijayarāja** made the present grant in the course of a military campaign in the **Gurjara** kingdom.

The date of the present inscription does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details. The era to which it appertains has long been a matter of controversy. Fleet at first referred the date to the **Śaka** era and took it as equivalent to 472-3 A.C.⁴ He was inclined to identify **Jayasimha** who heads the genealogical list in the present grant with **Jayasimha I** of the **Early Chālukya Dynasty**, and as the **Chālukyas** in some of their later records represent themselves as having originally come from the north, he came to the conclusion that **Vijayarāja** and his ancestors were ruling in Gujarat until their power was subverted and their family expelled by the **Gurjara** kings or by the kings of **Valabhī**. Later on, Fleet abandoned this theory and proposed to identify⁵ the grandfather of **Vijayarāja** with **Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman**, who is represented in the **Nirpan** plates⁶ as a younger brother of **Pulakeśin II**, or with **Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman** who appears in the **Navsārī**⁷ and **Balsār**⁸ plates as a younger brother of **Vikramāditya I**. Consequently, he referred the date of the present grant to the **Chēdī era** and took it to correspond to 643 A.C. These identifications also are not free from difficulties. For, as regards the first, Fleet himself has doubted the genuineness of the **Nirpan** plates,⁹ from which alone we know of a brother of **Pulakeśin II**, named **Dharāśraya-Jayasimha**. As regards the second, **Pandit Bhagvanlal**

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 197.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 359, n. 3.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 242.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 292.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 123.

⁷ No. 27, above.

⁸ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 358.

pointed out¹ that if the date is taken to correspond to 642-3 A. C., Vijayarāja would be ruling about twenty-five years before his grand-uncle, Vikramāditya I, who flourished between 670 and 680 A. C.² The Pandit, therefore, proposed to refer the date to the Gupta era and take it as equivalent to 713 A. C. This presents no chronological difficulties. For, Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, was ruling at Navsārī in Southern Gujarat from 671 A. C. to 693 A. C.³ If Vijayarāja was his grandson, it is not improbable that he should be ruling twenty-one years after Jayasimha's latest known date.

But the grant is probably spurious. As pointed out by Dr R G Bhandarkar,⁴ it is not in the regular Chālukyan style. There is no invocation of the boar-incarnation in the beginning, and none of the princes mentioned in it receive any titles and *birudas* as in other genuine Chālukyan grants. In no other record of the Early Chālukyas, again, do we find such a wholesale borrowing from Kātachchuri grants. This cannot be attributed to the Gujarat draftsman's ignorance of the forms of Chālukyan records, for the earlier grants of Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya, which were drafted in Gujarat, are in the approved Chālukyan style. Pandit Bhagvanlal supposed⁵ that Jayasimha might have conquered part of North Gujarat and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it, but, as shown above, the donated village was situated in the Surat District in South Gujarat. We have, therefore, to suppose that Vijayarāja was ruling over South Gujarat for some time between 693 A. C., the last known date of Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya, and 731 A. C., the date of his brother Mangalarasarāja. In that case this would be the only instance of the use of the Gupta era in South Gujarat; for, so far as our knowledge goes, the Kalachuri era was exclusively used in Gujarat down to the middle of the eighth century A. C. It is again noteworthy that the present grant was found with two others of Dadda II at Kairā and that many of the donees mentioned in it figure also in the latter grants.⁶ It is therefore, not unlikely that it was forged in favour of the descendants of those Brāhmanas by someone who was ignorant of the form of Chālukyan records.⁷ Its date 394 was intended to refer to the same era as the genuine Gurjara grants of K. 380 and K. 385, and thus to correspond to 693 or 694 A. C., when the

¹ *Ibid*, Vol I, part 1, p 110

² Since then the beginning of Vikramāditya I's reign has been fixed in 654-55 A. C., *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 102.

³ Above, Nos 27 and 30

⁴ *E H D*, pp 77 f

⁵ *Bom Gaz*, Vol I, part 1, p 110

⁶ As many as twelve names are common to the three grants, *viz*, Ādityaravi, Indrasūra and Īśvaia of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Āvuka of the Dhūmrāyana *gōtra*, Bhatti and Drōna of the Daundakīya *gōtra*, Viśākha, Dhara and Nandin of the Māthara *gōtra*, Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra* and Gōpāditya and Viśākha of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Again, the following persons mentioned in the Chālukya and Gurjara grants respectively are probably identical: Tāpīsūra and Tāvīsūra of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Dāma and Dāmadhara of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, Tāvīśarman and Tāpīśarman of the Daundakīya *gōtra*, Sēla and Śaīla of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, Vatraśarman and Vātaśarman of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, Rāma and Rāmīla of the Māthara *gōtra*.

⁷ On the back of the plates there is a cancelled inscription, for which, see Dr Fleet's account in *Ind Ant*, Vol VII, pp 251 ff. It contains the names of many donees figuring in the present record and has the same date as the latter, but its opening words indicate that it purported to be granted like the spurious plates of Dadda II from the Vijaya-vikshēpa (victorious capital?) Nāndīpurī. It may have been realized after it was incised that the Chālukyas could not have ruled from Nāndīpurī in K. 394 as the Gurjaras were in continuous occupation of the surrounding territory from at least K. 380 to K. 486. So the inscription was cancelled and another written on the back of the plates. The writers of the two inscriptions were different persons, for the characters in which they are incised differ in certain respects as shown by Dr Fleet (*ibid*, p 251). For another reason conjectured by Dr Fleet, see *loc cit*, p 253.

Brāhmaṇa donees common to the three grants may have been living. That this date is impossible has been shown above. The borrowing of some expressions from the formal part of Sēndraka grants indicates that the present record must have been forged some time after the middle of the seventh century A. C.¹

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ [1*] स्वस्ति[1*] विजयस्कन्धावा[रात्]⁴ [वि]जयपु[स्वासकात्] शरदुपगम—
प्रसन्नगगनतलविमलविपु[ले] विविधपु[र]षर[त्न]गुण—
- 2 निकरावभासिते महासत्त्वा(त्त्वा)पाश्र्वयदु[र्ल]घ्ये गाभीर्यवति स्थित्यनुपालनपरे महोदधाविव
[मान]व्यसगोत्रा[णा] हा—
- 3 रीतिपुत्राणा स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्याताना चलुक्यानाम[न्व]ये व्यपगतसजलजलधरपटलगगन—
तलगतशिशिरकर—
- 4 किरणकुवलयतरयशस⁵ श्रीजयसिहराज [1*] तस्य सुत प्रबलरिपुतिमिरपटलभि[द्व]र सततमुद—
यस्थो नक्तन्दिव—
- 5 मप्यखण्डितप्रतापो दी(दि)वाकर इव वल्लभरणविक्रान्तश्रीबुद्धवर्म्मराज [1*] तस्य सूनु
प्रिथिव्या⁶मप्रतिरथ चतुर्दधिस[लि]ला—
- 6 स्वादितयशो⁷ धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमप्रभाव स्वबाहुबलोपात्तोर्जि[त]राजश्री⁸ प्रतापातिशयोपन—
तसमग्रसामन्तम—
- 7 ण्डल परस्परापीडितधम्मा(र्म्मा)र्थकामनिमेवी⁹ प्रणतिमात्रसुपरितोषगभीरोन्नतहृदय सम्यक्प्रजा—
पालनाधिगत¹⁰ दीना—
- 8 न्धकृपणभे(श)रणागतवत्सल यथाभिलषितफलप्रदो मातापितृपादानुध्यात श्रीविजयराजस्सर्वा—
नेव विषयपतिराष्ट्र—
- 9 ग्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु¹¹ वस्सविदितमस्माभिर्यथा काशाकुलविषयान्तर्गत स—
न्धियरपूव्विण¹² परिय—

¹ For another similar spurious grant purporting to have been made by the Chalukya prince Buddhavarasa, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I, see *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIV, pp. 144 ff. Like the present grant, it has borrowed some expressions from the earlier Bagumrā plates of the Sēndraka Allasakti, in II 10-11, and seems to have been forged in the second half of the seventh century A. C., as shown by Sten Konow, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIV, p. 146

² From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society, London

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed

⁵ The draftsman evidently had before him the expression व्यपगतसजलजलधरपटलव्योमतलगतशरदिन्दु-किरणधवलतरयशोवितानलधिताभोधि in some Sēndraka record like Bagumrā plates of Allasakti. He has blundered in substituting कुवलयतर for धवलतर. Read धवलतरयशा

⁶ Read पृथिव्या—

⁷ Read —यशा

⁸ Fleet's proposal to read राज्यश्री is unnecessary

⁹ Read निषेवी. Fleet read निमो(मो)ची, but the correct reading was pointed out by Kielhorn in *Ep Ind*, Vol. VI, p. 296, n. 4

¹⁰ The writer had before him the expression सम्यक्प्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावाप्तधर्मक्रिय in the Katachchun grants, but he inadvertently omitted the latter part of it. As it stands, it would be better to read it as सम्यक्प्रजापालनरत

¹¹ Read समनुदर्शयति । अस्तु व सविदित यथास्माभि

¹² Read —पूव्वण

- 10 य एष ग्रामः सोद्वगः सोपरिकर सर्व्यं (र्वं) दित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीण भूमिच्छिद्र¹न्यायेना-
चाटभटप्रावेश्य जबूस-
- 11 रसामान्यमा (वा) जसनेयकाण्वाध्वर्य्यं (र्य्यु) सन्नह्यचारीणा² मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-
वृद्धये वैशाखपूर्णमास्यामुदकाति-
- 12 सगर्णेण प्रतिपादित [1*] भरद्वाजसगोत्रादित्यरवे.³ पत्तिके द्वे इन्द्रशूराय पत्तिका ताविशूराय
द्वय[र्धं]पत्तिका [ई]श्वरस्यार्द्धपत्तिका
- 13 दामाय पत्तिका द्रोणायार्धपत्तिका अत्तस्वामिने अर्धपत्तिका माइलायार्धपत्तिका षष्ठिदेवायार्ध-
पत्तिका सोमायार्धपत्तिका रामश-
- 14 र्म्मणेर्द्धपत्तिका भाय्यायार्धपत्तिका द्रोणधरायार्धपत्तिका [1*] धूम्रायणसगोत्रावुकाय दिवर्ध⁴-
पत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका ॥ दौण्डकीय-
- 15 सगोत्रभट्टेः पत्तिका समुद्राय दिवर्ध⁴पत्तिका द्रोणाय पट्टिका⁵त्रय ताविश[र्म्म]णे पत्तिके द्वे
भट्टि[ने]र्द्धपत्तिका । वत्राय पत्तिका
- 16 द्रोणशर्म्मणेर्द्धपत्तिका द्वितीयद्रोणशर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका ॥ काश्यपसगोत्रवप्स्वामिने तिस्र पट्टिका
दुर्गशर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका दत्ताया-
- 17 यार्धपत्तिका ॥ कौण्डिन(न्य)सगोत्रवादाया⁶ दिवर्ध⁷पत्तिका सेलाय पत्तिका द्रोणाय पत्तिका
सोमायार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका
- 18 वत्रशम्म (र्म्म) णेर्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका ॥ माठरसगो[त्र]विशाखाय पत्तिका धराय पत्ति-
का नन्दिने पत्तिका कुमाराय पत्तिका
- 19 रामाय पत्तिका बाश्त्रस्या (श्राया) र्धपत्तिका गणायार्धपत्तिका कोर्दुवायार्धपत्तिका भायि[भ]ट्टायार्ध-
पत्तिका नर्म्मणेर्धपत्तिका रामशर्म्मणेर्ध-
- 20 पत्तिका ॥ हारितसगोत्रधर्म्मधराय दिवर्ध⁷पत्तिका ॥ वैष्णवसगोत्रभट्टिने पत्तिका ॥ गौतम-
सगोत्रधरायार्धपत्तिका अम्मधरा-
- 21 यार्धपत्तिका सेलायार्धपत्तिका ॥ शाण्डिलसगोत्रदामायार्धपत्तिका लक्ष्मणसगोत्रकावर्कस्य पत्तिका [1*]

Second Plate

- 22 वत्ससगोत्रगोपादित्याय पत्तिका विशाखायार्द्धपत्तिका शूरायार्धपत्तिका भायिस्वामिनेर्धपत्तिका
यक्षशर्मा-⁸
- 23 र्धपत्तिका ताविशूराय पत्तिका ककु(र्क)स्यार्धपत्तिका ताविशम्म (र्म्म) णेर्धपत्तिका शर्म्मणे⁹र्धपत्तिका
कुमारायार्धपत्तिका
- 24 मात्रीश्वरायार्धपत्तिका बाटलायार्धपत्तिका [1*] एतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादि-
क्रियोत्सर्पणात्थं आचन्द्रार्कान्वक्षि-
- 25 तिस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य. [1*] यत¹⁰स्मद्वश्यैर[न्यै]र्वागामिभोगपतिभि-
स्सामान्य¹¹ भूप्रदानफलेप्सुभि नलवेणुकदलि-

¹ Read भूमिच्छिद्र-

² Read सन्नह्यचारिभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो

³ The engraver first incised रवि and then thought of altering it to रवे

⁴ Read द्वयर्ध-

⁵ Fleet read पत्तिका, but the second *akshara* is clearly *tt*

⁶ Read वादाय The following *akshara* which Fleet thought quite unintelligible is clearly *di* The mark above it is of the subscript *m* in *Drōṇasarmmanē* of the line above

⁷ Read द्वयर्ध-

⁸ Read यक्षशर्म्मणे

⁹ The name of the *Brāhmana* is inadvertently omitted here

¹⁰ Read यतोस्मद्वश्यै-

¹¹ The *anusvāra* on न्य is clear Read सामान्यभूप्रदान-

- 26 सार ससारमुदधिजलवीचीचपलांश्च भोगान् प्रबलपवनाहताश्वत्थपत्रचचला च श्रिय कुसुमित-
शिरीषकुसुमसदृ-
27 शापाय च यौवनमाकलय्य अयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य पालयितव्यश्च[1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-
वृतमतिराच्छि¹द्यादाच्छि-
28 द्यमान वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सयुक्त[.*] स्यात् [1*] उक्त च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
29 [ग्गे] वसति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता च्या(चा)नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्² [11१॥*] विन्ध्या-
टवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1] कृष्णाह-
30 यो हि जायन्ते भूमिदाय हरन्ति ये ॥[२॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभि [1*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य
31 तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥[३॥*] पूर्व्वदत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही महिमतां
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन(नम्) ॥[४॥*] यानीह
32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्व्वान्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधुपुनराददीत³ ॥[४॥*] संवत्सर-
33 तत्रये चतुर्नवत्यधिके वैशाखपौर्णमास्या नक्षवासापकदूतक लिखित महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतेन खुद्-
(ङ्गु?) स्वा-
34 मिना ॥ संवत्सर ॥⁴ ३०० ९० ४ वैशाख शु १० ५॥ क्षत्रियमातृसिहेनोत्कीर्णानि⁵ [11*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! From the victorious camp fixed at Vijayapura—

In the family of the Chalukyas, the sons (*i.e.*, descendants) of Hārīti, who are of the Mānavya *gōtra* and meditate on the feet of Svāmī Mahāsēna,—which (family),⁶ like the great ocean, is stainless and extensive like the firmament clear on the advent of autumn, which is made resplendent by the multitude of manifold excellences of the men (*born in it*), as the ocean is by the multitude of the rays of its gems, which is difficult to overcome, being the resort of men of great courage, as the ocean is difficult to cross, being the asylum of large animals, which is endowed with serenity and is intent on observing the rules of moral conduct, as the ocean is deep and is determined to remain within its bounds,—(*there was*) the illustrious Jayasimharāja whose fame was more (*splendid*) than a blue lotus⁷ under the rays of the moon in the expanse of the sky from which multitudes of water-laden clouds have disappeared

(Line 4) His son (*was*) the Vallabha, Raṇavikrānta, the illustrious Buddhavar-
marāja, who, like the sun, was ever-rising, had his brilliance undiminished both by night and by day, and destroyed his powerful foes, even as the sun dispels a mass of darkness

(L 5) His son, the illustrious Vijayarāja,—who has on the earth no adversary (*worthy of him*),⁸ whose fame has tasted the water of the four oceans, whose prowess equals

¹ Read —राच्छिन्धा—

² Metre of this and the following two verses *Anushtubh*

³ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

⁵ Read —नोत्कीर्णम्

⁶ The description of the royal family which follows is taken from the records of the Katachchuris, see above, p 41

⁷ The writer should have said 'whiter than the rays of the moon *etc*'. Compare above, p 119, ll 10-11

⁸ The description is copied from Katachchuri grants, see above, p. 41, ll 10-15

that of Dhanada (*i. e.*, Kubēra), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (*i. e.*, Yama); who, by the might of his arms, has acquired the fortune of powerful kings, to whom the whole circle of neighbouring kings has submitted, (*being subdued*) by his great prowess; who is engaged in the acquisition of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, which (*in his case*) never come into conflict with one another, whose serene and noble heart is highly pleased by mere submission, who is engaged in properly protecting his subjects,¹ who is kind to distressed, blind (*and*) poor people and those who seek refuge with him; who grants rewards as desired (*by supplicants*), (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—addresses all the heads of *viśhayas*, the *Mahattaras* of *rāshtras* and villages, officials and others (*as follows*) —

(L. 9) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of Ourselves, We have granted with a libation of water on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, this village (*namely*) **Pariyaya**, (*lying*) to the east of **Sandhiyaya**, (*and*) situated in the *viśhaya* of **Kāśākula**,—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*, exclusive of all gifts, forced labour and special rights, (*which is*) not to be entered by *chātas* and *bhātas* according to the maxim of waste land, (*and*) which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons’ sons as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean (*and*) the earth will endure—to all (*the following Brāhmanas*) who are students of the Kāṇva (*śākhā*) of the Vājasaneyā Adhvaryu (Vēda)² and belong to the community (*residing*) at **Jambūsara**, for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agnihōtra* and other religious rites. (*Their shares are as follows* —) To Ādityaravi of the Bharadvāja *gōtra* two *pattikās*,³ to Indraśūra, a *pattikā*, to Tāviśūra, two and a half *pattikās*, to Išvara, half a *pattikā*, to Dāma, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇa, half a *pattikā*, to Attasvāmin, half a *pattikā*, to Māila, half a *pattikā*, to Shashthidēva, half a *pattikā*, to Sōma, half a *pattikā*, to Rāmaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to Bhāyya, half a *pattikā*, to Drōṇadhara, half a *pattikā*,—to Āvuka of the Dhūmrāyana *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*; to Śūra, half a *pattikā*,—to Bhatti of the Daundakiya *gōtra*, a *pattikā*; to Samudra, two and a half *pattikās*, to Drōṇa, three *pattikās*; to Tāviśarman, two *pattikās*; to Bhattin, half a *pattikā*, to Vatra, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇaśarman, half a *pattikā*; to the second Drōṇaśarman, half a *pattikā*,—to Vappasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, three *pattikās*, to Durgasarman, half a *pattikā*, to Datta, half a *pattikā*,—to Vāda of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*, to Sēla, a *pattikā*; to Drōṇa, a *pattikā*, to Sōma, half a *pattikā*, to Sēla, half a *pattikā*, to Vatraśarman, half a *pattikā*, to Bhāyisvāmin, half a *pattikā*,—to Viśākha of the Māthara *gōtra*, a *pattikā*, to Dhara, a *pattikā*, to Nandin, a *pattikā*, to Kumāra, a *pattikā*; to Rāma, a *pattikā*, to Bāśra, half a *pattikā*, to Gana, half a *pattikā*, to Kōrdduva, half a *pattikā*, to Bhāyibhatta, half a *pattikā*, to Narman, half a *pattikā*, to Ramaśarman, half a *pattikā*,—to Dharmadhara of the Hārīta *gōtra*, two and a half *pattikās*,—to Bhattin of the Vaiṣṇava *gōtra*, a *pattikā*,—to Dhara of the Gautama *gōtra*, half a *pattikā*, to Ammadhara, half a *pattikā*, to Sēla, half a *pattikā*;—to Dāma of the Sāṇḍila *gōtra*, half a *pattikā*,—to Kārka of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a *pattikā*;—to Gōpāditya of the Vatsa *gōtra*, a *pattikā*, to Viśākha, half a *pattikā*, to Śūra, half a *pattikā*, to Bhāyisvāmin, half a *pattikā*; to Yakshaśarman, half a *pattikā*, to Tāviśūra, a *pattikā*, to Karka, half a *pattikā*, to Tāviśarman, half a *pattikā*; to —śarman,⁴ half a *pattikā*, to Kumāra, half a *pattikā*, to Matrīśvara, half a *pattikā*; to Bātala, half a *pattikā*.

¹ See above, p. 169, n. 10.

² *I. e.*, the *Yajurveda*

³ Both the forms *pattikā* and *pattikā* occur in the text

⁴ See above, p. 170 n. 9

(L. 25) Wherefore, future rulers, whether born in our family or others,—who are desirous of acquiring the common reward of the gift of land, having realized that worldly existence possesses as (*little*) worth as reeds and bamboos (*possess sap*), that objects of enjoyment are as impermanent as the waves of the ocean-water, that fortune is as unsteady as the leaves of the *aśvattha* tree struck by a strong wind, (*and*) that youth is liable to fade like a flower of a blossoming *śrīṣha* tree,—should consent to and preserve this our gift. He, who with his mind shrouded by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, confiscates it or allows it to be confiscated, shall incur the five great sins.”

(L. 28) And it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas—
(*Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L. 32) In the year three hundred increased by ninety-four on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (*this charter*), of which the *Vāsāpaka*¹ Nanna is the *Dūtaka*, has been written by the *Mahāsandhviagrahādhiṣṭhita* Khuddasvāmin. The year 300 (*and*) 90 (*and*) 4 (*the month*) Vaiśākha, the bright (*fortnight*), (*the lunar day*) 10 (*and*) 5. (*This charter has been*) incised by the Kshatriya Matrisimha.

¹ *Vāsāvaka* (or *Vāsāpaka*) was apparently an officer whose duty was to arrange for the residence of touring royal officers and strangers, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, p 202

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALACHURIS OF TRIPURI

No. 35; PLATE XXIX A

SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription, though listed in the first edition of R B Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C P and Berar*, published in 1916, was very briefly noticed only in the second edition of that work, published in 1931. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined *in situ* and from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.¹

At Saugor, the chief town of the Saugor District in the State of Madhya Pradesh, a number of sculptures were collected from the neighbouring places many years ago² and built up into small imitation kiosks in the four corners of the garden of a military mess-house. The inscription is incised on a slab of red sand-stone fixed on the top of a panel of the same kind of stone which is built into one of those kiosks. In the panel below, the principal figures are those of a man who has folded his hands in salutation and a woman, probably his wife, who has placed her right hand on the head of a small female figure, evidently their daughter, who also stands with folded hands. Behind the male figure appears a horse and behind the latter, another male figure, apparently a groom, holding the reins of the horse.³

The record has been very much worn away by exposure to weather. It consists of five lines, of which the last one commences in the centre. Several *aksharas* in the last three lines have become more or less indistinct. The average size of letters is 1". The characters are of the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the stone inscription at Chhōti Deori.⁴ The form of the initial *z* is, however, different, since the curve below the two dots is here open at the top; *z* has not yet developed a vertical at the top, in its subscript form, the letter is laid on its side, see *-bhattāraka-* in l. 2, *j* still retains its three horizontal bars, see *-Mahārājādhirāja*, l. 1; *p* is open at the top while *v*, which resembles its upper portion, is closed, see *-pravarddhamāna-*, l. 2, the lower end of the wedge of *r* is in some cases very much elongated, see *-Paramēśvara-*, l. 3. These palaeographic peculiarities indicate that the record probably belongs to the middle of the eighth century A C.⁵ The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* the illustrious *Śaṅkaragaṇadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmarājadēva*.⁶ This is the oldest record in which the name of *Vāmarājadēva* is mentioned

¹ This inscription has since been edited by me in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVII, pp 163 f

² *Saugor District Gazetteer*, p 257

³ For a photograph of this panel, see the plate facing p 154 in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*

⁴ No. 36, below

⁵ Hiralal also called this inscription the oldest Kalachuri record (in Madhya Pradesh), but he referred it to the fourth quarter of the ninth century A C, as he thought that the king Śaṅkaragana mentioned in it was identical with the homonymous prince who was the son of Kōkalladēva [1]. See his *Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (second ed), p 49

⁶ Hiralal doubtfully read this name as *Vāgharājadēva*, *ibid*, p 49. My personal examination of the record *in situ* has convinced me that the name is undoubtedly *Vāmarājadēva*

with full Imperial titles.¹ The object of the inscription is to record some religious work done by a lady named *Kṛishnādēvī* for the religious merit of her mother and father. This appears to have been a temple which, as the opening words show, was probably dedicated to *Śiva*. If this conjecture is correct, the panel with the present inscription at the top may have been originally put up at it. The male and female figures in the panel are evidently intended to represent the father and the mother of the donor who is herself represented by a small female figure between them. She calls herself the wife of the illustrious *Dēuka* who was the son of a king, whose name I have doubtfully read as *Rāvārya*. He was born in the family of *Kalāirēya* and was the *Paramēśvara* (Emperor) of *Kaśapura*.²

The inscription is not dated, but as shown above, it may be assigned on paleographic grounds to the middle of the eighth century A.C.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धि⁴. [।*] ओ नम. शिवाय । [स्वस्ति] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा[ज]पर[मे]श्वरश्री-
वा[म⁵]राजदेवपा[दानु]-
- 2 [ध्या]त ।⁶ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्व]रश्रीशङ्करगणदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये क-
- 3 [श]पुरपरमेश्वरकलाइरेयवशोद्भवज्योतिस(स्स)न्ततिरा[वा]र्यराजपुत्रश्रीदेवक[*] । तस्ये(स्यै)-
व भा-
- 4 र्या लोणियवंशे प्र[सूता राज्ञी] श्रीकृष्णा[दे]वी या [चै]तौ⁷ मातापितृपुण्ये⁸ क्षितितले कीर्ति
प्रख्या-
- 5 ष्यति¹⁰ । ¹¹तवालो[का]म[ला इति] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Adoration to *Śiva*! Hail! During the increasingly victorious reign of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Śaṅkaraganādēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmarājadēva*—

(There is) the illustrious *Dēuka* the son of *Rāvāryarāja*, the mass of light sprung from the family of *Kalāirēya*, (who is) the *Paramēśvara* (Emperor) of *Kaśapura*. The wife of the same is the queen, the illustrious *Kṛishnādēvī*, born in the family of

¹ In subsequent records the name almost invariably occurs as *Vamadēva*. See No. 48, l. 33, No. 50, l. 33 etc.

² *Kaśapura* may be a mistake for *Kāśipurī* (Banāras).

³ From the original stone and inked estampages. I am obliged to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for the readings of a few words in this transcript.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol. I take the symbol to denote *siddhi* as that is the auspicious word used in the beginning of later records. See, e.g., Nos. 54 and 106.

⁵ The loop on the left of this *akṣhara* has now become somewhat indistinct, but it is there.

⁶ This *danda* is superfluous.

⁷ The context requires a reading like *ch=aitan-*.

⁸ Read *-punyārtham*.

⁹ This line commences in the centre.

¹⁰ This *visarga* is superfluous.

¹¹ I am not certain about the reading of these eight *akṣharas* at the end. Perhaps, the intended reading is तव लोका अमला इति ।

Lōṇiya, who announces this meritorious work (*kīrtti*)¹ on the surface of the earth, for the religious merit of these, (*her*) mother and father May you attain the stainless worlds !

No. 36, PLATE XXIX B

CHHOTI DEORI STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India Report* for 1883-1884. He again referred to it in the next year's report and published a lithograph of it.² The inscription was subsequently noticed by Dr D R Bhandarkar in Cousens' *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India* for 1903-4, p 54 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.³ Though noticed several times, the inscription has defied all attempts at interpretation, for, Cunningham was told that the language of the inscription was not Sanskrit. Dr Bhandarkar also has remarked 'what the language of the inscription is cannot be made out'. The inscription is edited here from ink impressions supplied by the Director General of Archæology.⁴

Chhōṭi Deori (Small Deori) is situated on the left bank of the Ken, about 16 miles to the west of Jōkāhi, in the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District in the State of Madhya Pradesh. The village is so-called probably to distinguish it from the larger village named Deori which lies about five miles to the west. It is also called Madhā Deori on account of a number of small temples (*mathis*) from thirty to forty in number, which lie buried in dense jungle. According to Cunningham, all these were most probably Śaiva shrines. The pillar on which the present inscription is incised must have also belonged to a Śaiva temple as is indicated by its contents. 'The pillar is 7 feet 2 inches high and 1 foot square. The inscription of 11 lines is near the top, in the middle there are two seated figures, male and female,⁵ and below, there is a standing male figure'⁶

As stated above, the inscription consists of eleven lines. It covers a space 1' $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 1' 2" high. It is in a state of fair preservation. The characters belong to the proto-Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the Saugor stone inscription.⁷ They are very carelessly written. Several groups of *aksharas* are unnecessarily repeated in ll 4 and 5 as well as in ll 10 and 11. The marks for medial vowels and *visarga* are omitted in many cases. The form of *kh* in *khanda*-, l 1, *likhatam*, l 9 and *likhitam*, l 10, is peculiar. It resembles somewhat the conjunct *ksha*, with this difference that the lower curve is turned to the left instead of to the right. The form of *p* in *kapāli*-, l 2 and *puna*, l 9, which closely resembles that of *d* is also noteworthy. *L* has three different shapes in *likhatam*, l. 8, *likhatam*, l. 9 and *likhitam*, l 10. The form of *s*, the left limb of which has developed a curve and that of *k* which has a triangle on the left show that the inscription is not earlier than the seventh century A C. On the other hand *j*, though slanting, has not yet turned its middle horizontal bar into a vertical, *t* has not developed a vertical at the top, *d* and *r* show no tail, and the upper part of *p* is not closed. In these respects the characters

¹ This probably refers to the temple of Śiva where the inscribed panel was apparently put up

² *A S I R*, Vol XXI, pp 100 and 159, Plate XXVIII

³ Second edition, p 38

⁴ This inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVII, pp 17 ff

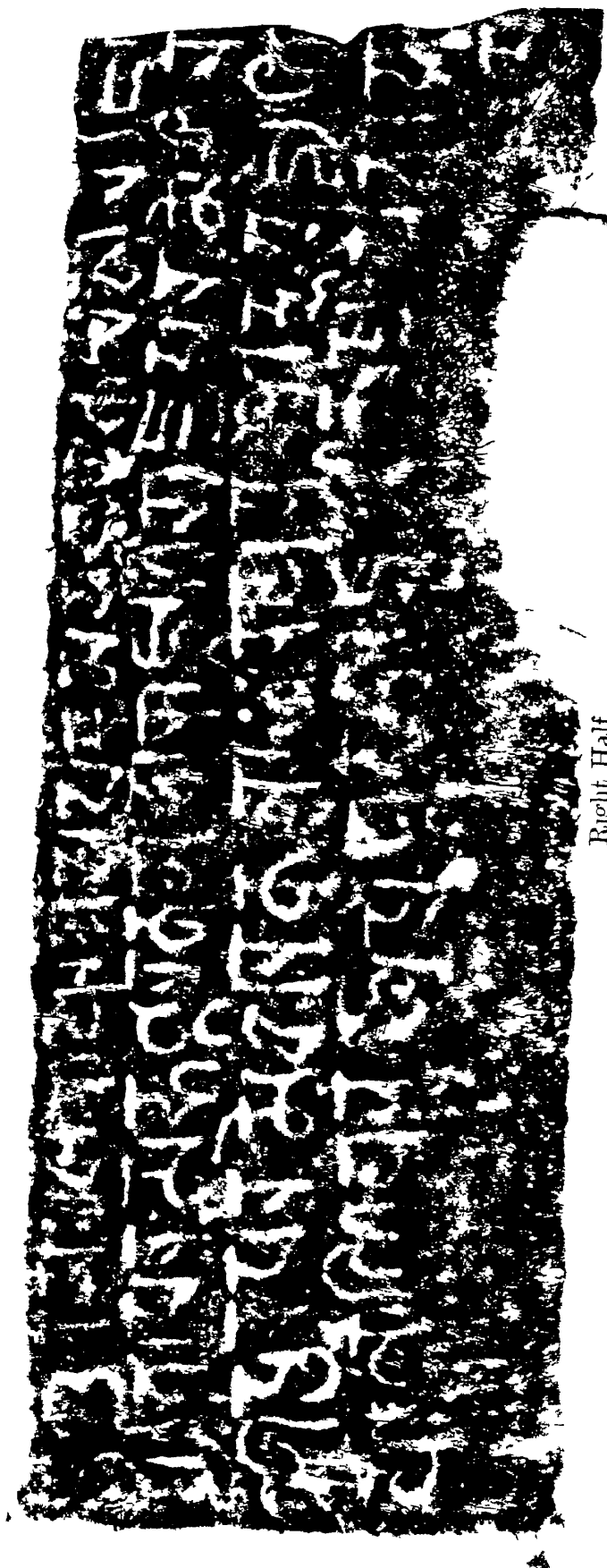
⁵ R. D Banerji identified these with Śiva and Pārvatī. See *H T M*, (*M A S I*, No 23), p. 77

⁶ *C A S I R*, Vol XXI, p 100. For a photograph of the pillar, see *H T M*, (*M A S I*, No 23), Plate XXVIII (a)

⁷ No 35, above

A—SAUGOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SANKARAGANA I

Left Half



Right Half



१ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 २ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 ३ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 ४ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 ५ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 ६ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 ७ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 ८ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 ९ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥
 १० श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥

of the present inscription show a much earlier stage than those of the Kāṭitalāi stone inscription¹ of Lakshmanarāja I, dated K 593 (841-2 A.C.) It does not, therefore, appear to be later than the middle of the eighth century A.C.²

The language is very incorrect Sanskrit, being probably influenced by the local dialect *Vishayē*, for instance, is written as *vuśē*, l 6, and *haukē* used in the sense of *zha*. Except for a verse in praise of Śiva, the whole record is in prose. The orthography does not call for any special notice.

After the opening *siddhāḥ namah*, the inscription has a verse in praise of Śiva, which indicates that the temple, to which the inscribed pillar belonged, must have been dedicated to the worship of Śiva. We are next told that during the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragana there was the illustrious Chutu Nāgaka in (charge of) the *vishaya* of Kakandakutu. The next two lines are somewhat obscure, but they seem to record his donation of a granary (*kadaru*, Sanskrit *krīdara*) in Karikatū and Asēkatū which appear to be the names of two villages in the neighbourhood.

There are three place-names mentioned in the present inscription, but none of them can be satisfactorily identified. Kakandakutu may be identical with Khutundā about 6 miles to the east of Deorī, if we suppose that the original name has lost its initial part. Karikatū, which in its initial portion resembles Kāṭitalāi (situated about 30 miles to the east), is perhaps represented by Khurai, 4 miles to the south of Deorī. Maḍhā Asēkatū cannot be identified.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धि⁴ [1*] नम । जटाधर[*] ख[ड]शश(शा)क⁵ ।⁶ [शे]-
- 2 [ख]र[*] कप[पा]लि(ल)[माल *] स(सि)तभस्मधु(धू)सर⁷[1*] दुरा-
- 3 न्मनहा⁸ पनगध[र]ककण⁹ सद(दा) शि-
- 4 व व(वो) विदध[धा]तु स(श)कर[*] ।¹⁰[1१॥*] क¹¹कदकुटु-
- 5 धुतु शकर¹² श्रि(श्री)शकरगणदे-
- 6 वरज्य(राज्ये) ककदकुटुवुशे¹³ सि(श्री?) चु[टु]-¹⁴

¹ No. 37, below

² Cunningham thought that the characters of the inscription are 'perhaps as early as the 7th century' (See his *A S R*, Vol XXI, p 159). R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, identified the king Śaṅkaragana mentioned in it with the homonymous son of Lakshmanarāja (II), whom he placed about the middle of the tenth century A.C. (*M A S I*, No 23, p 13). But the characters of the inscription are too early for such a late date.

³ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The *anusvāras* on ख and श are very faint.

⁶ This *danda* is superfluous. Read खण्डशशाङ्कशेखर.

⁷ What looks like an *anusvāra* on स is due to a fault in the stone.

⁸ Read दुरात्महा.

⁹ Perhaps पन्नगवारिककण is intended, but it does not give a good sense. Read पन्नगहस्तककण.

¹⁰ Metre *Vamśastha*. Some of the epithets of Śiva in this stanza occur in the following verse in ll 8 and 9 of the Raipur stone inscription of Brahmadēva (below, No 107) -जटाध[र] खण्डशशाङ्क-शेखर सदामहापन्नगवस्त्र(स्त्र)ककण(णम्)[1*]कपालमालासितभ[स्म]भूख(ष)ण न पुन्य(ण्य)हि(ही)ना[*] प्रणमति शकर(रम्) [11*]

¹¹ There is a curve on क here and also in l 6 where the same name is repeated. This word is superfluous here.

¹² These five *akṣharas* are unnecessarily repeated from l 4.

¹³ Read ककदकुटुविषये. The name of the *vishaya* is given as ककदकुटु in l 4.

¹⁴ I am not certain about this *akṣhara*. It differs from त which occurs in ll 4 and 6 in that it has a

- 7 नागक । करीकतिनि असेक—
 8 तिनि अमुकेनैव¹ लिखत² कद—
 9 रु³ पुन लि⁴ खत त⁵ सर्वप्रमा⁶मिति [1*]
 10 हइके⁷ लिखित त⁵ सर्व प्रम(मा)ण—⁸
 11 मिति⁶ ।

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration !

(Verse 1) May (*that*) Śankara,—who wears matted hair, who has the crescent moon on his head, who wears a garland of skulls, who is grey with white ashes, who destroy the evil-minded, who has bracelets of serpents,—always cause your welfare !

(Line 4) During the reign of the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇa (I), (*there is*) the illustrious Chuṭu Nāgaka in (*charge of*) the *viśaya* of Kakandakuṭu.

(L 7) He has himself recorded (*the gift of*) a granary in (*the villages of*) Karikatini and Asēkatini. Again, whatever is written here is authoritative Whatever is written here is authoritative

No 37; PLATE XXX A

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I. (KALACHURI) YEAR 593

THIS inscription was discovered by R B Hiralal in 1928. A short notice of it appeared in the second edition of his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, published in 1931. The record was, for the first time, edited, with a lithograph, by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXIII, pp 255 f. It is edited here from excellent estampage kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

Kāritalāi is now a small village, twenty-nine miles north by east from Murwārā the headquarters of a *taluk* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The place seems to be of great antiquity, for, an inscription in shell characters⁹ and another of the Gupta period¹⁰ have been discovered there. There are several old temples at Kāritalāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the boar incarnation of Vishnu another inscription¹¹ of the time of Lakshmanarāja II, was brought over to Nagpur and is at present deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The present inscription is affixed to the temple of Dēvī Madhīā at Kāritalāi. It is fragmentary. Its preserved portion measures 10½" broad and 1' 10½" high. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *akṣaras*. The fourteenth line runs

horizontal stroke at the top and has not a perfectly round back. Nor is it exactly like *d*, see *durāṇa*—, l 3.

¹ अमुकेनैव is used here in the unusual sense of 'by the same'.

² Read लिखित

³ The medial *u* of *ru* is faint. Read कृदर

⁴ This *danda* is superfluous. Read पुनलिखित

⁵ Read तत्

⁶ Read सर्व प्रमाणमिति ।

⁷ This appears to be a Prakrit word meaning इह

⁸ I am indebted to Dr Chhabra for the reading of this word

⁹ I C P B, p 45

¹⁰ C I I, Vol III, pp 117 ff

¹¹ No 42, below

along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Samvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left-hand side, but on the right hand-side, sixty to seventy *aksharas* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space 4' 6" in breadth. Of this, only about a fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four-fifths broken away and lost. The average size of the letters is 8"

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *n*, one in *-Lakshmanarāja-*, l 14 and the other in *Druhina*, l 2 etc and to those of *gh* in *-Amoghavarsha-*, l 12 and *Ghat-ānvaya-*, l 14. The form of *g* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā*, compare *g* in *jagat* and *drāg=ēva* both in l 2, *Nāgabhatē* in l 9 etc, with *rā* in *yaur=āsantati* in l 6, *th* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *pariluthantī*, l 4. Similarly *zh* is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see, *prithum-*, l 4. The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a serif, (see *pāyāsur=*, l 3, *nag-ānukāri* l 13 etc), but in some cases, by a curve turned to the left as in *kshinōtu*, l 2. The *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō=* and *-ōpēndra-*, l 1), but in two cases, viz, in *-Rudrēbhyaḥ*, l 1 and *srī-Lakshmana-rājadēvē*, l 14, the medial *ē* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve, while in two others we see fully developed *prishtha-mātrās* also, (see *-vēdhō-*, l 3 and *pādan* l. 12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A.C.¹

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the introductory obeisance and the marginal line recording the date etc, the record is metrically composed throughout. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards **orthography**, we may note that the consonant preceding and following *r* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātum-varnnyam*, l 1, and *-māttram*, l 2, *v* has been used for *b* in *vala-*, l 7 and the guttural nasal for *anusvāra* in *kshin-ānhasō*, l 6.

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record, it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory obeisance to Druhina (Brahmā), Upēndra (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses, invoking the blessings of the three deities. Lines 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage, who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of Nāgabhaṭa, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down in the *Śruti* and the *Smṛiti*. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king Amoghavarsha bowed to the feet of someone who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. Finally, the marginal line states that the record was composed by Prasannāditya of the Ghaṭa family in the year 593 (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the king, the illustrious Lakshmanarājadēva.

The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first noticed the inscription, read the date as 693² and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri era, which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A.C. in Baghelkhand, he took it as equivalent to 941 A.C.,

¹ The form of *j*, *d*, *p*, *r* and *v*, all of which show considerable development here, leave no doubt that the present record is much later than the preceding inscriptions (No. 35 and 36) of the reign of Śankaragana I.

² I C P B, p 45

obviously identifying the Lakshmanarāja mentioned in it with the homonymous king who was the son of Yuvarājadēva I *alias* Kēyūrarvarsha. The mention of Amōghavarsha in l. 12 seems to have corroborated this view, because a king of that name, viz., Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Yuvarājadēva-Kēyūrarvarsha, flourished in that period.¹ But R B Hiralal's reading of the date is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva² and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn. Other instances in which the figure stands for five can also be cited.³ So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this, being referred to the Kalachuri era, corresponds to 841-2 A.C. The mention of Amōghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading, for this Amōghavarsha would be the first Rāshtakūta king of that name who ruled from *circa* 814 to 880 A.C. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris were matrimonially connected in the ninth century also, for Amōghavarsha I's son Krishna II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter,⁴ though this marriage may not have taken place before 842 A.C.⁵ Besides, Amōghavarsha I was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahālakshmī to ward off a public calamity.⁶ It is not, therefore, unlikely that Amōghavarsha had gone to the Chēdi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhatta's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above-mentioned date. This Nāgabhatta is evidently Nāgabhatta II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty who was completely routed by Amōghavarsha's father Gōvinda III.⁷ Nāgabhatta was not living in 841-2 A.C., the date of the present inscription, for, according to the Jain work *Prabhāvakacharita*,⁸ he died in V. 890 (833-4 A.C.), nor is Amōghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grand-father. The defeat of Nāgabhatta II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before 800 A.C. The personage, who in the preceding line is described as the destroyer of great kings as a thunder-bolt is of high mountains, is probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*samjāhrē*) is lost at the end of the line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhatta is mentioned in l. 9; but as the name of Amōghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amōghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name, for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III. Lakshmanarāja, during whose reign the present inscription was put up, was, therefore, the predecessor-

¹ For Amōghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 A.C. (See *E.C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30)

² No. 44, below.

³ See, for instance, the figure of the year and the *tithi* of the Bālērā plates of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78; the figure of the year in the Khajurāhō inscription of Kōkkala, *C.A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX, and that of the *tithi* in the Pālanpur plates of Bhīmadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, plate facing p. 172

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263 f.

⁵ As I have shown elsewhere (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 217), Amōghavarsha I was born about 799 A.C. He was, therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in 841-2 A.C. his son Krishna II was already married to Lakshmanarāja's grand-daughter, for he is known to have reigned till 914 A.C. Perhaps Amōghavarsha had gone to Tripurī to seek the Kalachuri king's help, when he was deposed in the early part of his reign

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 248

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 247.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3

sor and probably the father of Kōkalla I, who heads the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription¹ and the Banaras plates of Karna² He may be called **Lakshmanarāja I** of the main Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī

The date of the inscription is thus the year 593 of the Kalachuri era It would correspond to 840-1 A C. if the year was current, and to 841-2 A C if it was expired³ It does not admit of verification.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धि.⁵ [1*] ओ नमोस्तु द्रुहिणोपेन्द्ररुद्रेभ्यः ॥ चातुर्वर्ण्य [नि]⁶ . . .
- 2 नमात्रं जगत् [1*] द्रागेव द्रुहिण. क्षिणोत्⁷.
- 3 रुद्वेधोदृस (श) । पायासुर्मधुसूदना[च्च]⁷.
- 4 कपर्दित्पृथुनि परिलुठन्ती यस्य मूर्द्ध[स्थ]-⁸ .
- 5 नक्रम परमिति स्वान्पुत्रकान्पाठ[ये]-⁹ .
- 6 क्षीणाद्दहसो¹⁰ जज्ञिरे यैरासन्तति सन्तत-⁷
- 7 वृत्ति. । व(ब)लविभवविलासत्यागदा¹¹
- 8 महाभूमिभृद्वज्रपाता(त) सजह्ने ह्ला[ि]¹² .
- 9 भूयसा चानेहसा ॥ भग्ने नागभटे⁷ .
- 10 कषग्रावदलको वराहव्याहार स्म¹³
- 11 ¹⁴तिस्मृत्याचारप्रवणधिषण पु[ण्य]-¹⁵ .
- 12 ¹⁶श्रीमदमोघवर्षनृपति. पादौ [न]-¹⁷ .
- 13 वापर ॥ तेनाकारि नगानुकारि ग¹⁸ . . .
- 14 सिद्धि¹⁹ [1*] सम्वत्²⁰ ५९३ श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवे राजनि घटान्वयश्रीप्रसन्नादित्यस्य कृतिरि-
यम् [1*]²¹

¹ No 45, below

² No 48, below

³ In stating the Christian equivalents of this and other *later* dates of the Kalachuri era, I have adopted the epoch 247-248 A C finally determined by Kielhorn See *Festgruss an Roth*, pp 53 f Differing from him, I have, however, taken the Kalachuri year as commencing with the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika

⁴ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ Metre *Śālnī*

⁷ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁸ Read मूर्द्धस्थले Metre *Mālinī*

⁹ Read पाठयेन् Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁰ Read क्षीणाद्दहसो

¹¹ Read दाक्षिण्य- Metre *Mālinī*

¹² Perhaps ह्लादिनी was written here Metre *Sragdharā*

¹³ Metre *Śikharinī*

¹⁴ Read श्रुतिस्मृत्याचार-

¹⁵ Read पुण्यचरित Metre *Śikharinī*

¹⁶ Read यस्य before श्रीमद-.

¹⁷ Read नमस्यत्ययम् Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁸ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁹ Expressed by a symbol

²⁰ Read सवत्.

²¹ This line is written along the margin. Another line below it, incised recently, reads श्रीस[म्ब]न

TRANSLATION

- (Line 1) Success ! Om ! May there be adoration to Druhina, Upēndra and Rudra !
 The four castes .
 (L 2) The world consisting only of May Druhina quickly destroy !
 (L 3) May (*they*) who obstructed the eyes of the creator protect
 from Madhusūdana
 (L 4) On whose broad forehead, (*the Gangā*) rolling down from the matted
 hair .
 (L 5) would teach (*his*) little sons, (*thinking*) that the course (*of teaching* ?)
 is the best
 (L 6) (*They*), whose sins had diminished, were born, by whom . always
 down to their descendants.
 (L 7) The course of conduct (*consisting of* ?) strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality
 (*and*) courtesy .
 (L 8) (*He*)¹ who was a thunderbolt to the great mountains that were powerful
 kings, destroyed (*while*) . (*was*) resounding
 (L 9) after a long time When Nāgabhata (II) was routed.
 (L 10) The roar of the Boar that rends rocks
 (L 11-12) . of holy deeds, whose mind was intent on (*observing the rules*
of) conduct laid down in the *Śrutis* (Vēdas) and *Smṛiti* (*and*) whose feet [*this*]
 illustrious Amōghavarsha² salutes
 (L 13) like a second . By him (*has been*) constructed (*this*
temple) resembling a hill . . .
 (L 14) Success ! (*In*) the year 593, while the king, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja-
 dēva (I) is reigning, this (*prasaṣti*) was composed by the illustrious Prasannāditya
 of the Ghaṭa family

No. 38, PLATE XXX B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. 1) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription was discovered in 1938 by Dr N P Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on the inside of the western wall of the Fish temple in the fort of Bāndhōgarh which lies about 6½ miles south by west of Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh. The record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of only two lines of bold and deeply incised letters. The first line is 4' 5" and the second 4' 9" long. The average size of the letters is 4 5"

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the tenth century A C. As regards individual letters we may note that the lingual *d* is round-backed in *Gaud* -, l 2, the right-hand up-stroke of the subscript *y* is not brought down, see *-āmātyasya*, l 1 and the left limb of the palatal *ś* is not separated from the right-hand vertical, see *śrī* -, in l 1. The language is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. It consists of only a single sentence. The orthography does not call for any remark except that the conjunct *tsya* has been written as *chchhya* in *machchhya* -, l. 2

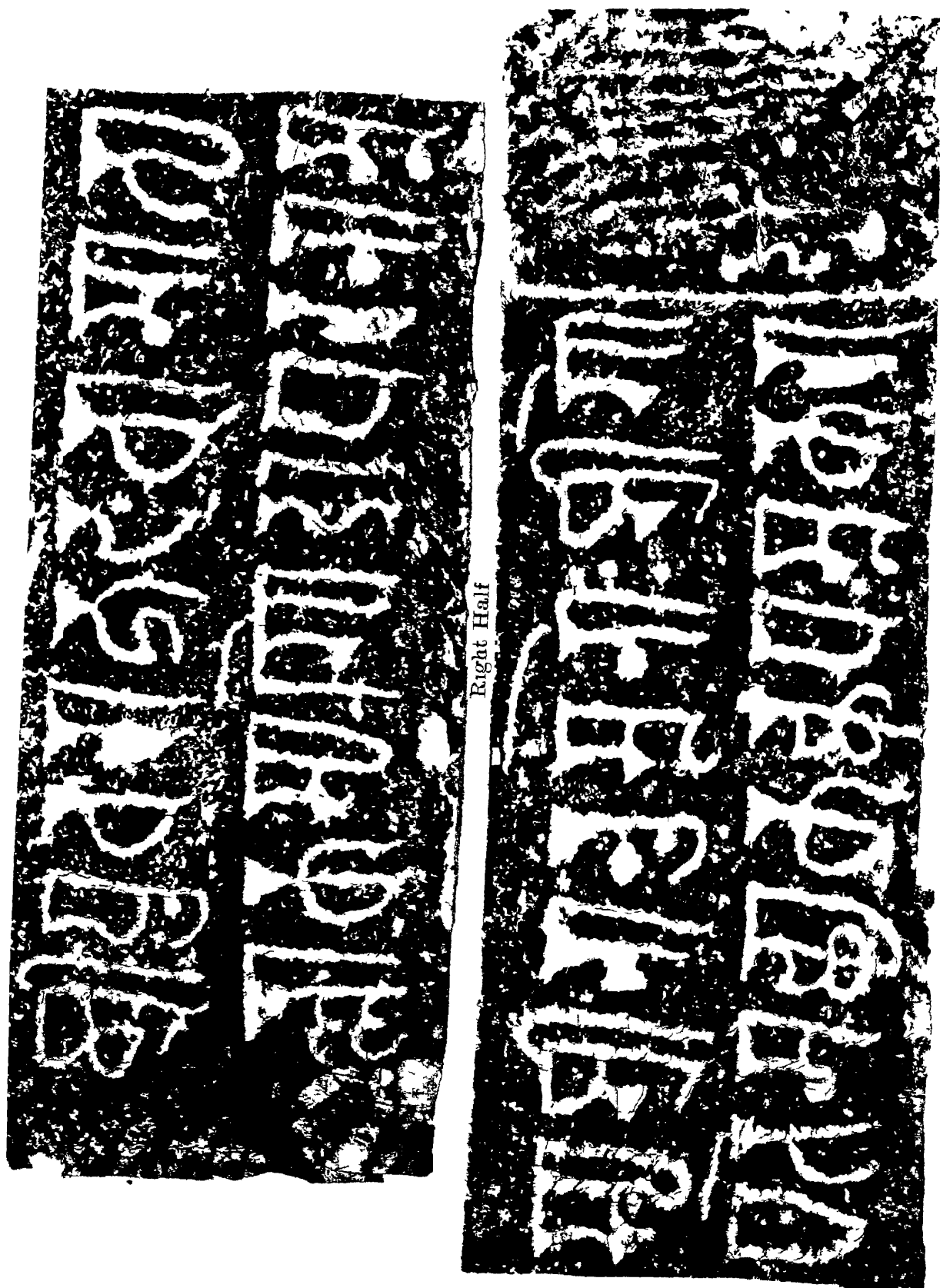
¹ This was probably Gōvinda III of the Rāshtrakuta dynasty, see above, p 180

² This seems to be Amōghavarsha I, the son and successor of Gōvinda III

A — KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA I
(KALACHURI) YEAR 593

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 २ वमां वं जरां तदा राव इति लोकात्
 ४ कथं शेषं विचारितं नृपयाम्यहं
 ६ न कर्म यै रगिनि म्यामृता मां
 ८ कीलादमो कश्चिरेयं राम त्रिभुवन
 १० मदाहमिह दृष्टं याता संजडेहा
 १२ नृपयासां नृपसारा नृपनारायण
 वाद्य रं नृपकारि नृपानुकारि

B—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No I) OF YUVARAJADEVA I



The object of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the fish, the tortoise, the boar and others were of (*ie*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Göllāka**, also known as **Gauḍa**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu**, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva**. The palaeography of the record indicates that this Yuvarājadēva is the first king of that name who flourished in the first half of the tenth century A C. The figures referred to are evidently the rock-cut images of the fish, tortoise, boar and other incarnations of Vishnu, which Göllāka had caused to be carved. Some of them can still be seen near the present inscription.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्रीयुवराजदेवामात्यस्य श्रीभानुसूतो श्रीगो-
2 ल्लोकस्य गौडापरनाम्न एते मच्छच(त्स्य)कच्छपसूकरा[द्य²] [I*]

TRANSLATION

These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar and others are of (*ie*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Göllāka**, (*who is known*) by the other name of **Gauḍa**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu** (*and*) a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)**.

No 39, PLATE XXXI A

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription, like the preceding one, was discovered in 1938 by Dr N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is at **Bāndhōgarh**, about 65 miles south by west of Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. It is incised on a pillar with a broken figure of Garuda to the west of a colossal rock-cut figure of Ādivarāha, placing the left foot on a Nāga figure. The record consists of only two lines, the first of which measures 11' 10" and the second 2' 11" long. Several *akṣharas* in the middle of the first line and a few in the second have now become illegible, but some of them can be restored with the help of the preceding epigraph. The average size of the letters is 5".

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A C. They closely resemble those of the preceding inscription. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is wholly in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any remark.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that (the figures of) the Fish, the Tortoise, the Ādivarāha and Paraśurāma (?) were of (*ie*, were caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Göllāka**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu**, who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva**. This Yuvarājadēva was evidently Yuvarājadēva I—Kēyūrararsha. The figure of Ādivarāha referred to here is plainly the colossal rock-cut image of the boar incarnation of Vishnu, near which the inscription is incised. Some of the other figures also can still be seen carved out of rocks in the same place.

¹ From an inked estampage.

² What appears like a broken curve over the ligature *dyā* is probably due to a fault in the rock. Read

TEXT¹

- 1 ओ श्रीयुवरा[जदेवामात्यस्य]²[श्रीभा]नुसूनो श्रीगोल्लाकस्यैते मत्स्य-
कच्छ-
2 पादिवराहप[रशुरामा³ ?] [1*]

TRANSLATION

Om ! These (*figures of*) the Fish, the Tortoise, the primeval Boar (*and*) Paraśurāma (?) are of (*i.e.*, are caused to be carved by) the illustrious **Göllāka**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu** . . . who was a minister (*amātya*) of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva** (I).

No 40, PLATE XXXI B

BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No III) OF YUVARAJADĒVA I

THIS inscription, like the preceding two records, was discovered in 1938 by Dr. N P Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from a good estampage kindly sent by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock facing south-west near the rock-cut image of a Tortoise at **Bāndhōgarh** in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. The record consists of eight lines, of which the first seven were probably 2' 11" long while the last one measures only 9½". The epigraph has suffered very much by the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Nearly half the portion on the right-hand side of lines 3-7 has been completely lost. Besides, several *aksharas* here and there have become illegible. The average size of the letters is 2 3".

The **characters** belong to the Nāgaī alphabet of about the 10th century A. C. The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. Attention may be drawn to the expression *sāhitya-vidyā-lalā[nā-bhujangā]* which is adopted in some later records⁴ for the description of Yuvarājadēva II. In the last line *utkīrtam* has been wrongly used for *utkīrnam*. The **orthography** does not call for any remark.

The inscription is one of the illustrious **Göllāka**, the son of **Bhānu**, who is known from other records to have been a minister of Yuvarājadēva I. The **object** of it was evidently to dedicate⁵ the image of the Tortoise near which it is incised, but the portion of the record where this was stated has now become illegible. In lines 4-6 the inscription seems to have contained the description of a battle, for the extant words in line 5 speak of a great river of which the waves were enemies.

The record was written by **Guṇanivāsa**, and incised by **Bhāka**.

¹ From an inked estampage.

² About 11 *aksharas* are completely lost here. The last seven of them may have been श्रीगौडापरनाम्न. See line 2 of the preceding inscription, page 183, above.

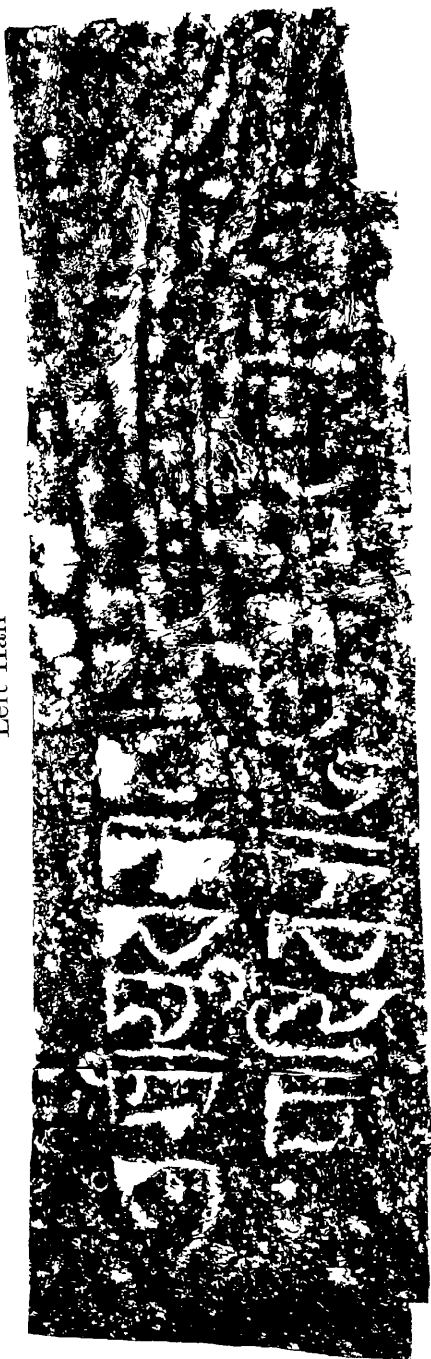
³ The reading of these *aksharas* is not quite certain.

⁴ Below, No 50, l 10 and No 51, l 7.

⁵ Line 4 contains the word *nivēditam* which means 'dedicated'.

A —BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No II) OF YUVARAJADEVA I

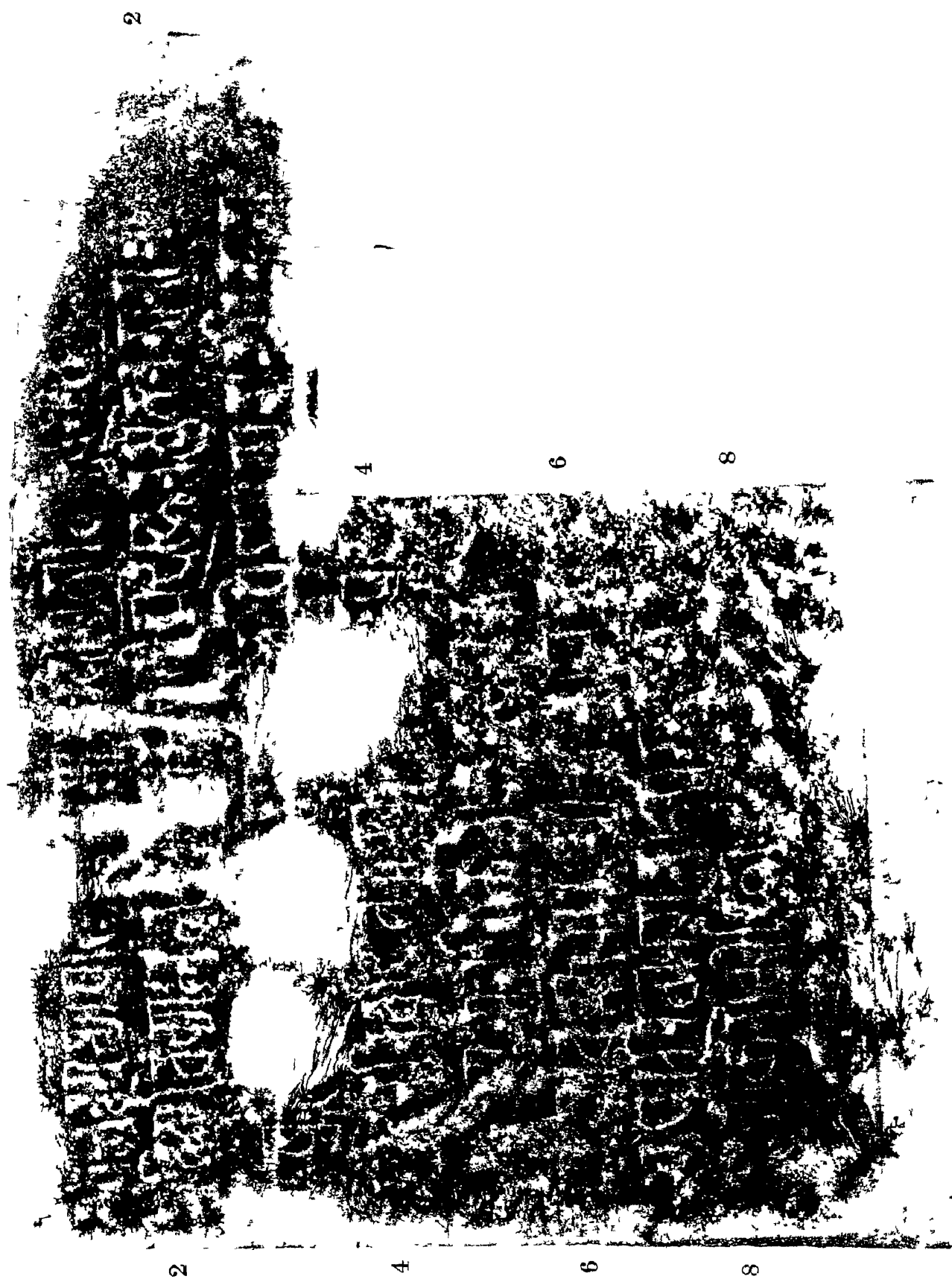
Left Half



Right Half



B—BANDHOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION (No III) OF YUVARAJADEVA I



TEXT¹

- 1 [ओ । गजे]न्द्रगत्या परि- ७ - मा² [म]हीमतो वै[ष्णव]गो[ल्ल][केन १*]
 2 [सा*]हित्यविद्यालल[नाभुजङ्गा³द्वि*]तीयदेहेन सुतेन भानो⁴ ॥ [१॥*]
 3 [वि]ष्णो ७ ७ ७ - - ७, ७ ७ ७ ७ धिणो ७ ७ । ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ - - ७,
 4 ७ ७ ७ न निवेदि[त(तम्)]⁵ ॥ (२॥*) क्ले[श*] ७ ७ ७ - प्रदं, ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ -
 5 ७ ७ । ७ ७ [ग्रस्त]मरिकल्लो[ल] नद [शङ्के] ७ - ७ ७ ॥ [३॥*]
 6 [लक्ष्मी] विच्छे[द].
 7 गुणनिवासेन लिखि[त] . . .
 8 भाकेनोत्कीरित⁶ ।

TRANSLATION

OM !

(Verses 1-2) By **Göllāka**, the son of Bhānu, (*who is*) a devotee of Vishnu, (*and a minister*) of the king, (*who has delighted*) the earth by his gait (*resembling that*) of a lordly elephant, who has a matchless person and [who is the lover of] the lady, namely, literature, . . . has been dedicated . . .

(V. 3) I fancy that the great river, of which the waves are the enemies . . .

(Lines 6-7) (*This record has been*) written by **Guṇanivāsa** (*and*) incised by **Bhāka**.

No 41

GOPALPUR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA I

THIS inscription was, like the preceding three records, discovered in 1938 by Dr N P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an estampage kindly supplied by him.

The inscription is incised on a rock at the back of the Śēshaśāyī image to the south-west of Gopālpur, a village, one mile to the north of Bāndhōgarh in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It consists of three lines of bold and deeply incised letters, but owing to the constant trickling down of water on them, many *aksharas* especially in lines 2 and 3 have now become illegible. The lines are 4' 8" long. The average size of the letters is 6".

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet closely, resembling those of the three preceding epigraphs. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. The orthography does not call for any remark.

The **object** of the inscription was apparently similar to that of the last three epigraphs, *viz.*, to record that an image (of Haladhara⁷) was caused to be carved by the illustrious **Göllāka**, the son of the illustrious **Bhānu**, who was a minister of the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva** (I).

¹ From an inked estampage

² Restore परितोषिणेमा

³ The expression साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्ग- occurs in connection with Yuvarājadēva II in verse 10 of the Goharwa plates (No 50, below) and in verse 13 of the Rewa stone inscription (No 51, below)

⁴ Metre *Upajāti*

⁵ Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*

⁶ Read भाकेनोत्कीर्णम्

⁷ Only the first two *aksharas* of this name have left faint traces. I do not know if there is any rock-cut image of Haladhara or Balarāma near by. It may be noted that in some panels of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, Balarāma takes the place of Kṛishna. R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p 103

TEXT¹

- 1 [ओं श्री युव]राजदेवामा[त्यस्य]श्रीभानु-
 2 [सूनो *] श्रीगोल्ला[कस्य].²
 3 ³[नाम्नो] हल⁴.

TRANSLATION

Om ! [This figure of Haladhara⁵(?) is] of (the, is caused to be carved by) the illustrious Gōllāka, [named] . . . , the son of the illustrious Bhānu, who is a minister of the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I).

No 42, PLATE XXXII

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II

THIS inscription is engraved on a rectangular sunken panel surrounded by a plain border of a large slab of sand-stone. It was discovered at Kāritalāi (lat 24° 3' North, long. 80° 46' East), a village in the Murwārā taluk of the Jabalpur District in Madhya Pradesh. The stone, which was first removed to the Jabalpur Museum, is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. General Cunningham first published a short account⁶ of the contents of the inscription in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol IX, p. 81. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, pp 174 ff. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The inscription is much mutilated. It has lost a considerable portion at the top. Again, a large piece, measuring 1' broad by 1' 8" high, has been broken off at the lower proper right corner, and a small one, 5" broad by 3" high, has been lost at the upper proper left corner. Besides, some letters have been lost in two cracks, of which the longer one cuts the inscription transversely. The cracks seem to have widened in the process of removing the heavy stone from Jabalpur to Nagpur and some letters, which were clear in the rubbing supplied to Dr. Kielhorn, have since disappeared.⁷ The preserved portion of the inscription covers a space 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high, and consists of thirty-four lines, of which the first thirty-one are inscribed on the sunken panel of the slab, and the last three on the stone border below. The average size of the letters is 1", except in l. 32, which is engraved on the inside edge of the border, and in which the letters are smaller, being only 6" in height.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. They are well-formed and deeply engraved. In some cases the *aksharas* which were inadvertently omitted at first, were incised subsequently below the line, see *ya* of *yad-antahpurē*, l. 14 and *ka* of *-kalāsa-*, l. 20, while in others the wrong *aksharas* and strokes have been

¹ From an inked estampage

² Three or four *aksharas* are gone here

³ About three *aksharas* are illegible here. One would expect a word like श्रीगौडापर- at the end of the second and in the beginning of the third line, but the *akshara* preceding *nā* in line 3 appears more like *ya* than *ra*. Perhaps श्रीगौडद्वितीय- is meant.

⁴ Perhaps हलधर was intended

⁵ *Haladhara* 'the plough-holder' is a well-known name of Balarāma

⁶ As pointed out by Kielhorn, this account is very incorrect

⁷ See, e.g., the *aksharas* -*in=ity=ē-* in l. 13

celled, either by incising a vertical stroke at the top or by chiselling off the long portion; see *achīkarat*=and *avvyadhat*=, both in l 5, =*adhabkṛit-ānya*- in l 18 etc. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare initial *ru* in *ru-*, l 18 and to *dh*, the upper part of the left limb of which, for the first time in the records edited here, appears well-developed, though it is not yet joined to the right-hand vertical see *dharmma*, l 3. The letter *ś* appears in two slightly different forms, see, for instance, *kuśalō* and *hasty-aśva-*, both in l 8, so also *n* in =*gun-ānatō* and =*pranamyah*, both in l 9, *r*, as the first member of a conjunct, generally appears as a *rēpha* above the line, but in *-chārur*=*yad*=l. 11, it is horizontal in form and prefixed to *ya* on the left below the line. The *prishtha-mātrās* are fully developed, but in some cases, as for instance in =*mahā-pātrāya*, l 9, =*jātavēdas-*, l 4, *ēkā*, l 8, the vertical stroke on the right, representing medial *ā*, is only faintly drawn. In a few cases, both the strokes of the medial *ō* appear horn-shaped above the line, see *prāp*=*ōnmatim*, l 6 and *yad*=*yōshutām*, ll 11-12. A final consonant is indicated by its short form as well as by the addition of a small curve below it, see, e.g., *hamchit*, l 5. The form of *th*, which has a slightly developed vertical stroke on the right, shows that the present inscription is later than inscription No 37, which comes in Kāritalai itself.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written in the later *kāvya* style, abounding in figures and hyperbolic descriptions. Except for the words *yaś=cha* in l 10 and *kim vahunā* in l 26, the record is in verse throughout. As regards orthography, one may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled rightly in =*anabhyartthutō*, l. 2 etc., wrongly¹ in *sudarśśanah*, l 21, and the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see *utārām-*, l 2, *vōddhā*, l 7 and so forth. The sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in l 9 and at the end of the *upadhmāniya* in l 30.

The inscription mentions three Kalachuri princes, **Yuvarājadēva**, **Lakshmanarāja** and **Śaṅka[raṅga]**. Their names occur only incidentally in the extant portion. The earlier portion which probably contained a glorification of the first two, has been lost. Of the forty-two verses which have either wholly or partially been preserved, the first describes the great liberality of some person whose name is lost, but who was probably Lakshmanarāja. The next five verses eulogize **Bhākamīśra**, the minister of Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently the first prince of that name in the dynasty of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. Bhākamīśra was born in the family (*gōtra*) of the sage Bharadvāja, performed many sacrifices, erected temples and dug wells in numerous places. His son **Somēśvara** is eulogized in the next twelve verses. He was proficient in various arts, sciences and systems of philosophy and performed many sacrifices. Even the king Lakshmanarāja is said to have shouldered his palanquin to prevent it from falling down. Then comes, in eleven verses, the description of a very high temple of Vishnu, erected by Sōmēśvara at Kāritalai. The image installed therein was probably of the boar incarnation, which is referred to in vv 27 and 35, and was called *Sōmasvāmīn* after the founder of the temple. The next thirteen verses enumerate the various donations made to the deity. In the town (*ra*) near the temple, eight Brāhmanas were caused to settle. To them the king, evidently Lakshmanarāja (II), donated the village **Dīrghaśākhika** (v 30). He also gave another village, the name of which is lost, to the god on the occasion of a solar eclipse. His queen **radā** gave, with his consent, the village **Chakrahraḍī** and the illustrious **Śaṅka[raṅga]** who is probably identical with Lakshmanarāja's son and successor and who was then the crown-prince, gave the god another village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (v 33).

¹ This is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49

He is called *parama-vaishnava*, a devoted worshipper of Viṣṇu. Two other villages, **Chhallipātaka** in the *āhāra* of **Dhavala** and **Antarapāṭa**, were donated to the god at a solar eclipse (v. 34). The next verse mentions donations of a small field and another yielding twelve *khandis* (of corn) to the Boar. A potentate who was named **Vallē[śvara]** gave the village **Vatagartikā** in the *Mālā* group of twelve in his own territory, while another, who had come to the place, donated a field requiring a *khārī* of seed-corn.¹ Besides these, several taxes and tolls are mentioned in the last five verses, the income from which was assigned to the deity.

The inscription is not dated, but it was probably put up towards the end of Lakshmaṇarāja's reign (c. 940-965 A.C.)

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the present inscription, Dr Kielhorn suggested the identification of **Dirghaśākhika** with Dighī, about six miles south-east of Kārītālāi, and Rai Bahadur Hiralal that of **Chakrahradī** with Chakadahī, seven miles south of Kārītālāi. I could not, however, trace the latter village either in the list of villages in the Murwārā *tahsil* or on the Degree Map. I identify **Dhavala**, the headquarters of an *āhāra*, with Dhawala, 4 miles south of Dighī. The *pura*, where eight Brāhmanas were made to settle, is still known by the name Bamhōri (Brāhmaṇapuri) and lies about two miles east of Kārītālāi. **Chhallipātaka** is probably Chilhāri, about 11 miles east of Dhavala, in the adjoining territory of Vindhya Pradesh. **Vatagartikā** may be identical with the modern Barhatī, 10 m. west by south of Kārītālāi, and **Antarapāṭa** with Amaturrā, 7 miles east of Kārītālāi. The *Mālā* group of twelve cannot be located.

TEXT²

- 1 नितरान्दलेन ॥ ताम्रपण्णीतटप्राप्तै³.
- ॥ [भू*]—
- 2 मेस्त्रीणि पदानि वामनमहापात्राय कृच्छ्राद्दौ । प्रत्यक्षीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रादादनभ्यर्थितो
ग्रामान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणजातये व(ब)हुत[रा]स्तुष्टान्तरा[न्त्रा] ७ —⁴ [॥१॥*]
- 3 वशाद्भरद्वाजमुनेरनूनाद्गुणानतो⁵ धर्म इवापरो[भू]त् । श्रीभाकमिश्र क्षितिपप्रणम्य शश्वत्कृ—
तात्थीकृतमार्गणौघ⁶ ॥[२॥*] कुण्टितधिषणो धिष— —⁷
- 4 सौम्यो बु(बु)धो न बु(बु)ध । अकवि कविरपि यस्मादतिग्रहोप्येवमग्रहश्चित्र(त्रम्)⁸ ॥[३॥*]
यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्ततरखरतापोत्तप्तगात्री धरित्री । दिगिभभुज[ग]—

¹ Kielhorn remarked — "The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khārīvāpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean a field sown with a *khārī* of corn, or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kārītālāi." The latter supposition is unlikely, for the verse clearly means that some person, whose name is lost, donated to the god a field in his own territory when he came *here (sha)*, i.e., to Kārītālāi. Khārīvāpa, therefore, cannot be identical with Kārītālāi.

² From the original stone and ink impressions

³ Only the lower portions of nearly half the number of the *aksharas* in this line are preserved. The reading of the fourteen *aksharas* given above is almost certain.

⁴ The missing *aksharas* were probably सदा Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁵ It would be better to read वशे भरद्वाजमुनेरनूने गुणोन्नतो— as suggested by Kielhorn

⁶ Metre *Upajāti*

⁷ Read धिषणोऽसौम्य

⁸ Metre *Udgīti*

- 5 राजानन्तकूर्मै समूहे कलितदवथुपीडानष्टधैर्ये कथंचित्¹॥[४॥*] यश्च ॥ अचीकर²त्कुत्र न देववेशमान्यचीखनत्कुत्र न वा सरासि । अविव्यध³त्कुत्र न कूपवा[पी]—
- 6 ररूपन्नाम्रवणानि कुत्र⁴॥[५॥*] अवाप्य य श्रीयुवराजदेवो धराधर प्राच्यमिवाशुमाली । प्रापोन्नति व्यस्तसमस्तदोषा मन्त्रिप्रधान कुलगोत्रचारु(रुम्)⁵॥[६॥*] न सदिग्धे वे—
- 7 दे द्रवदवधि वो(बो)द्धा पदविधेरतर्क्यस्तर्केष्वप्यनवममतिस्तन्त्रगतिषु । य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरण-निपुण काव्यसरणि⁶ स तस्यासीत्सूनु प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति⁷॥[७॥*] पुस्ते—
- 8 नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमश्चरित्रे रैर्यत्रिके किमपि य कुशलो व(ब)भूव । हस्त्यश्वपालनपरीक्षणकर्म—शास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेप्यनुपमो धुरि धीमता च⁸॥[८॥*] एका कला मूर्ध्नि शशा—
- 9 ङ्कमौलेरिन्दो कला पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धा । श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्या⁹ कला^xकीर्त्तयितु कृती क¹⁰॥[९॥*] मेरु सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकनिचय पुष्यत्तुषारोत्करैरुद्भूतो[द्भुरजा]—
- 10 ड्य एव हिमवान्रौद्रो गिरि स्फाटिक । अर्थिप्रत्तसमस्तहेमनिवह प्रेडैकवो(बो)धावधि सौम्यो—सावुपमीयते कथमिव क्षमाभूत्रयेणामुना¹¹॥[१०॥*] अपा[स्तकुं]कुम ये—
- 11 न नवनीतमनीयत । वपु प्रणयिता¹² यज्ञे वशिभिर्दुकर¹³ हि कि(किम्)¹⁴॥[११॥*] अपास्तकाञ्चिर्धृत[मुज]रज्जुर्गलद्गू(कू)लो वृतवूर¹⁵वासा । अलौकिकत्वे[न विशे]षचारुयद्यो—
- 12 षिता पर्व्वणि वेष एष¹⁶॥[१२॥*] अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर विधिवद्दुग्धि होमोपयुक्तामध्वर्यो गा सुचमपि सम क्षालयाशु सुवेण । तप्तैर्व्वर्भिर्भवंतु [सवि*]धे गार्हपत्यस्य प—
- 13 [त्तीत्ये]¹⁷वं प्रोचुर्गृह्णुकगणा यज्वनो यस्य सन्धौ¹⁸॥[१३॥*] अन्तर्व्वशिक वासमन्दिरमही गन्धोदकै क्षाल्यता वारस्त्रीजन देहि भास्वरशि[खान्त्रत्न]¹⁷प्रदीपान्व(न्व)हून् ॥ (1) त्व सै—
- 14 ¹⁹रिन्धि नि[धे]हि गन्धमखिल राज्ञि त्वमप्यादृता वेषे स्या इति शारिकोदितमभूत्सायं यदन्त.—पुरे²⁰॥[१४॥*] विश्वेपि विश्वजित्कोटिमगमन्सप्ततन्तव[। सर्व्व*]स्व ददतस्तस्य श्रीम—च्चेदीन्द्रम—
- 15 नित्रण²¹॥[१५॥*] [शस्त] यद्यज्ञभूमौ रणशिरसि सदा शसित होतृसूतैर्गीतिं षड्जादिभेदैरति—मधुरगिरोद्गातृभिर्गाथिकैश्च । अध्वर्यु [क*][म्म]वर्य्य प्रचरति च करी दानससि—

¹ Metre *Māhī*

² The engraver at first incised अचीकरत्कुत्र, but subsequently cancelled the first *ka* and *ra*

³ The engraver first incised अविव्यध—, but subsequently struck out the stroke for the medial *r* of व्यि

⁴ Metre *Upēndravajrā*

⁵ Metre *Upajāti*

⁶ This word is quite clear. Read काव्यसरणी

⁷ Metre *Śikharinī*

⁸ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁹ Originally कल्या was engraved. Subsequently one vertical stroke was added inside *ya* to make it कल्या .

¹⁰ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹¹ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹² Read वपुःप्रणयिता

¹³ Read —दुकर

¹⁴ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁵ The reading here is quite certain. Kielhorn doubtfully read वृ[?]तद्[?] रवासा

¹⁶ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁷ These *akṣaras*, which were unimpaired in Kielhorn's time, have since been damaged

¹⁸ Metre *Mandākrāntā*

¹⁹ This *akṣara* is quite certain

²⁰ य, which was at first omitted, is written below the line. Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

²¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

- 16 क्तहस्तस्तस्य [श्री]भट्टसोमेश्वरगुणगणने के वय तुच्छवाच¹ ॥[१६॥*] वातन्धमाधिरोहे²
भश्यति दोलाभृति श्रमात्किञ्चित् । श्रीम[ल्ल]क्ष्मणराज स्कन्धमदाद्यस्य दोलाया(याम्)³॥
[१७॥*]
- 17 प्रासादोयमका[रि] तेन कृतिना देवस्य दैत्यद्रुह श्रीमन्वेदिनरेन्द्रमन्त्रितिलकेनाच्छादिताशामुख ।
यस्योच्चै [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपट. प्रेङ्खन्वियद्गामिना⁴ सज्ञा व्या—
- 18 घुटने करोत्यविरत रुद्धाध्वनोतिध्रुव(वम्)⁵॥[१८॥*] ऋजुरति व(ब)हिरन्तरादधान कुटि—
लतरत्वमध कृतान्यकीर्त्ति । पि[शुन*] इव समुद्धतो विभाति प्रकटविलङ्घितसर्व्वलोक एष⁶
[१९॥*]
- 19 लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रो] ददानो विमुक्तिमादर्शितविश्वरूप । [क]क्षामगाहिष्यत दानवा—
रेरेषोप्यया — ७ ७⁷[वा]मनत्व(त्वम्)⁸॥[२०॥*] अलमलमुखशप्रान्तससक्तशुक्लाशुक—
घटितश—
- 20 रीरेणोच्छ्रितेन ध्वजे[न*] । कनकक⁹लशरोचिर्दण्डलग्नप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्यं—
(त्यम्)¹⁰॥[२१॥*] [उ]न्नताना परिष्वङ्गो गुणाय महते यतः । अपि दुर्दर्शनो भानुर्भवत्य—
- 21 त्र सुदर्शन¹¹॥[२२॥*] ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदमरसरित्केवश्यमस्योत्तमा—
[ङ्गे] । तरणिरननुभूत यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द—¹²
- 22 [दा]ति¹³॥[२३॥*] अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्घृष्टिसीदद्रथाङ्ग प्रात प्रातर्द्दिनेशो
घ[ट]यति युगल चक्रयोर्व्वीतसख्य(ख्यम्) । शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था—
- 23 ७ — ७¹⁴[द]ण्ड । साय साय जनाना¹⁵ कलयति नितरामक्षवर्गं समग्र(ग्रम्)¹⁶॥[२४॥*]
नय[ति] रथममुञ्चेद्दक्षिणेनोत्तरेण स्यु¹⁷रति हि दिवसाना कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि । त—
- 24 ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — [मे*]स्यातेप्यभिज्ञो ध्रुवमनभिविलघ्य प्राप्य सीदत्यम[न्द](न्दम्)¹⁸॥[२५॥*]
अलङ्घ्यशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव । पातङ्गिरङ्घ्र(ङ्घ्र)व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू—
- 25 ७ ७¹⁹॥[२६*] — — ७ ७ — वराहचरणक्षोदादुदञ्चत्किण पृष्ठ मे तव तत्क्षणो[द्धृ]तवि(बि)स—
प्राया शिरसन्तति । मा गाङ्गङ्गमितोपसर्पं निदधे तत्तावदेतद्ध्रुव कूर्म्मस्यापि व—
- 26 — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ वाहे भवन्²⁰॥[२७॥*] कि व(ब)हुना ॥ सर्व्वप्रासा[दरा]जोय नियत
प्रतिभाति न । यदस्य केतुदण्डाग्रलग्नश्छत्रायते विधु²¹॥[२८॥*] स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु—

¹ Metre *Sragdharā*

² Kielhorn read वात त्वमाधिरोहे, but he admitted, that he did not understand its exact meaning

³ Metre *Āryā*

⁴ Kielhorn proposed to change this into वियद्गामिन, but this is unnecessary

⁵ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁶ Metre *Pushpitāgrā*

⁷ Read —प्ययास्यद्यदि

⁸ Metre *Upajāti*

⁹ The क of कलश, which was at first omitted, is written below the line

¹⁰ Metre *Mālinī*

¹¹ Read सुदर्शन Metre *Anushtubh*.

¹² Kielhorn's suggestions to read —रननुभूता and वातवृष्टि are unnecessary See the translation below

¹³ Metre *Mālinī*

¹⁴ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied as —पनेनात्र

¹⁵ This has not been altered to क्षताना as Kielhorn thought

¹⁶ Metre *Sragdharā*

¹⁷ This *akshara* is certainly not स्म It resembles स्यु more than any other

¹⁸ Metre *Mālinī*

¹⁹ Read —दिह Metre *Anushtubh*

²⁰ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

²¹ Metre *Anushtubh*.

KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA II

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- 27 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — [र]मुष्य¹ ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डाधारमूर्ध्नो [दृढ]तरजगतीनिश्चलीभावशङ्को ।
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्मुररिपुशरण यावदेतच्चकास्तीत्येतच्चाशसन
- 28 — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — [क्र]रूप(पम्)²॥[२९॥*] न्यवीविश[त्पुरे] चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसू-
निव । दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्राममदानृप³॥[३०॥*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजो ग्राम देवा-
- 29 . . . [I] . . . [प्रा]दादस्मै ग्रहे भानो⁴॥[३१॥*] नृपानुमत्या भक्त्या च स्वीयया
तस्य राहडा । ग्राम चक्रह्णदीमस्मै महादेवी व्यशिश्रणत्⁵॥[३२॥*] श्रीशङ्क-
- 30 स्मै । देवाय दानशौण्डो ग्रहणे सोमस्य वैष्णवपरम⁶॥[३३॥*]
धवलहरासव(ब)द्ध⁷ प्रायच्छच्छल्लिपाटकं ग्राम(मम्) । भानोरन्तरपाट ग्रहणे देवा-
- 31 . . .⁸॥[३४॥*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ, ॐ ॐ [ल]क्षेत्रक ददौ । तत्समीपे वराहाय क्षेत्र द्वादशखण्डि-
क(कम्)⁹॥[३५॥*] मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासन वटगर्तिका(काम्) । स्वकीय¹⁰शासने श्री-
मान्वल्ले-
- 32 ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॥[३६॥*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ शासने¹¹ । श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवाप-
मिहागत ॥[३७॥*] पुरपत्तनयो स्थान शुक्लामेकादशी ददौ । द्वादशीमपि यात्राया षो-
- 33 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॥[३८॥*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ का तथा । नित्यमेका षष्ठी गोण्या षोडशी-
द्वितय तथा ॥[३९॥*] कषायपञ्चके देशिर्दानमध्ये न्यवेदयत् । सार्द्धद्वाविंशमशं च बाह्य पाद-
- 34 ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॥[४०॥*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ । [वाग्]लिकप्रधानश्च पर्णपञ्चाशत
ददौ॥[४१॥*] पर्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा । खलभिक्षाश्चतस्रश्च मण्डल सकल
ददौ ॥[४२॥*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) [Bali]¹² unwillingly gave land measuring three footsteps to Vāmana, the great recipient (*of the gift*), this (*Lakshmanarāja*) on the other hand, whose charity is witnessed by the people, has always (*and*) with gratification given numerous villages to (*members of*) the Brāhmana caste, (*though*) not entreated (*by them*)

(V 2) In the glorious lineage of the sage Bharadvāja was born, like a second Dharma, the illustrious **Bhākamiśra** who, modest by his virtues, was venerable to kings, (*and*) always rendered multitudes of supplicants happy

(V 3) On account of him¹³, oh, what a wonder! Brihaspati became confounded, the moon ugly, Budha unwise, Uśanas ignorant, and the oppressive planet (Saturn?) incapable of overtaking (*the people*)

(V 4) With its body oppressed by the very excessive and intense heat of the fires of his endless sacrifices, the earth was borne with great difficulty by the quarter-

¹ Kielhorn read [रमुख्य], but the reading given above is quite certain

² Metre *Sragdharā*

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ Metre *Aryā*

⁵ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁶ Metre *Udgīta*

⁷ Perhaps धवलाहार is meant, but it would not suit the metre

⁸ Metre *Aryā*

⁹ Metre of vv 34-42 *Anushtubh*

¹⁰ Kielhorn read स्वकीये, but there is no sign of any *mātrā* on य

¹¹ This word is quite clear on the original stone Kielhorn, however, read [यते]

¹² The few legible words in l 1 do not admit of a coherent meaning They seem to refer to Lakshmanarāja's army encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparnī

¹³ In the original, verses 3-6 contain relative clauses, having for their correlative *śrī Bhākamiśraḥ* in verse 2

elephants, Śeṣha, the lord of serpents and the Tortoise, who lost their patience on account of the pain they (*had to*) bear

And he—

(V 5) Where did he not cause temples to be constructed, tanks to be excavated, wells with steps and those without them to be dug, and gardens of mango trees to be planted?

(V 6) Having obtained him, eminent by noble descent,¹ as his Prime Minister, the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)** attained prosperity free from all deficiency, just as the sun being united with the eastern mountain—which, being a principal mountain, appears beautiful,—attains high altitude, completely dispelling the night.

(V 7) His son was that **Sōmēśvara**, well-known here, who felt no doubt in (*interpreting*) the Vēdas, who was a complete master of grammar, who was (*an*) inconceivable (*adept*) even in logic, who had a superior intellect in the interpretation of Tantra (*works*), who was the foremost in Vēdānta, (*and*) clever in remembering poetic compositions

(V 8) His intellect did not discard painting,² he was incomparable in conduct and quite skilful in triple symphony, he was matchless in the sciences of the care and examination of elephants and horses and in (*the testing of*) the three (*kinds*) of jewels (*and*) was at the head of the intelligent

(V 9) There is only one *kalā* (*i e.*, digit of the moon) on the head of Śiva, the *kalās* of the moon are well-known to be fifteen (*in number*), (*but*) who is able to enumerate the pleasing *kalās* (*arts*) of the illustrious Bhatta, the *Dikṣita* Sōmēśvara?

(V 10) (*The mountain*) Mēru is one mass of hoarded gold, the Himālaya has become extremely frigid by its increasing heaps of snow, the mountain of crystal (*i e.*, Kailāsa) appears dreadful.³ How can he (*i e.*, Sōmēśvara) who has bestowed on supplicants his entire store of gold, who has reached the limit of highest knowledge (*and*) who is gentle (*by nature*), be compared to this triad of mountains?

(V 11) In the sacrifice, he smeared his body with butter, discarding saffron,⁴ for, what is difficult to be accomplished by the self-controlled?

(V 12) Of his wives this was the dress on (*the days of*) Parvan, specially charming, being uncommon,—in which the girdle was set aside (*and*) a rope of *muñja*⁵ was worn (*instead*), the silken garment dropped down (*from their bodies*), (*and*) the linen cloth was chosen (*in its place*)⁶

(V. 13) The multitudes of the house-parrots of him, the sacrificer, said thus at (*each*) twilight:—‘O Agnīdh⁷! kindle the fires according to prescribed rules. O Adhvaryu!

¹ There is a play on the words *unnati*, *dōsha* (or *dōshā*) and *kula-gōtra*, in consequence of which the expressions in which they occur can be understood in connection with both Yuvarājadēva I and the sun

² Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *pusta* in the sense of painting. It can also be taken in the sense of a book or a record. Compare *pustapāla* which occurs in several Gupta records in the sense of a record-keeper, see, *e g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 81

³ There are puns on the words *jādyā* and *raudra*, which besides the meanings given above convey those of ‘dullness’ and ‘belonging to Rudra’ respectively

⁴ In the initiatory rite (*dikṣhanīy-śrī*) of the Agnishtōma sacrifice, the sacrificer is required to anoint himself with butter. See *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (ed. by Caland), p. 157

⁵ In an *śrī*, the wife of the sacrificer ties round her waist a threefold girdle of *kusa*, called *yōkētra*.

⁶ The meaning of *vīra* is uncertain, but the context shows that some coarse garment (as contrasted with *dukūla*, a silken garment) is meant. On the occasion of *agnyādhāna*, the sacrificer and his wife are required to dress themselves in garments of linen (*kṣauma*) which may be meant here

⁷ The priest who kindles fire in a sacrifice

milk the cow (*which is*) useful for the sacrifice, and wash quickly the *sruch* together with the *sruva*¹ Let the wife (*of the sacrificer*) attend the Gārhapatya fire with hot water'

(V 14) In his harem, this was said by the *sārikā* (*every*) evening —'O Superintendent of the harem! let the floor of the residential mansion be washed with scented water Courtezans! give (*me*) numerous jewelled lights with bright flames O maid-servant! keep ready all (*the*) scents O Queen! You also mind (*your*) dress!'

(V 15) All the sacrifices of the illustrious minister of the lord of Chēdi, who gave away (*in charity*) all his wealth, reached the standard of the *Vīśvajit* sacrifice²

(V 16) How insignificant are we of worthless speech in enumerating the merits of that illustrious Bhatta Sōmēśvara,—at the place of whose sacrifices and in the fore-front of whose battles, hymns and eulogies are recited by the Hōtri priests and bards (*respectively*), (*sāmans and panegyrics*) are sung in *shadja* and other notes and in an extremely sweet voice by the Udgātri priests³ and musicians (*respectively*), (*and*) there moves about (*respectively*) the Adhvaryu priest, foremost in sacrificial work, whose hand is wet with (*the water poured in making*) gifts, and the elephant whose trunk is wet with rutting juice!

(V 17) To his palanquin the illustrious **Lakshmaṇarāja (II)** put his shoulder, when the bearer of it ascending to an airy place⁴ was stumbling a little on account of the fatigue of carrying it

(V 18) This temple of the god (Vishnu) the enemy of demons, which has covered the faces of (*all*) quarters, has been constructed by that virtuous and foremost minister of the illustrious lord of Chēdi,—(*the temple*) whose banner-cloth, which is incessantly fluttering, being struck by wind, is most assuredly making a sign to such as go through the sky to turn back (*from the temple*) which has blocked their path

(V 19) This high temple which appears very straight outside, but is very curved inside, which has surpassed (*in height*) the temples of others, (*and*) which has manifestly risen above the whole world, appears like an insolent calumniator who shows himself very straight-forward outwardly, (*but*) is crooked at heart, who has disparaged others' fame, and openly insulted all people⁵

(V 20) This temple also, which, though possessing splendour, confers liberation, showing all forms (*by its sculptures*) in front would have borne resemblance to (*Vishnu*) the enemy of gods (*who, though he deprived Bali of his fortune, conferred liberation, showing him his all-embracing form*), if (*only, like the latter*), it had been small (*in size*)⁶

(V 21) On account of the upraised flag (*of this temple*) made of a white (*piece of*) cloth attached to the (*upper*) end of an extremely high staff, the heavenly river, with its stream flowing along the staff which looks splendid with the golden jar (*on the spire of the temple*), appears always to assume the very form of a banner.

(V 22) Association with the exalted leads to great excellence, for even the dazzling sun can be easily looked at from here⁷

(V 23) On the top of this temple which can be reached (*by the sun*) after a pair of watches (*i.e.*, six hours), where there is a (*cool*) breeze produced by the flapping of the

¹ *Sruch* means a sacrificial ladle in general, while *sruva* is a sacrificial ladle of *kbadira* (*Acacia Catechu*), measuring a cubit (*aratni*) in length

² Because he gave away all his wealth in each sacrifice

³ The priests who sing the hymns of the *Sāmaveda*

⁴ *Vāitandhama*, an airy place, is mentioned in the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, III, 2, 30

⁵ There are puns on several words here, on account of which they can be construed with the temple and the calumniator

⁶ Vishnu was *vāmana* (*dwaifish*)

⁷ For it is connected with the *high* temple

large hem of the banner-cloth (*and*) where the heavenly river meets, the sun invariably gives a currying to his horses (*such as they had*) not enjoyed before (*at that time of the day*)

(V 24) Morning after morning the sun, the wheels of whose (*chariot*) break down, colliding against the high spire of this temple during his incessant roaming (*through the sky*), repairs both of them innumerable times I fancy that every evening the banner-staff (*of this temple*) completely counts to the people all the axles¹ (*that had broken*) owing to (*the sun's chariot*) jolting in the cavity of the sky (*caused*) by the peak (*of this temple*)

(V 25) If he (*i.e.*, the sun's charioteer) were to take the chariot by the south or the north of this (*temple*), there would be the (*untimely*) shortening and lengthening of the days,² . (So) expert as he is in crossing even the Mēru mountain, he is not a little confounded when he reaches this (*temple*) which is firm (*and*) impossible to be crossed

(V 26) The son of the sun (*i.e.*, Saturn) suffered (*here*) the pain caused by the injury to his legs³ as if because of his inordinate fondness for crossing the impassable row of the spires (*of this temple*)

(V 27) 'My⁴ back is becoming scarred, being trampled under the feet of the Boar! Let not the row of your hoods, which is (*soft*) almost like lotus-stalks just drawn (*out of water*), break (*under my weight*)! Turn aside Let me place this (*my body*) on (*the back of*) the Tortoise!

What is the use of saying more?

(V 28) This certainly appears to us to be the best of all temples, since the moon (*when*) joined to the top of its flag staff, appears like an umbrella

(V 29) May this . . . of this (*temple*), the top of which supports the egg of Brahman, and which is the peg that renders the earth immovable, last as long as the world! (*And*) may the world endure as long as this temple of (*Vishnu*), the enemy of Mura, will shine . . . Such is (*our*) wish!

(V 30) The king made eight Brāhmanas, resembling (*as many*) Vasus, settle in this city (*and*) gave them a village named **Dirghaśākhika**.

(V 31) The illustrious **Lakshmaṇarāja** (II) gave the village . . . to this god on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun.

(V 32) His great Queen **Rāhadā**, with her devotion and the king's consent, gave this (*god*) the village **Chakrahradī**

(V 33) The illustrious **Śaṅka[ragaṇa]** (III) the devout worshipper of Vishnu, skilled in charity, gave . . . on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the moon

(V 34) (*He*) gave the village **Chhallipātaka**, which is situated in the *āhāra*⁵ of **Dhavalā** and **Antarapāṭa** on (*the occasion of*) an eclipse of the sun

(V 35) (*He*) gave the (*divine*) Boar the field . . . and also another yielding (*a crop of*) twelve *khandis*

(V 36) The illustrious **Vallē[śvara]** gave as a grant,⁶ the village **Vaṭagartikā** (*situated*) in the **Mālā** (*group*) of twelve (*villages*) in his own territory

¹ The stars are probably intended to be referred to as 'axles' The staff as it points to different stars during the night is said to count them to the people

² For these are caused by the *dakṣiṇāyana* and the *uttarāyana* of the sun

³ Hence he is called *Śanaśchāra* (one who walks slowly)

⁴ This is evidently said by the Earth to the serpent Śeṣha The temple was dedicated to the Boar-incarnation of Vishnu Hence the Earth says that her back bears the scars of the wounds caused by His hoofs

⁵ See above, p 191, n 7

⁶ *Śāsana* is used here in the sense of 'a village granted by a charter' Compare *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 76

(V. 37) (He) . . who had come here, gave a field, sown with a *khārī*¹ of grain, in his own territory, to the god, the holy Sōmasvāmin

(V. 38) The Superintendent² of the city and the town gave (*to the god*) (*the income?*) on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight and also on the twelfth day during the fair (*of the god*) .

(V. 39) (He) always gave a jar (*of corn*³) for every *gōnī*,⁴ and also a couple of *shōdaśīs*⁵ (i e., *karsha*)

(V. 40) The Dēśī⁶ offered one and a half times the one-twentysecond portion of the five spirituous liquors and a quarter of the goods carried (*into the town?*) among (*these*) donations

(V. 41) And the Chief of the Vāgūlikas⁷ gave (*a bundle of*) fifty leaves⁸

(V. 42) The Pāyatis gave another (*bundle of*) fifty leaves And the whole Mandala gave the alms at four threshing floors⁹

No. 43, PLATE XXXIII

BARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF ŚABARA

THIS inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol XXI, Part I, p 101 and Part II, pp 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rāi Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*¹⁰ and was edited by me in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXV, pp 278 ff. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters has disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three *aksharas*. The average

¹ A *khārī* is a measure equal to sixteen *drōnas*

² *Sthāna* seems to be used here in the sense of the *sthān-ādhikṛita* or *sthāna-pati*. Cf No 88, l 15

³ *Ghatī* as a measure is mentioned in the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, III 2 30. If it is the same as *kumbha*, it would be equal to twenty *drōnas*

⁴ A *gōnī* is a measure equal to four *khārīs* (Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol I, p 537)

⁵ Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *shōdaśīkā*, meaning 'sixteen *māśas*', that is, equal to one *karsha*. Or, on the analogy of *viṃśōpaka* it may have been so called, because it was equivalent to one sixteenth of a *dramma*

⁶ *Dēśī*, which occurs as *Dēśī* in the Pehevā inscription (*Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 187), means probably the foreman of a guild, or the guild itself. See the Harsha stone inscription (*ibid*, Vol II, p 124) and the Nādlai stone inscription, (*ibid*, Vol XI, p 43)

⁷ The lexicons give *vāgūli* in the sense of a kind of plant, perhaps the betel-plant. *Vāgūlika* used here may in that case denote 'a seller of betel-leaves'

⁸ The Rajor inscription of Mathanadēva also mentions the tax of fifty leaves on every *chōllikā* (of leaves), brought from outside the town, see *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 267.

⁹ See below, p 198, n 1

¹⁰ First edition, (1916), pp 39-40, second edition (1932), p 43.

size of the letters is 1 5 " The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet As regards individual letters, we may note that *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top ; *ih* shows a vertical stroke on the right , *r* exhibits two forms,—one with a loop as in *krīdaram* , l. 3 and the other without it in *-Savara-* , l. 1 Rā Bahadur Hirālāl conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A C , but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A C.

The language is Sanskrit The record is written in prose throughout It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of *sandhi* (as in *atō arthē* for *atō=’rthē* in l. 4) and of gender (as in *śapath=ēdam* for *śapathō=’yam* in the same line) The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-Savara-* and *-Valādhukrita*, both in l. 1, and *-vrahma-stamba-* in l. 2

The record opens with *ōm namah* and refers to a Commander of the army (*Balādhukrita*) of Śābara. His name, which is partly mutilated, appears to be Śiva The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Śankaranārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa

The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but as stated above, it can, on palaeographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A C The illustrious Śābara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Śābara, named Śimha, mentioned in the fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsā, to which Dr F E Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XXXI, p 111, n 2 The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, who was a minister of the king Krishna, after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Śābara named Śimha, placed the king of the Rālā *mandala* and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāiḷlasvāmin at Viḍiśā near Bhilsā, where he composed a *stōtra* in praise of the god¹ From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Śābara chief Śimha together in the same line, Dr Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chēdian generalissimo The Śābara of the present inscription too was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king, for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon, to which General Cunningham² has drawn attention, refers to a Kalachuri king or kings But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Śābara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Krishna, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsā, Mr M B Garde, Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces It mentions one Narasimha of the Śulki (or Chālukya) family, who at the command of Krishnarāja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood³ As Kēsari, the son of Narasimha was, according to the inscription, appointed *Tantrādhipa* (Minister of Home Affairs) by Vākpati-Muñja (*circa* 972-995 A C), Krishnarāja can be placed about 950 A C This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (982 A C) of a pilgrim record which Mr Garde discovered on a pillar

¹ See ‘*Chēd-īśam samarē vijitya Śābaram sambritya śimbhāvayam | Rālā-mandala-Rōdapādy-avanipō (param) bhūmyām pratishbhāpya cha || Dēvam drashtum =ib-āgatō rachitavām(n) stōtram pavitram param | śrīmat-Krishna-nrip-āika-mantri-pada-bhāke-Kaundinya-Vāchaspatiḥ ||* cited by F E Hall in *J A S B*, Vol XXXI, p 111, n 2.

² *C. A S I R*, Vol XXI, pp 101 and 165

³ *A R A D G S*, (1930-31), p 10

of a dilapidated medieval temple at Gyāraspur¹ This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as *Kṛṣṇnēśvara* The god was evidently so named after a king named Krishna who consequently must have flourished before 982 A C. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the aforementioned date for Krishna This Krishna is probably identical with Kṛṣṇnapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions² at Dudahī, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhanga, for whom we have dates ranging from 954 A C to 1002 A C Kṛṣṇnapa may, therefore, be referred to the period 960-85 A C From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhanga dated V 1011 we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south³ It seems, therefore, that Dhanga placed his brother Kṛṣṇnapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahī in the north to Bhilsā in the south

If the identification of the illustrious Śabara of the present inscription with the Śabara chief slain by Kṛṣṇnarāja's minister is accepted, the Śabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A C The Kalachuri suzerain, to whom he owed allegiance, was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The name of the god Śankaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Sankara,⁴ who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kārītālāi stone inscription⁵ of Lakshmanarāja II It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called *parama-vaishnava* or a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in that record.

TEXT⁶

- 1 सिद्धि⁷ [I*] ओ नम श्रीशव(ब)रसत्कव(ब)लाधीकृत⁸[शिव] . .
-
- 2 भ्यर्थित⁹समस्तत्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तं(ब)स्थानतपोधनसम .
-
- 3 श्रीशकरनारायणार्थे खला(ल)भिषा(क्षा) प्रदत्ता कुदर¹⁰ .
-
- 4 क अतो अर्थे¹¹ यो वि(व्य)भिचरति तस्य शपथेद¹² ब्र(ब्र)ह्मह-
त्य(त्या)पातके¹³
- 5 म्य इति¹⁴ [II*]

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr Garde.

² These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham see his *A S I R*, Vol X, pp 94 and 95, plate XXXII They were edited by Kielhorn in *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, pp 236-37

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 129

⁴ For an analogous case, see the name *Indranārāyaṇa* of the image in the temple erected by the Rāshtrakūta Emperor Indra III at Bodana in the Hyderabad State, *H A S*, No I, p 2

⁵ Above, No 42, line 29

⁶ From ink impressions

⁷ Expressed by a symbol

⁸ Read —धिकृत—.

⁹ Read अभ्यर्थित—

¹⁰ Perhaps some word like *cha* is lost after कुदर.

¹¹ Read अतोर्थे, used in the sense of अस्मिन्नर्थे.

¹² Read शपथेय

¹³ Read —पातकेन सयुक्तो भविष्यति ।

¹⁴ Read —स्येति.

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Adoration! [Siva], the *Balādhikṛita* of the illustrious Śabara . . . has given the cess at the threshing floor¹ and a granary for the holy Sankaranārāyaṇa to . . . the ascetic residing in the temple (*which is the only one*) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas² venerated by . . .

(Line 4) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (*our*) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa

No. 44, PLATE XXXIV

CHANDREHE STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA . (KALACHURI) YEAR 724

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr Beglar³, one of the Assistants of Sir A Cunningham at Chandrēhi or Chandrēhē⁴ (long 81° 32' E and lat 24° 18' N.), a small village about a mile from the right bank of the Sōna close to its confluence with the Banās, in the District of Rewa, in Vindhya Pradesh. The record was first noticed by Dr Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XX, p 85, and again in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol I, p 354, n 1. A transcript of its text, together with a translation, was given by Mr. R D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No 23), pp 110 ff. The same scholar subsequently edited it, with a lithograph and a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXI, pp. 148 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on two slabs of stone 'which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is, on the whole, in a very good state of preservation'.⁵ The record consists of twenty-seven lines, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first stone (marked A, below) and thirteen on the second (marked B). The average size of the letters is 1". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet and show some development over those of the Kāṛitālāi inscription of Lakshmanarāja II.⁶ *Kh* and *g*, for instance, show an acute-angled triangle in their left limb, *dh*, on the other hand, shows no development in its left limb, but closely resembles *v*, except that it has no line at the top, two forms of *ḷ* are used, one generally in ligatures, see *-kvanad-*, l 5, *kshanam*, l 13, and the other elsewhere, *th* has a vertical on the right, *ph* exhibits two forms, for the first, which is developed from the old type, see *phan-*, l 1, *-phan-īśvara-*, l 4 and *-dvirēpha-*, l 20, and for the second, which survives in the later Nāgarī, see *sphārī-*,

¹ *Khala-bhikṣā*, *lit* 'alms at a threshing floor', was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee, the record does not make clear. The Kāṛitālāi stone inscription (above, No 42) refers in line 34 to the donation of four *khala-bhikṣās*.

² *Brahma-stambha* occurs in verse 14 of the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarna, Nos 56 and 57 below, but there too the correct expression evidently is *brahma-stamba* meaning 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas'.

³ C. A. S. I. R., Vols XIII, pp 6 ff and XIX, pp 90 ff.

⁴ The place is called Chandrē in the Degree Map No 63 H.

⁵ *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, p 148.

⁶ No. 42, above.

l 2 and *-phanam*, l. 4, the left limb of *ś* is joined to the vertical on the right, see *Śivāya* l. 1, the right-hand stroke for the medial *ā* and *ō* occasionally appears crescent-shaped, see *vidyuch-chhankām*, l 20, the medial *ē* and one of the components of *ai*, *ō* and *au* are in some cases formed by lengthening the top stroke to the left to end in a small curve, while in others they are shown by a fully developed *prishtha-mātrā*, see, e g, *-bhāvē*, l 16, and *vairam*, l 21

The language is Sanskrit With the exception of the customary obeisance to Śiva in the beginning and certain names and the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed There are twenty verses in all The record is, on the whole, carefully composed and incised, such mistakes as *dadān=* for *dadad=*, l. 13 and *charamñ=jagati* in l 16 being rare As regards orthography, we note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* throughout, see, e g, *-vrahmānda-*, l 4, *n* is used for *anvāsra* in *hansa-*, l 2, and *-dhvansa-*, l 18, and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *saśvad=*, l 12

After the introductory *ōm namah Śivāya*, the record has three verses which describe Śiva and his *tāṇḍava* dance and invoke his blessings Then comes the spiritual genealogy of the Śaiva ascetic **Prabōdhaśiva** who put up the record In the spiritual succession of the **Mattamayūra** (clan) there was **Purandara**, the preceptor of kings His disciple was **Śikhāśiva**, who is later on referred to as the lord of **Madhumatī**. His disciple was **Prabhāvaśiva**, who was invited to accept some land by **Yuvarājadēva**. He was followed by **Praśāntaśiva**, who built a hermitage at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill at the confluence of the **Śōṇa** His disciple was **Prabōdhaśiva** who is said to have practised penance even in his boyhood and constructed roads through mountains and across rivers and streams He constructed the monastery, where the inscription was put up, close by the temple erected by his preceptor **Praśāntaśiva**, excavated a tank by the side of the hill and dug a well near the monastery. He also repaired and further excavated the well, dug by his preceptor, which had become dilapidated and full of wood in course of time The *praśasti* was composed by the poet **Dhāmsata**, the son of **Jēika** and **Amarikā** and grandson of the *Dīkshita* **Mēhuka** It was written by **Dāmōdara**, the son of **Lakshmīdhara** and younger brother of **Vāsudēva**, and incised by **Nilakantha** by the command of the *Sūtradhāra* **Sūrāka**

The date of the inscription¹ is given in the last line as **Samvat 724, Phālguna śudi 5** Both the year and the *tithi* are expressed in numerical figures only The palaeography of the inscription clearly indicates that the date must be referred to the Kalachuri era It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 724, to Monday, the 10th February, 973 A C It does not admit of verification

The present inscription refers to a temple built by **Praśāntaśiva** which was close to the monastery erected by **Prabōdhaśiva** The former is, therefore, as Mr. R D Banerji has shown,² the temple of Śiva, which is still standing within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery at Chandrēhē The *āśrama* at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill, which is now in ruins is still called **Bhramarsēn**.

¹ The date was first read by Beglar as *Samvat 324, Phālguna-śudi 6* He, however, changed the year to *Samvat 1324*, see *C A S I R*, Vol XIII, p 8 Kielhorn gave the correct reading of the date for the first time and referred it to the Kalachuri era in the *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 85 and *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 354 Banerji, however, gave the *tithi* as 6 in his transcript of the text published in the *Haibayas of Tripuri etc*, Appendix C, p 119, but it appears as 5 in his article on the inscription published posthumously in the *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, p 149 For a similar figure denoting 5, see above, p 181

² *P R A S, W C*, (1921), p 53, *H T M*, pp 32 ff

TEXT¹

A

- 1 ओ नम शिवाय ॥ फणिश्वासस्यामे स्वनदमरनद्यम्भसि च यज्जटाजूटाम्भोदे नयनशिखिविद्यु-
द्विलसति । तथा चूडाचन्द्रद्युति—
- 2 निकरधारेव ककुभ कपालाना माला तुलयति स शर्वो विजयते² ॥ [१॥*] हन्स³श्येनी हसित-
महसा सहतिश्शङ्करस्य स्फारीभूता वदनमभितो
- 3 नाग[च]म्मवृतस्य । कि[ञ्च]त्कण्ठच्छविकलुषिता मेघनिर्यन्मृगा[ङ्क]च्छाया स्वच्छा सपदि
दधती सम्पद वो ददातु⁴ ॥ [२॥*] चारीसचरणप्रवीणचरणव्या—
- 4 पारणाघूर्णितक्षोणीकुण्डनमत्फणीश्वरफण विद्राणदिग्वारण (णम्) । दोर्हण्डभ्रमणादकाण्डचलित-
त्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्ड मुदे भूयाद्वो निवि(बि)ड—
- 5 क्वण्डमरुक चण्डीपतेस्ताण्डवम्⁵ ॥ [३॥*] श्रीमन्मत्तमयूरसन्ततिरिय गगेव लोकत्रय पूया-
[द्य]त्र पुरन्दर कृततपा जज्ञे गुरुर्भूभुजाम् । शिष्यस्त—
- 6 स्य शिखाशिव शिखिसमो वि(बि)भ्रत्तपस्तेजसा दीपत्व विनिपाति[ता]न्धतमसो निर्व्वर्णमाग्नो
[स्थि]त ॥ [४॥*] ततो मधुमतीपते कृतमहातप—
- 7 स्सञ्चय प्रभावशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशैवचूडामणि । अनेकनृपवन्दि[त] स युवराजदेवेन [य]स्त-
पोधनपति । कृतश्चरणपूतगोलग्निक⁶ ॥ [५॥*]
- 8 प्रशान्तशिवचन्द्रमास्तदनु तस्य शिष्योभवत्तम प्रमथनोद्यमप्रकटितस्वरूप शुचि । व(ब)भार गु-
णिषु श्रिय कुमुदकल्पशैवेषु य समुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ल—
- 9 यश प्रभाधवलताखिलाशामुख ॥ [६॥*] स शोणनदसङ्गमे भ्रमरशैलमूलेतुल प्रियालवनसकुले
फलमृणालकन्दाशन । चका—
- 10 र विदित जनैर्मुनिसख । प्रशान्ताश्रम स्वपादपदपक्तिभि पवितभूतलो य कृती ॥ [७॥*] देवो-
द्यानगतेन्द्रससदि मुदा गन्धर्व्वविद्याधरै—
- 11 रानन्दाय च धूर्जटे⁷ श्लथयता वाद्यादर नन्दिना । लीलालोलितमौलिना करगलद्वत्नेन
यस्योच्चकैर्भास्वत्सारथिना तथा
- 12 प्रतितप स(श)श्वद्यशो गीयते⁸ ॥ [८॥*] प्रवो(बो)धशिव इत्यभूत्सकलशिष्यवर्गग्रणी स
तस्य मदनद्विष । परशुरामनामा यथा । यश खचित—
- 13 दिङ्मुखो गुणिजनाय वित्त दद[नृ]ष्णीकृतवसुन्धरो विजितशत्रुवर्गश्च य⁹ ॥ [९॥*] उद-
ग्रशिखितर्पणप्रगुणितैकपाणि क्षण कुमार
- 14 इव सर्व्वदा परिहृताङ्ग[ना]सगम । समुन्नतमहीभृति प्रकटि[ता]त्मशवितक्र[मो] मनोभव-
रिपुप्रियो विहितदेवकार्यश्च य ॥ [१०॥*]

B

- 15 विचार्य निखिलागमान्विधिसमाधिवु(बु)द्धेश्वर प्रियालफलमूलकामलकशाकशालूकभुक् ।
नदोक्षितधरातले गुरुजनानु—

¹ From inked stampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India

² Metre *Sikharinī*

³ Read हस—

⁴ Metre *Mandākrāntā*

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse *Sārdūlavikrīdita*

⁶ Metre of this and the two following verses *Prithvī*

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīdita*

⁸ Read दद—

⁹ Metre of this and the two following verses *Prithvī*

16 विरायैनि(रिनागनादि(विमना(दुदगुरः(विद्यालदनमूनलननकमत्तरत्रकदुका(कषकिमवरागनलेगुफकनक
 16 दारोनपचुरमगति(विष्णयंवा(नितपालसाय(पियःकमदोदृष्टदुर्गपगुलतरकदःममरमोदनमिरंय(नितिर(दु
 18 रकार्यनकरागुतगामजुरभू(विस्मजनवदुःकिमपरुनाबनद्यादु(दुदुवनमनिशाममदिममगुसपावगामोक्तव
 18 कदलनकशु(विजानदीरेशानयोभु(नहनमेरावरःवय(रिगोतःमुवेवि(विजगदवनचुनकरदरागुगुये(दपवय
 20 तिमतकभूनदगामा(कदतरनरहेणआनःकलरवमभुमोनगव(नमलाधु(वराजोव(नवनिताचुरः(नितार(सिर
 20 रद्याकपदधिर(दपयावराजकय(निकके(वशुदुमल्लव(निरा(रिया(पुनू(नगनरभीणाभृगाराकयाना(मोभूव(पवतिरा
 22 दुसिभुमृगस्या(वेरं(निकंपर(दर(नि(विरोविमोत्रयध्वआसाया(नमकोदिनमोयवसु(गुरुकतदुराभा(रादागटवम
 22 ०मुकतद्वक(मिवयसःगुडाडादं(दिसालमशीकरत्(मकुभिरमधे(मिभुपुछुं(तदराभरीषमगुपुरम(बिलेनायम
 24 पूवोव(सिवःसमी(जोमगुसाकसिवकारितमकुपंकानेवशीपुप(तता(मिलदोरपूरमा(दृगुरोशुर(सितार(न
 24 वि(विबुमोदीकारतरकुदूरमशीसकश॥वदुवदु(विदीकि(तो(विदितकीर्तकोमैदुकःमयदहूरगभापुणीर(ककयगुम
 26 कं(कं(नतमूम(रि(कोदरेयमदवदु(रिंशेयटःपम(सिमकारोदयो(विकटवर्तुवशु(विमाभा॥परपुप(निकगदुदुदु(दिया
 26 (दसिनातनमूलिनमनिभा(रधी(लेःवर्धितदूतना(र(नियरिनांयंयदृणीरववमैमपुरय(रिदयंनवकीर्तः(मृगमुदु(विदितान
 26 श्रीपरमुनःश्यातोसामुरेवामुनःमुशेः(नंयायोगोदरोलेनीसमजिंपुवरा(क्ष्मा॥पुः॥भरदूराक(उवाको)ओलेनकतुभा॥मय(१॥२॥२॥नुभुव(रि॥

- 16 कारी तपश्चरञ्जगति¹ विस्मय व्यधित वा(वा)लभावेपि य ॥[११॥*] महीभृन्मूढाग्रिप्रगु-
णतरपाद. समुदयी दधन्मित्रत्व यस्तिमिरभिद्रु-
- 17 र कार्यमकरोत् । तथा सन्ध्यारम्भे निखिलजनवन्द्य किमपर प्रतापेन व्याप्नोत्त्रिभुवनमपि प्राप्त-
महिमा² ॥ [१२॥*] गुरुग्रावग्रामोत्खन-
- 18 नदलनध्वन्स³विधिना महीध्रेध्वान यो व्यधित जलधौ राघव इव । सरित्स्रोत स्वेव विपिनगह-
नेष्वद्भुतकर जगत्याश्चर्यं हि प्रथय-
- 19 ति महत्कर्म महताम् ॥[१३॥*] जडतरमरुच्छोणस्याम्भ कर्णेरयमाश्रमो मृगपतिमहाध्वाने
रात्रौ प्रतिध्वनिताम्ब(म्ब)र । शिखरिशिख-
- 20 रप्रान्तप्रेङ्खद्विरेफयोधरो जनयति जने विद्युच्छङ्का महौषधिरोचिषा⁴ ॥ [१४॥*] [चु]म्ब(म्ब)न्ति
वानरगणा मृगशत्रुपोतान्सिहीस्तन पिव(व)ति चा-
- 21 त्त शिशुर्मृगस्य । वैर निज परिहरन्ति विरोधिनोन्ये सर्वस्य शाम्यति मनो हि तपोवनेषु ⁵ ॥
[१५॥*] गुरुकृतसुरागारादारादमु म-
- 22 ठमुन्नत स्वकमिव यशः शुभाभ्राभ विशालमचीकरत् । अनुगिरमथो सिन्धुप्रख्य तडागमचीखन-
त्प्रचुरसलिलं कूप चात्र
- 23 प्रवो(वो)धशिख शमी⁶ ॥[१६॥*] श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवकारितमत्र कूप कालेन शीर्णपतिताखि-
लदारूपम् । भक्त्या गुरोर्गुहशिलारचना-
- 24 विचित्र सोचीकरत्तदनु दूरमचीखनच्च⁷ ॥[१७॥*] व(व)भूव भुवि दीक्षितो विहितकीर्त्तनो
मेहुक स सज्जनगणाग्रणीरजनयत्सुत
- 25 जेइक(कम्) । ततस्त्वमरिकोदरे समभवत्कविर्द्धा सट. प्रशस्तिमकरोदमौ विकटवर्णव(व)न्धा-
मिमाम्⁸ ॥ [१८॥*] पशुपतिजटाजूटभ्रान्ता हिमा-
- 26 त्रिशिलातलस्खलितसलिला चञ्चद्वीचि पवित्रितभृतला । व्रजति सरिता नाथ यावद्भगीरथ-
वर्त्मना सुरसरिदिय तावत्कीर्ति स्थिरास्तु भुवि स्थिता⁹ ॥ [१९॥*] ल-
- 27 क्ष्मीधरसुत ख्यातो वासुदेवानुज सुधी । इमां दामोदरोलेखीत्प्रशस्ति प्रवराक्षरा(राम्)¹⁰ ॥
[२०॥*] सूत्रधारसूराकाज्ञयोत्कीर्णा नीलकण्ठेन॥ सम्बत्¹¹ ७२४ फात्गुन शु दि ५ [१*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Śiva!

(Verse 1) Glorious is that Sarva (Śiva), —in whose coiled matted hair, which is like a cloud, being dark with the hissing of serpents (*on his body*), and which resounds with the water of the heavenly river (Gangā) (*as a cloud resounds with thunder*), there flashes the fire of (*his third*) eye like lightning (*flashing in a cloud*), and whose wreath of human skulls resembles a garland of *champa* flowers,¹² even as the shower of the accumulated lustre of the moon on his head!

¹ Read —श्चरञ्जगति

² Metre of this and the following verse Śukharinī

³ Read —ध्वस-

⁴ Metre. Harinī

⁵ Metre Vasantatilakā

⁶ Metre Harinī

⁷ Metre Vasantatilakā

⁸ Metre Prithvī

⁹ Metre Harinī

¹⁰ Metre Anushtubh

¹¹ Read सवत्

¹² Banerji first translated *kakubham tulayati* by 'brightens the different quarters' and afterwards

(V 2) May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Śankara clad in an elephant-skin,—which, white like the goose, is spread round his face and which, being slightly darkened by the effulgence of his (*blue*) neck, at once assumes the clear splendour of the moon emerging from a cloud,—grant you prosperity!

(V. 3) May the Tāṇḍava dance of (Śiva), the husband of Chandī, give you delight! (*the dance*) which makes the hoods of the lord of serpents bend under (*the weight of*) the bowl-like earth which revolves on account of the movements of his feet, skilled in the *chārī* step, which puts to flight the elephants of the quarters, which causes a sudden movement of a part of the universe by the revolutions of his staff-like arms¹ and which is accompanied by the deep sound of the *damaru*!

(V 4) May this continuous succession of (*the Śaiva ascetics of*) the **Mattamayūra** (*clan*) purify the three worlds, like the Gangā¹—in which was born **Purandara**, who performed austerities, and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings His disciple (*was*) **Śikhāśiva**, (*who was*) like fire and who, (*refulgent*) with the lustre of his austerities, stood like a lamp on the path of final beatitude, having dispelled the pitchy darkness (*of ignorance*).

(V 5) From him (*i.e.*, Śikhāśiva), who was the lord of **Madhumatī**, was (*spiritually*) descended **Prabhāvaśiva**, who accumulated great austerities, was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas, and was revered by many kings He, who was the foremost among ascetics, was made by **Yuvarājadēva** (I) to sanctify, by his feet, the wanton woman that was the earth²

(V 6) After him there was his disciple, the moon-like **Praśāntaśiva**, who was pure³ (*even as the moon is bright*), whose real nature was manifested in his attempt to destroy ignorance (*as the moon's form is seen dispelling darkness*), who brightened the faces of all quarters by his bright fame (*as the moon does with her lustre*) and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas (*as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night-lotuses*)

(V 7) He, the virtuous one, the companion of sages, who lived on fruits, lotus-stalks and roots, (*and*) who sanctified the surface of the earth by the rows of his foot-prints, built an incomparable and quiet hermitage, well-known to the people, at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill covered with the forest of *pryāla*⁴ (*trees*) (*and situated*) at the confluence of the river **Śōṇa**.

(V 8) His⁵ fame is continuously sung with delight and in a high tone in every (*month of*) Māgha⁶ by the Gandharvas and Vidyādhara, in the assembly of Indra held in the celestial garden,—by Nandin who, to please Śiva, pays less attention to instrumental

by 'elevates the quarters' But both these renderings are unsatisfactory, for the verb *tulayati* never conveys the sense of 'brightening' and the garland of skulls can scarcely be described as 'elevating the quarters'! For our rendering of *kakubh* by 'a garland of champaka flowers' see *Kakup striyām pravēṇī-dikā-bhāsu champaka-sraṇi* cited in Mahēśvara's com. on *Amarakośa*, II, 45

¹ For the idea compare the *Mahānab stōtra*, v 16

² Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *lagnikā* (which is a wrong form of *nagnikā*) in the sense of 'a wanton woman' The poet has here evidently the story of Ahalyā in mind. As Rāma purified Ahalyā by the dust of his feet, so did Prabhāvaśiva sanctify the land that was presented to him by Yuvarājadēva (I)

³ There is a play on several words here, in consequence of which they can be construed with both the sage and the moon

⁴ *Buchanania Latifolia*

⁵ In the original this is a relative clause having for its correlative *sah* in v 7

⁶ The month of Māgha, in which the Śivarātri occurs, is held sacred by the Śaivas

music¹,—(and) by the charioteer of the sun, who gracefully waving his head from side to side in joy, allows the reins (*of his horses*) to slip from his hands.

(V. 9) There was the foremost of his disciples named **Prabōdhaśiva**, as Paraśurāma was of (Śiva) the enemy of Madana, —who, conquering all his enemies, adorned the faces of the quarters with his fame, and bestowing wealth on the meritorious, placed the earth under obligation

(V 10) He² was like Kumāra (*i e*, Kārttikēya), whose one hand was skilled in making offerings at the proper time to the high flames of fire (*as Kumāra's hand is in feeding his mighty peacock*), who (*like Kumāra*) always avoided the company of women, who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings (*as Kumāra exhibited that of his dart on the Krauñcha mountain*), who was devoted to (Śiva) the enemy of the mind-born (*as Kumāra also was dear to him*), and who performed (*all*) his duties towards the gods (*as Kumāra accomplished the work of the gods, viz., the destruction of the demon Tāraka*)³

(V 11) He, having thought over all the scriptures, realized God by the performance of religious austerities and meditation, and living on the fruits of *pryāla*, *āmalaka*,⁴ greens and *śālūka*⁵, caused the wonder of the world by practising austerities even in his boyhood on the bank (*lit*, the surface of the land) washed by the river (Sōna), imitating his spiritual preceptor

(V 12) He, having attained power, has acted like the rising sun,—whose feet are rendered more resplendent by the (*jewelled*) crests of kings (*who bowed to him, even as the sun's rays are when they fall on the peaks of mountains*), who has done the work of destroying ignorance (*as the sun dispels darkness*), who is revered by all people at the time of making peace (*as the sun is at the beginning of twilights*), (*and*)—what more (*need be said?*)—who, having attained greatness has pervaded the three worlds by his power (*as the sun does by its heat*)

(V 13) He, by the process of excavating, breaking and ramming⁶ heaps of large stones, has constructed a wonderful way through mountains (*and*) across rivers and streams, and also through forests and thickets, as Rāghava (*d'd*) across the ocean. A great deed of the mighty proclaims wonder in the world!

(V 14) At night this hermitage,—(*which is wafted*) with breezes, extremely cool with the sprays of the water of the Sōna, which makes the sky reverberate with loud roars of lions, and which has bee-like clouds hovering round mountain peaks,—causes people to suspect lightning on account of the phosphorescence of great medicinal plants (*growing near it*)

(V 15) In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, (*and*) the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness. Other hostile animals forget their (*natural*) antipathy (*to one another*), for the minds of all become tranquil in penance-groves

(V 16) Near the temple built by his preceptor, the tranquil Prabōdhaśiva caused to be erected this lofty and spacious monastery, which is, as it were, his own fame resembling white clouds. Thereafter he caused to be excavated a sea-like lake,⁷ by the side

¹ *I e*, in order to enable Śiva to hear his devotee's fame sung in heaven

² In the original vv 10-13 are relative clauses, having for their correlative *Prabōdhaśiva* in v 9

³ There is a play on several words in this verse, owing to which the adjectival expressions yield two meanings, one connected with the sage and the other with Kārttikēya

⁴ *Emblic Myrobalan*

⁵ *Śālūka* is 'the esculent root of different kinds of lotus' (M W)

⁶ The process of making roads described here shows that macadamizing was well known in those days, see *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, p 152, n 1

⁷ *Prakhyā* at the end of a compound means 'resembling' Banerji, however, takes *sindhu* to be the name of the lake

of the mountain, and (*also*) a well having copious water

(V. 17) On account of devotion to his preceptor he caused to be rebuilt with a wonderful masonry of large stones and then re-excavated (*very*) deep the well, which had been dug by the illustrious Praśāntaśiva at this place, (*but*) which had become dilapidated and full of wood fallen into it, in course of time.

(V. 18) There was a *Dīkshita* named Mēhuka, whose fame was known on the earth. He, who was foremost among good men, begot a son named Jēika. To him was born, from the womb of Amarikā¹, the poet **Dhāmsaṭa**. He composed this *praśasti* couched in beautiful arrangement of letters.

(V. 19) May this eulogy endure unchanged on this earth as long as the divine river (*Gangā*), meandering through the coiled matted hair of Paśupati (*i e*, Śiva), with its waters shattering on the surface of the rocks on the Himālayas, flows to (the sea), the lord of rivers, along the path (*shown*) by Bhagīratha, sanctifying the earth with its bounding waves.

(V. 19) The wise and renowned **Dāmōdara**, the son of Lakshmīdhara and the younger brother of Vāsudēva, wrote this *praśasti* in excellent letters!

(*This praśasti*) has been inscribed by **Nīlakaṇṭha** by the order of the *Sūtradhāra Sūrāka*. The year 724, (*the month*) Phālguna, the bright (*fortnight*), the (*lunar*) day 5

NO 45, PLATE XXXV

BILHARI STONE INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJADEVA II

THE stone, which bears this inscription, is said to have been found at **Bilhāri** (lat 23° 48' North, long 80° 19' East), 9 miles west by south of Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone which was at first removed to Jabalpur² has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. It seems to have broken in transit, as it shows now a large crack which cuts it vertically right across. Fortunately, it has not resulted in the loss of more than one or two letters.

The inscription was first published with an abstract of its contents by Dr F.E. Hall in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XXX, pp 317-334. Its contents were next discussed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol IX, pp 80 and 102-5. It was subsequently edited, with an excellent translation and a lithograph, by Prof F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol I, pp 251-270. It is edited here from the original stone and ink impressions taken under my supervision.

The record, which consists of thirty-three lines, is inscribed on the counter-sunk surface of a large panel of grey sandstone. The inscribed space measures 6' 3" broad by 3' high and is surrounded by a plain border 3' 5" broad. The first thirty lines of the inscription are very well preserved, except for a few letters at the end of each line, the latter can, however, be read without much difficulty from the traces left on the stone. On the other hand several letters at the end of the last three lines have been almost completely effaced by the wearing away of the inscribed surface. The average size of the letters is .5" in the first three lines and .75" in the rest.

The **characters**, which are beautifully written and deeply engraved, belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Chandrēh inscription³. The

¹ The position of *Amarikā-ōdarā* after *tatāh* in the second half of the verse clearly shows that Amarikā was the mother of Dhāmsaṭa and not of Jēika as Banerji has taken.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol XXX, p 322.

³ Above, No 44.

only points that call for notice here are that the left limb of *kh* is drawn below the apex of its triangle in some cases, see, e g, *sukha-viśēshād*-, l 30, *tha* of *matha* has ornamental additions below the circle in ll 22 and 32, the loop of *n* is open at the top, see *=atalina*-, l 4, and *ph* has everywhere the later form, see *-phana-phalaka*-, l 7

The language is Sanskrit Except for the customary *ōm namah Svāya* in the beginning, *api cha* and *kañ=cha* in ll 1 and 19 respectively, and some short sentences in ll 32 and 33, the record is in verse throughout It falls into three parts¹ Verses 1-45 were composed by Śrīnivāsa, the son of Sthirānanda, verses 46-78 by Sajjana, the son of Thīra and the rest by the Kāyastha Sīruka. The record, especially the portion composed by Śrīnivāsa, is written in an artistic *kāvya* style. The composition of Sajjana is inferior, it does not contain any flights of imagination and suffers also from the use of wrong forms like *akṣita* for *akāṣi* in verse 54 and ambiguous compounds like *ahita-jamta-bhīti*= in verse 59 As regards orthography, we may note that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* almost throughout, and the dental for the palatal sibilant in *-saunya*-, l 14 and *-Sav-āgama*-, l 20, the consonant following or preceding *r* has been doubled in many cases, see e g, *-Sarvva-paruvata*-, l 5, *ttri-bhuvana*-, l 6 etc, the *visarga* before *s* is generally changed to the sibilant and in one case dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36, see *bandhō styān-ākṛiti*-, l 17, the *anusvāra* before *ś* and *s* has been wrongly changed to the dental nasal in many places, see e g, *-vanśa*-, l 21, and *-vidhvansa*-, l 4, final *m* has wrongly remained unchanged in such cases as *-damvaram=vah*-, l 3, *yam=vīkshya*-, l 14, so also *n* in *bhagavān=jyōtsnām*-, l 16, *vairāgyēna*-, l 21 and *gunān=śakshyati*-, l 26, while it has been wrongly changed to *n* in *dhēnur=nnanu*-, l 15 Other instances of wrong *sandhi* are the elision of the *visarga* in *-Nāgabālā Khaīla*-, l 18, and the addition of *ch* in *marud-ganānām chchhāy*-, l 16 *Ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *-dripta*-, l 12 and *=saty-ādrīta*-, l 14 Finally, one of the two similar consonants forming a conjunct is dropped by syncopation in several places, see *-lasadyu*-, l 1, *-uyvalim*-, l 3, *āsī=dvishad*-, l 4, *kōpa-valyāh*-, l 8, *datvā*-, l 24, *satva*-, l 26, etc

As stated above, the inscription falls into three parts The first part, which was composed by Śrīnivāsa, opens with four verses invoking the blessings of Śiva and the moon The poet then proceeds to state the genealogy of Kēyūrarvarsha, whose queen Nōhalā erected the temple, at which the inscription was originally put up From the moon sprang the family of the Haihayas. In this family was born the king Arjuna (i e, Kārtavīrya Sahasrārjuna) who defeated the lord of Lankā and was favoured by the god Dattātrēya with the promise of a son Among his descendants was Kōkalladēva (I) who, having conquered the whole earth, set up two pillars of victory, the well-known Kṛishṇarāja in the south and Bhōjadēva, the store of royal fortune, in the north This statement evidently means that by his help Kōkalla established these princes firmly on their thrones A statement to the same effect is made in the Banaras plates² of Karna also

Kōkalla (I) was followed by his son Mugdhatuṅga who conquered the lines of countries along the sea-shore and took away the country of Pālī from the lord of Kōsala. This statement also is corroborated by a Prakrit *gāthā* about Prasiddhadhavalā (who is identical with Mugdhatunga) which occurs in the Banaras plates.³

¹ Kielhorn thought that the inscription was composed by only two poets,—verses 1-45, which originally formed an independent *prasaṣti*, by Śrīnivāsa and the remaining verses by Sajjana Further, he took the Kāyastha Sīruka to be the scribe of the first *prasaṣti*, *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 251 and p 270, n 50 It would, however, appear that Sīruka was the author of verses 79-85 Had he been the scribe of the first *prasaṣti*, his name would have been either mentioned immediately after v 45 or omitted altogether.

² See verse 7 of No 48, below

³ *Ibid*, verse 12

The inscription then proceeds to describe in verses 24-29 Mugdhatunga's son Yuvarājādēva (I) *alias* Kēyūravārsha. He is said to have fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauda, to have sported on the breasts of the ladies of Karnāta, to have applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāta, to have enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra and to have been fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kalinga. Curious as it might appear, a similar description of Yuvarājādēva occurs in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśēkhara, who, in the later part of his career, flourished at his court. From the fourth act of this play¹ we learn that its hero Kēyūravārsha had married the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pāñchāla, Avantī, Jālandhara and Kērala. These statements are evidently intended to convey that Yuvarājādēva raided Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Karnātaka, Gujarat, Kashmir and other parts of India and married the princesses of those States. The present inscription further states that he caused endless trouble to his enemies from the Himālaya in the north to the bridge in the south, and from the eastern to the western sea. The description of Yuvarājādēva to which the poet has devoted as many as six verses is otherwise conventional and contains no historical information.

The next eight verses (30-37) introduce a digression and describe the pedigree of Yuvarājādēva's wife Nōhalā. From a handful (*chuluka*) of water taken by the sage Bhāradvāja (i.e., Drōṇa) to curse Drupada there was born a warrior, the family descended from whom came to be known as Chaulukya. This legend about the origin of the Chaulukyas, it may be noted in passing, differs from that given by Bilhana in his *Vikramānka-dēvacharita*, Canto I, verses 46-55. According to the latter, the progenitor of the clan was born from the handful of water taken by the god Brahmā for his morning libation when he was requested by Indra to create someone for the punishment of the haters of religion. Again, a third legend occurs in a later inscription, according to which the Chālukyas were born in the interior of the water-pot (*chulkā*) when Hārītipāñchaśikha was pouring out a libation to the gods.² Our inscription next proceeds to state that in the family of the Chaulukyas was born Avanivarman. His father was Sadhanva and grandfather Simhavarman. Avanivarman had a daughter named Nōhalā.

This Nōhalā was a favourite wife of Yuvarājādēva. She constructed a lofty temple of Śiva. We are further told that she gave the villages Nipānīya and Ambipātaka to the Śaiva ascetic Īśvaraśiva as a reward for his scholarship. This Īśvaraśiva was a disciple of Śabdaśiva who was himself a disciple of Pavanaśiva, also called Mādhumatēya (the lord of Madhumatī). Further, Nōhalā donated the villages Dhaṅgatapātaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khailapātaka, Viḍā, Sajjāhalī and Gōshṭhapālī to the god Śiva.

The second part of the present record, which commences with verse 46, opens with a description of Lakshmanarājā (II), the son of Yuvarājādēva I and Nōhalā. Verses 46-58 again introduce a digression and give the spiritual genealogy of the Śaiva pontiff, Hṛidayaśiva, who was invited by Lakshmanarājā to his country and was placed in charge of the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha. We are told that at the venerable place called Kadambaguhā there lived a sage named Rudraśambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha who initiated the king of Avantī in the Śaiva faith. His disciple was Dharmaśambhu, and the disciple of the latter Śabdaśiva. Śabdaśiva was followed by Mādhumatēya, and the latter by Chūḍāśiva who, again, was the spiritual preceptor of Hṛidayaśiva. Lakshmanarājā respectfully invited Hṛidayaśiva to his country and

¹ See the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, (ed by B. R. Arte), p. 114.

² See Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bom., Gaz. Vol. I, part II, p. 339.

made over to him the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha, which is called Nauhalēśvara in the next verse. Hridayaśiva placed it in the charge of his disciple Aghōraśiva. As Hridayaśiva was a contemporary of Lakshmanarāja, his spiritual preceptor Chūdāśiva lived in the same period as Lakshmanarāja's father Yuvarājadēva I. He is, therefore, probably identical with the Śikhāśiva of the Chandrēhē inscription¹ and the Chūdāśiva of the Gurgi inscription,² whose disciple Prabhāvaśiva was invited by Yuvarājadēva I to accept a monastery at Gurgi.

Lakshmanarāja, then, proceeded to conquer the regions in the west and reached the shores of the western ocean where he worshipped Śiva at the well-known temple of Sōmanātha in Kathiāwād, and presented the deity with the effigy of the serpent Kāliya wrought with jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the king of Ōdra (Orissa) after defeating the lord of Kōsala. This statement indicates that the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala and Ōdra were at this time probably ruled by the scions of the same family.³

Lakshmanrāja was succeeded by his son Śankaragaṇa (III), about whom the present record furnishes no historical information. He was followed by his younger brother Yuvarājadēva II, whose adventure in killing a huge tiger is graphically described in verse 68. As many as five verses are devoted to this king's description, but they contain mere conventional praise. Verses 71-76 contain a hymn which Yuvarājadēva II is said to have composed in praise of Śiva.

The third part of the inscription opens with an enumeration of the taxes in cash or kind, which manufacturers and traders had to pay at the market-place in the town (Bilhārī) for the benefit of the monastery and the support of its occupants. Next comes a verse in praise of Aghōraśiva, the head of the Nauhalēśvara monastery. He is said to have put this *praśasti* together. As Dr. Kielhorn has already pointed out 'What is now its first portion from verse 1 to 45 originally was or formed part of an independent *praśasti* and this original *praśasti* was renewed and enlarged by the addition of verses 46-86 of the present inscription two or three generations after the composition of the first part'.⁴

The record next mentions the towns Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavananagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura and some others, whose names are lost, in connection with the celebration of a fair in honour of the deity. Finally, there occurs a curious reference to the Sanskrit poet Rājaśēkhara. The present eulogy is said to have deserved praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara. Kielhorn who translated the expression *usmita-kavi-Rājaśēkhara-stutyā* as 'which would deserve praise (even) from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara'⁵, evidently took it to mean Rājaśēkhara would have been struck with wonder at this composition if he had been living. The expression can be taken either as instrumental singular meaning '(May this composition live to the end of the world) as it has evoked praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara', or as nominative singular conveying the sense, '(this composition) which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara'. In either case we need not suppose that Rājaśēkhara was dead at the time. From his *Karpūramañjarī* we learn that he was at first called *Bālakavi* probably on account of his precocious poetic talent. He was patronised by the Gurjara-Pratihāra princes Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpala and afterwards by Kēyūraravasha-

¹ See above, No. 44, line 6.

² See below, No. 46, line 8.

³ We know that the two countries were ruled by the princes of the Kēsari dynasty later on in the 10th and 11th centuries A. C.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 252.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 270.

Yuvarājadēva I, whom he has made the hero of his Sanskrit play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*. If we suppose that he was a young man of sixteen when he went to the court of Kanauj towards the end of Mahēndrapāla's reign (in *circa* 905 A C), his age at the beginning of the reign of Yuvarājadēva II (*circa* 975 A C) when the present inscription seems to have been put up, would be about eighty-five years, which is not altogether improbable¹. Such a long life is also warranted by the poet's prolific literary activity.

It is not difficult to conjecture why this eulogy of Kalachuri princes pleased Rājaśekhara. The characteristics of his own poems as noted by ancient critics² are his fondness for the metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* and the poetic quality *samādhi* which means an alternate combination of heavy and light syllables³. A third mannerism noticed in his works is his reference to the several parts of India on some pretext or other. All these qualities can be illustrated from the present inscription. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise to read that it evoked or deserved praise from Rājaśekhara, who must have seen in it a clever imitation of his own style.

The last verse states that the eulogy was written by Nāī, the son of Dhīra who was a writer of legal documents, and incised by Nōṇna, the son of the artisan Sangama.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present inscription, **Madhumatī**, from which the name of the sage Mādhumatēya was evidently derived, is probably identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet one mile south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat. It contains the ruins of three temples, two of which are dedicated to Śiva. From the characters of the inscription incised on the front lintel of the porch of one of them, it appears that the shrine dates back to the seventh century A C⁴. The river which flows by Mahuā is mentioned as Madhuvēnī in an inscription found at Tērahi⁵. It seems that Mahuā was an important seat of Śaivism in mediæval times. **Kadambaguhā**, which is mentioned in the present inscription as the original seat of the Śaiva sect, figures also in an inscription at Rānōd. In his article on the latter Dr Kielhorn identified it with Kadwāha about six miles south of Tērahi⁶. It may, however, be noted that Kadambaguhā is mentioned in the Rānōd inscription as the place of residence of the spiritual ancestor of the sage Purandara who was brought from Upēndrapura by Avantivarman who ruled in Central India. Kadambaguhā and Upēndrapura are not, therefore, likely to have been situated in the latter's territory. Kadambaguhā may be identical with Kadambapadraka situated in the *mandala* of Upēndrapura which is mentioned in a grant of the Paramāra king Naravarmadēva⁷. It will, therefore, have to be searched for in Mālwa. Of the villages granted by Nōhalā, **Nipāniya** is probably Nipāniā in the Sihōrā *taluk*, 10 miles south-west of Bilhāri⁸. **Ambipāṭaka** may be Āmkuhi, 8 miles north by east, and **Dhaṅgatapāṭaka** Dungarhai, 7 miles south of Bilhāri. **Pōṇḍī** which still retains its old name lies 4 miles to the northwest⁹. **Nāgabala** and **Khaila-**

¹ Like Rājaśekhara, Umāpatidhara was a contemporary of three successive kings, viz., Vijayasēna, Ballālasēna and Lakṣhmanasēna, *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 306.

² See 'Sārdūlavikrīḍitaivēva prakhyātō Rājaśekharaḥ | śikhar-iva param vakraṣṭha s-ōllēkhar-uccha-s-ēkharah ||' in the *Smṛtītilaka* of Kṣhēmendra, and 'Samādhi-guṇa-sālinyah prasanna-paripakṣimāh | Yāyāvara-kavēr-vāchō muninām=va vṛttayah ||' in the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla.

³ See the definition of *Samādhi* in the *Kāvyalankārasūtra* of Vāmana, III, 1, 12.

⁴ M B Garde, *Archæology in Gwalior*, pp 100 ff.

⁵ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII, p 202.

⁶ *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 353.

⁷ *Ibid*, Vol XX, pp 105 ff.

⁸ *I C P B*, p 24.

⁹ *C A S I R.*, Vol. IX, p 104.

pāṭaka are probably represented by modern Naigawān, 2 miles to the south, and Kail-wārā¹, 7 miles to the north-east of Bilhārī. *Sajjāhālī* may be Sajharā in the Murwārā *tahsil*, and *Gōshṭhapālī* Gatākhērā, 10 miles almost due east of Bilhārī. *Tripurī*, which was the capital of the Kalachuris, is now represented by the small village of Tēwar, 6 miles from Jabalpur. *Soubhāgyapura* is probably Sohāgpur, the chief town of the Sohāgpur *tahsil* in the Vindhya Pradesh. Lavanānagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura I am unable to identify.

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धि.³[1*] ओ नम शिवाय ॥पायाद्व स समस्तमगलनिधि शम्भोज्जटाजूटको य[स्मिँ]ल्लेलल-
सद्यु⁴मण्डलगलन्मन्दाकिनीवारिभि । गाढग्रन्थिनिपीडितोरगपति⁵प्रस्फार्गफुल्लत्फणाभीमव्यावृत-
वक्त्रमारुतधृतै श्वेतातपत्रायित (तम्) ॥⁶ [१॥*] अपि च ॥अव्याद्वश्चन्द्रचूडस्य लोचनाच्चिष्मत्
शिखा [1*] मित्रमेव स्मरस्येति दग्धु विधुमिवोद्गता⁷॥[२॥*] य खेलाय षडानन. शिशुतया
कृत्वाग्रह मार्गति ग्रथो यश्च
- 2 दुरोदरै. पुरभिदो देव्या सम दीव्यत ॥(1)केलीकोपकथासु येन तनुते हेतिक्रियां पार्व्वती पायाद्वः
स जटावनैककुसुम शार्क् सुधादीधिति ॥⁸ [३॥*] दिक्षु प्रेखाभियोगप्रवलितवलनाविभ्रमाकाण्ड-
चण्डैर्दोदण्डाना प्रकामप्रथिमभिरनिलैर्दूरमुत्सारितासु । किं च प्रस्फारचारीनमदवनिवशाद्वद्यो-
म्नि याते महत्तामव्यादव्याहतेच्छ त्रिपुरविजयिनस्ताण्डवाडम्बर—
- 3 म्व⁹ ॥[४॥*]वन्शे¹⁰सोमसभूतौ वाच निक्षिपता मया [1*]हन्त हस्तैरुपक्रान्ता मोहेन वियतो
मितिः ॥¹¹ [५॥*] वाचामुज्व (ज्ज्व)लिमापि नास्ति यदि मे तत्कीर्त्यमानोन्नतेरस्मादेव महीयस.
शशभूतो वगात्स सपत्स्यते[1*] यद्वा पश्य निसर्गकालिमभुवोप्याशेभदानच्छटा क्षीरोदन्वति
किन्न सङ्गतिभूतस्तच्छायताम्वि(म्बि)भ्रति॥¹² [६॥*] नेत्रादत्वेर्द्धरित्नीधवलनसुहृदा
धाम धाम्नामुदचल्लोकालोकं यदा—
- 4 प प्रभवमतलिनध्वान्तविध्वन्सहेतु¹³ । सोय सोमाभिधानतिस्तलकयति कला मौलिमस्यैव शम्भो-
रस्मादेव प्रवृत्त किमपरमयमप्यन्वयो हैहयाना(नाम्)॥¹⁴ [७॥*] अस्मिश्च वन्द्यतमता[ङ्ग]-
मिते वु(वु)धाद्यैराद्यैर्नृपैर्नृपतिरज्जुन इत्युदार । आसीद्वि(द्वि)षद्विपिनकर्त्तनकीर्त्तनीयकीर्त्ति-
च्छटाच्छुरितदीर्घदिगन्तराल.¹⁵ [८॥*] यद्वक्षस्तटाडनातितरलत्रुटन्नत्पविप्रोच्छलज्वा (ज्जवा)
लामालिक—
- 5 रालितेन करिणा देवाधिप क्वाप्यगात् । लीलोलालितशर्व्व¹⁶पर्व्वतपतेस्तस्यापि लङ्कापतेर्य-

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 254.

² From the original stone in the Central Museum, Nagpur, and ink impressions

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read —सद्युमण्डल—.

⁵ The *visarga* which was at first incised after —पति has been struck out

⁶ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*.

⁸ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁹ Read —डम्बर व ॥ As Kielhorn has pointed out, आडम्बर is generally used in the masculine.

Metre *Sragdharā*

¹⁰ Read वज्र

¹¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹² Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹³ Read —विध्वसहेतु

¹⁴ Metre *Sragdharā*

¹⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁶ Originally शार्क्, changed to शर्व्व

द्वैरव्यवसायिनो यदभवत्ख्यातिप्रमाणं हि तत् ॥¹ [१॥*] दत्तात्रेय इति प्रकामकमलालीला-
यितानाम्पद यो देव स सुतप्रतिश्रुतवच प्रीत्या यमन्वग्रहीत् । के वा तद्गुणवर्णने वयमहो
कि फल्गुभिर्जल्पितैर्मन्ये सापि च वाग्वपुर्भगवती तत्र स्फुटमुह्यति ॥[१०॥*] अथ ततस्त-
तसत्पुरुषव्रतव्रततिपर्वतत कति ना-

- 6 भवन् । तरुणतारकराजपराजयव्यसनि²कीर्त्तिभुव पतयो भुव ॥³[११॥*]तेष्वेवन्सम्भ⁴वत्सु
क्रममनु मनुजाश्चर्यतामादधानो धन्यानामेकसीमा समुप[न]तमहीमण्डलाखण्डलाभ ।
जात कोकलदेवो दलदहितलादाहदावायमानो मानोत्तंसस्य⁵ यस्य त्रिभुवनवलयव्यापनो-
भूत्प्रताप ॥⁶[१२॥*] भुवनविजयहेतोर्मुक्तमयादिदादस्सदनलडितलोलैर्यद्वलैस्सम्बलद्भिः⁷ ।
अतलिनतरभारभ्रश्यदुर्वी-
- 7 विषीदत्फणफलककलापो भोगिभर्त्ता व(ब)भूव ॥⁸[१३॥*] श्यामाशङ्किभिराकुलैर्व्विजघटे
चक्राह्वयानान्द्वयैरम्भोदागमविभ्रमेण विदधे लास्योत्सव केकिभि । भग्नालोकमकाण्ड एव च
दृशामान्ध्येन लेभे पद यत्सेनारजमि क्रमादवनितस्तारापथे लुप्यति⁹ ॥[१४॥*] वेलावनप्रणयिसै
न्यभरे च यत्र मज्जद्भिराकुलकुलाद्रिनिभैरिभेन्द्रै । संभ्रान्तमन्दरगिरेस्समयस्य तस्य कालाद्व (द्व)
-हो. स्मरणमाप निधिर्जलाना (नाम्) ॥¹⁰[१५॥*] यत-
- 8 इच्च वैन्ध्यन्तटमाददाने दानेद्वसेनागजभञ्जनेन । अमञ्जुशिञ्जानशकुन्तचक्रञ्चक्रन्द दुखादिव
वृक्षजाल (लम्) ॥¹¹[१६॥*] जित्वा कृ[त्सना] येन पृथ्वीमपूर्व्वङ्कीर्त्तिस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते
स्म । कौम्भोद्भव्यान्दिश्यसौ कृष्णराज कौवे (वे)र्याञ्च श्रीनिधिर्भोजदेव ॥¹²[१७॥*]
व(ब)भूव तस्मादथ मुग्धतुङ्गस्तुङ्गस्त्रिलोक्यामपरो न यस्मात् । दिशश्च य किञ्च विजेतु-
काम कामस्तशत्रुर्न भुवम्बिलेभे¹³ ॥¹⁴[१८॥*] शय्या सग्नमलक्ष्म्या परव(ब)लपरिघ
पल्लव कोपवल्या¹⁵ प्रेयो दर्पस्य मित्र सुचरितसलि-
- 9 लस्येन्द्रनीलप्रणाल । शाखा शौर्यद्रुमस्य प्रसरणसरणिश्शाश्वती साहसानामासीद्यस्यासिरेव
प्रधनपरिकरारम्भिण प्रीतपात्र (त्रम्) ॥¹⁶[१९॥*] वल्गद्वेतालवर्गं त्रुटितनिजशिरो-
धारिधावत्कव(ब)न्धण्डात्कुर्व्वङ्गाकिडिम्ब (म्ब) मुखवि (बि)लविलसत्सम्मुखोल्कामुखोल्क (ल्कम्)
। मान्स¹⁷ग्रासाभिलाषस्वनदशिवशिवाभैरवारावरौद्र रौद्र यो धाम वि (बि)भ्रत्प्रतिसमर-
मिति द्वेषिचक्रञ्चकार ॥¹⁸[२०॥*] उपविपिनभुवो निधेर्जलानामधिवसता कटकेन
यस्य या[तु] । अव-
- 10 चयविचलद्वधूकराग्रद्विगुणितविद्रुमपल्लवा व(ब)भूव ॥¹⁹[२१॥*] इह विहितविलासा वीचयो

¹ Metre of this and the following verse *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² It is not quite necessary to change व्यसनि into व्यसन as proposed by Kielhorn

³ Metre *Drutavilambita*

⁴ Read तेष्वेव सम्भ-

⁵ Read मानोत्तंसस्य

⁶ Metre *Sragdharā*

⁷ Read यद्वलैस्सवलद्भिः

⁸ Metre *Mālmī*

⁹ It would be better to read लुट्यति as suggested by Kielhorn. Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹¹ Metre *Upajāti*

¹² Metre *Sālmī*

¹³ Read भुव विलेभे

¹⁴ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁵ Read कोपवल्या

¹⁶ Metre *Sragdharā*

¹⁷ Read -मास-

¹⁸ Metre *Sragdharā*

¹⁹ Metre *Pushpītāgrā*.

[illegible]

[illegible]

वारिराशेरिह स वस(ह)ति वायु केरलीकेलिकार । इह हरति भुजङ्ग¹सौरभ भूखणामिति
मलयसमीपे यद्विचारा प्रचेह ॥²[२२॥*] विजित्य पूर्वम्बु(म्बु)धिकूलपालीः पालीस्समादाय
च कोसलेन्द्रात् । निरन्तरोद्वासितवैरिधामा धामाधिक खङ्गपतिर्य आसीत्॥³ [२३॥*]
गौडीगाढमनोमनोरथकर कर्णाटकान्ताकुचक्रीडाशैलतटीविहारहरिणो लाटीललाटाङ्कद ।
काश्मी—

- 11 रीविहितस्मरव्यतिकरस्तस्मात्कलिङ्गाङ्गनासद्गानव्यसनी स नीतिनयन केयूरवर्षोभवत् ॥⁴
[२४॥*] आशापालपराजयाय जनितत्त्रैलोक्यशङ्कापद सैन्यैर्यस्य युगान्तकेलिकलनैर्दत्तप्रयाणैरपि ।
न प्रोद्भूतिमय(वा)प पाशुपटल भूयो गृहीतद्विषद्व (द्व)न्दीवृन्दवहद्विलोचनपय पूरप्लुताया
भुवि ॥ [२५॥*] यस्सयति प्रकटपाटितकुम्भिकुम्भमुक्ताफलप्रचयवाहमुवाह देव । भूयो निपीत-
दृढपीडनवेगवान्तविद्वेषिकीर्तिकणकीर्णमिवासिदण्ड (ण्डम्) ॥⁵[२६॥*] आ कैलासाद—
- 12 नलसलसत्पावर्तकीकेलिव(ब)न्धोरा च प्राचश्शिखरिवरतो भास्वदुद्भासभूमे । आरात्सेतोस्तदनु
पयसामा प्रतीचोपि पत्युर्यत्सेनानामहितनिहितानन्तताप प्रताप ॥⁶[२७॥*] प्रेखत्क्षिप्रखु[र]⁷—
प्रघातविगलत्कीलालोलोलसद्वेतालीकरयन्त्रपीडनवशभ्रश्यत्कपालास्थिभि । यस्तस्तार सविस्तर
रणभुव कोपोत्कटाभिर्द्र (द्र)वद्द्रि⁸ (द्दृ)प्तद्वेषिशिरोभिरम्ब (म्ब) रचरीनेत्रत्रिभागाच्चितै ॥⁹
[२८॥*] देवो रुद्रावतारस्त्रिभुवनभवनोत्तम्भनो देव एव त्यागी देव प्रमाद्यन्मृपति—
- 13 नियमने नैगडन्दाभ देव । इत्थन्स¹⁰द्वन्द्वन्दैरविरलविलसच्चाटुवाद वदद्भिर्यस्यास्थानस्थिता-
नामसममसुहृदा विव्यथे चित्तवृत्ति ॥¹¹[२९॥*] भरद्वाजो नाम च्युतकलुषदोषस्समभ[व]द्य
ए[क]स्सर्वेषामुपशमधनानामधिपति । तदीयात्तेजस्त कृतकलशवासाद्यदभवत्स वै भारद्वाजस्त्रि-
भुवनचमत्कारिचरित ॥¹²[३०॥*] त्रैलोक्यावधि यस्य कीर्तिलडित लक्ष्मीश्च वाञ्छावधिर्य—
त्कोप प्रलयोपपन्नमहिमा शापेन चापेन च । वण्ण्यम्वा¹³ नयविक्र—
- 14 मैकजलधे किन्तस्य यस्याभवल्लीलाखव्वितशर्व¹⁴गर्वगरिमा शिष्यस्सुभद्रापति ॥¹⁵[३१॥*]
कोदण्डताण्डवनपण्डितवा (वा)हुदण्डमुहण्डकाण्डभरखण्डितपाण्डुसैन्यम् । यम्बीक्ष्य¹⁶ विक्षत-
विपक्षपराजयाशस्सत्याद्रि (दृ)तस्स तपसोपि सुतश्चचाल ॥ ¹⁷[३२॥] अथाक्षेपात्तेन द्रुपदविपद-
र्थोद्धतधिया यदात्त शापाम्भस्तरलितकराव (ब)द्धचुलुकम् । पुमानासीत्तस्मिन्विजय इव साक्षादनु
च त कुल चौलुक्यानामनणुगुणसीम प्रववृते ॥¹⁸[३३॥*] विभवति च वि[स]र्पत्सौ (च्छौ)र्य-
सौन्दर्यव—

¹ Originally भुजङ्गी—, changed to भुजङ्ग—

² Metre *Mālinī*

³ Metre *Upajāti*

⁴ Metre of this and the next verse *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Metre *Mandākerāṇī*

⁷ Originally खुर, changed to खुर

⁸ This *akṣhara* is quite clear

⁹ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁰ Read इत्य स—

¹¹ Metre *Sragdharā*

¹² Metre *Śikharinī*

¹³ Read वण्ण्य वा

¹⁴ शर्व seems to have been changed to शर्व as stated by Kielhorn

¹⁵ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁶ Read य बीक्ष्य

¹⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁸ Metre *Śikharinī*

- 15 यक्षितिधरपरिपाटीसूचिते तत्त्र गोत्रे रचितचटुलचापाकृष्टिकृष्टाहितश्रीरभवदवनिवर्म्मा विश्व-
विख्यातकम्मर्मा ॥¹ [३४॥*] पितामहो यत्खलु सिंहवर्म्मा पिता च यद्वीरवरस्सधन्व । जगत्यतीवा-
तिशयोमुनैव महानुभावत्वमतोपि यन्तु ॥² [३५॥*] यस्य त्यागः सकलजनतापास्तदारिद्र्यमुद्रो
वेला व(ब)न्धुक्षितिधरदरीचारितारि. प्रताप. । ईष्टे स्पष्टन्स³ यदि गणनान्तद्गुणानाम्विधातु-
म्वाचा⁴न्धेनुर्ण(र्त्त)नु भगवती भारती यस्य वश्या ॥⁵ [३६॥*] रुद्राणीमिव भूभृतां परिवृढो
16 लक्ष्मीमिवाम्भोनिधि कालिन्दीमिव भास्करस्स भगवान्ज्यो(ज्यो)त्स्नामिवात्रेस्सुत. । वैदेहीमिव
जानक क्रतुविधि श्रीनोहलेत्यद्भुतकन्या नाम ललाम तान्स⁶ सुषुवे सामन्तचिन्तामणि ॥⁷
भर्तु. [३७॥*] पुलोमतनयेव मरुद्गणाना च्छा(छा)येव दष्टतमसां महसाञ्च पत्यु । देवस्य सा
रतिरिवेश्वरासनस्य केयूरवर्षनृपतेर्द्वयिता व(ब)भूव ॥⁸ [३८॥*] देव्या [त]या मदजलच्छटयेव
दन्ती वा(बा)लप्रवाललतयेव तट पयोधे. । पुष्पश्रियेव च तरुस्तडितेव मेघ शोभा स
17 कामपि व(ब)भार नरेन्द्रचन्द्र ॥ [३९॥*] निर्म्मापितन्सुकृत⁹सङ्गतये तयेदमभ्रङ्कषाग्रशिखर-
स्खलि तोष्णरश्मि । देवस्य मन्दिरमुमाप्रणयैकव(ब)न्धो¹⁰स्त्यानाकृति स्वयशसामिथ(व)
चक्रवालम् ॥ [४०॥*] आकाशयानक्रमखेदितानामहोधिनाथस्य तुरङ्गमाणाम् । फेना-
म्बु(म्बु)भिन्नित्यनिषिच्यमाना मन्ये समुद्रान्ति न यत्पताका ॥¹¹ [४१॥*] विटङ्कभागेषु वृ(वृ)-
हत्सु यस्य वर्षासु तुङ्गामलसारकस्य । आश्लेषवत्यो नवमेघमाला पारावतालीतुलनाम्बहन्ति¹²
॥¹³ [४२॥*] आसीन्माधुमते-
18 य पवनशिवस्तमनु जयति शब्द(ब्द)शिव । ईश्वरशिव पुनाति च तस्यान्तेवासितान्सुकृती¹⁴ ॥¹⁵
[४३॥*] तस्मै तपोनिधानाय निपानीयाम्बि(म्बि)पाटकौ । दत्तौ विद्याधनत्वेन ग्रामावग्राम्यया
तया ॥¹⁶ [४४॥*] धङ्गतपाटकपोण्डीनागव(ब)ला[*] खैलपाटको वीडा । सज्जाहली च दत्ता
स्मरारये गोष्ठपाली च ॥¹⁷ [४५॥*] ख्यात श्रीयुवराजदेवनृपतेस्तस्याभूद्भूपति श्रीमल्ल-
क्ष्मणराज ऊज्जितमहाभास्वानिवाभ्युन्नत । भूभृत्तुङ्गशिरोभिरडिघ्नरुचयो यत्सेविता¹⁸
श्रीश्रि-
19 ता काम य. कमनीयसुन्दरगुणैर्नैर्व्यैज्जिगाय स्मरम् ॥¹⁹ [४६॥*] यस्याहवे दृढनिपीडितखड्ग-
कोटिनिर्द्धारितारिकरिकुम्भसमुद्भवेन । वीरश्रिय क्षितितले विततञ्चत्षक मुक्तादलेन ननु

¹ Metre *Māhī*

² Metre *Upēndravajrā*

³ Read स्पष्ट स Kielhorn's suggestion to change यदि गणना to परिगणना is gratuitous See below p 219, n 3

⁴ Read -णाना विधातु वाचा-

⁵ Metre *Mandākerāntā*

⁶ Read ता स

⁷ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁸ Metre of this and the next verse *Vasantatilakā*

⁹ Read निर्म्मापित सुकृत-

¹⁰ It is not necessary to restore the *visarga* here as done by Kielhorn It is correctly dropped according to the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36

¹¹ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹² Read तुलना वहन्ति

¹³ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁴ Read -वासिता सुकृती

¹⁵ Metre *Āryā*

¹⁶ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁷ Metre *Āryā*

¹⁸ As Kielhorn has observed, the context requires some reading like यस्याचिता in place of यत्सेविता

¹⁹ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

कीर्त्तिवधूश्चकार ॥¹[४७॥*] किञ्च ॥ सा कदम्ब(म्ब)गुहा मान्या यत्रासीत्सिद्धसन्तति ।
तस्या. पुनरभूद्वन्द्वो रुद्रशम्भुर्मुनीश्वरः ॥²[४८॥*] तत्त्व³प्रभावमहनीयतमस्य तस्य
शिष्योभवज्जगति मत्तमयूरनाथः । नि शेषकल्मषमपीमपहृत्य येन सङ्क्रामितम्पर⁴—

- 20 महो नृपतेरवन्ते ॥⁵[४९॥*] तस्मादभूद्भुवनमण्डनतामवाप्तो भूपालमौलिमणिकान्तिभिरचि-
ताक्षि । श्रीधर्मशम्भुरुचितामलकान्तकीर्त्तिसै (शै) [वा] गमाम्बु (म्बु) निधिपारमितस्तपोभि
॥ [५०॥*] अस्मात्सदाशिव शिष्यस्तपोराशिरभून्नृपै ।⁶यत्पादद्वयम्बन्धमर्चित शेखराशुभि
॥⁷[५१॥*] अस्मादभून्माधुमतेयनामा⁸ शिष्य सुधामा फलमूलवृत्ति । तपान्सि तेजान्सि⁹
च यत्र वासमनन्यमंत्रान्तिगुणेन चक्रुः¹⁰[५२॥*] अस्माच्चूडाशिव शिष्यो वन्दनीयतमोभवत् ।
- 21 कर्मजालमल येन नीतमस्त मुमुक्षुणा ॥¹¹[५३॥*] अथ सकलगुणानामाकरस्तस्य शिष्यो
हृदयशिवसमाह्वो यद्यशोद्यापि वर्ण्य (ण्यम्) । नृपमुकुटनिविष्टैर्यस्य माणिक्यचक्रैरकृत¹²
चरणमूल कान्तमेकान्तवन्द्यम् ॥¹³[५४॥*] विद्याना निलयेन येन सुधिया [स]ऽयन्नतेनाधिक
श्रीमन्माधुमतेयवन्श¹⁴वितता कीर्त्तिश्चिर वद्धिता । किञ्च क्षमा क्षमयाम्बु (म्बु) द. समतया
मयादियाम्भोनिधिर्वैराग्येन (ण) जित स्मर स भगवान्कस्यास्पद न (न) स्तुते ॥¹⁵[५५॥*]
- 22 किं स्तूयतेसौ मुनिपुङ्गवोथवा श्रीचेदिचन्द्रो नृपति कृतादरः । सद्भूतद्रुतप्रहितैरुपायनै प्रदर्श्य
भक्तिम्विधिना¹⁶निनाय यम् ॥¹⁷[५६॥*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजोपि तस्मै सुतपसे स्वयम् । मठ
श्रीवैद्यनाथस्य भक्तियुक्त समार्पयत् ॥¹⁸[५७॥*] स्वीकृत्यापि मुनिर्भूयो मठ श्रीनौहलेश्वरम् ।
अधोरशिवशिष्यस्य साधुवु (वृ) [त्त]स्य दत्तवान् ॥ [५८॥*] अथ स विहितकृत्यश्चेदिनाथः
समर्थः करितुरगसमग्रः शक्तसामन्तपत्तिः । दिशमतिश—
- 23 यरम्या सम्प्रतस्थे प्रतीचीमहितजनितभीतिर्दुस्त्रिवारप्रचारः ॥¹⁹[५९॥*] समरकृतविकारान्विक्र-
मेण प्रहृत्य प्रणतनृपतिदत्तोपायनैर्वद्धिताज्ञ । हृदयनिहितवित्तैरर्थिना पूरिताशो जलनिधिजलखेल
सैन्यचक्र चकार ॥ [६०॥*] निमज्ज्य यो रत्ननिधौ श्रीमान्सोमेश्वर शनै । अभ्यर्च्य काञ्चनै
पद्मैरथा²⁰न्यत्तु न्यवेदयत् ॥²¹[६१॥*] जित्वा कोसलनाथमो [ङ्ग]नृपतेराप्तस्तु य कालियो
रत्नस्ववर्णमय स येन विहि—

¹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

² Metre *Anushtubh*

³ Kielhorn read तत्त्व, but the *aksharas* तत्त्व are quite clear in his facsimile

⁴ Kielhorn first read —[म्पु ?]रमहो, but subsequently while editing the Rānōd inscription (*Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 353) gave the correct reading as above Hall also had read —म्परमहो

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Read यस्य पादद्वय वन्द्य— as suggested by Kielhorn

⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁸ Originally माधमातेय, changed to माधुमतेय

⁹ Read तपान्सि and तेजान्सि

¹⁰ Metre *Upajātī*

¹¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹² The sense shows that the correct grammatical form here would be अकारि

¹³ Metre *Mālinī*

¹⁴ Read —वश—

¹⁵ Metre *Śārdūlavakṛīḍita*

¹⁶ Read भक्ति विधिना—

¹⁷ Metre *Vamsastha*

¹⁸ Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

¹⁹ Metre of this and the next verse *Mālinī*

²⁰ Originally —रथोन्यत्तु, altered to —रथान्यत्तु.

²¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

- 24 तस्सोमेश्वराभ्यर्चनम् । दत्त्वा(त्वा) य. करिवाजिशुभ्रवश(स)नस्रवचन्द्रनादीन्पुन सन्सार¹श्रमशा-
न्तयेतिविनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्टः प्रभु ॥² [६२॥*] असार सन्सार³ य इह मनुते कोपि नृपति⁴स्त्व-
दधिव्यानत्या विगलिततमास्तत्व(त्त्व)निरत । न तस्य श्रीभूयो विकृ[ति]कृतये जन्मविरहा-
दिति ध्यानाविष्ट. शिवमहसि चि[त्त] विहितवान् ॥⁵ [६३॥*] श्रीशङ्करगणस्तस्मादभूद्भूमी-
श्वरो महान् । यत्पादद्वन्द्वमद्वद्व द्विषद्विरपि सेवितम् ॥⁶ [६४॥*] सख्येसख्यविपक्ष-
- 25 पक्षदलनव्यासङ्गि खड्गव्रत यस्यासीद्दृढसाहसस्य सततन्दान जनानन्दकृत् । रूपेणाप्रतिमो मनो-
भवभव दर्प जहारोद्धत य सर्व्वत्र च सर्व्वकालमवनीनाथ स्तुतः कोविदै ॥⁷ [६५॥*]
यत्पादद्वयपद्मसद्म विततं भूतेरभूद्भूषित भूपाना नमता किरीटविकटप्रान्तस्थरत्नाशुभि । वक्षो-
रत्ननिधिसमाश्रितवती⁸ लक्ष्मी. क्रमेणागता वीरश्रीरपरैव यस्य नृपतेः कौक्षेयधाराश्रया ॥
[६६॥*] तस्य श्रीयुवराजदेवनृ-
- 26 पतिभ्राता कनीयानभूद्भूषैर्यच्चरणारविन्दपतितैर्भृङ्गैरिवा[ङ्ग]स्थितम् । य सत्यव्रतसत्व(त्त्व)-
सूक्तिवसति श्रीविक्रमैकाश्रय प्रायस्तस्य न सज्जनोपि सकलान्वक्तु गुणान्श(ञ्श)क्षयति ॥
[६७॥*] दष्टाकोटिविपाटनोग्रवदन. क्रूर⁹स्वरो भासुरो नेत्र¹⁰प्रान्तविकीर्णकोपरधिर
पादप्रचारायुध । येनाक्रम्य भुजेन भूमिपतिना लाङ्गूलव(ब)द्वक्रमो दैत्यो व्याघ्रवपुर्हतोतिभयद
शस्त्रीभृता पाणिना ॥[६८॥*] कन्दर्पोभिनव. पुर-
- 27 न्धिनयनप्रीतिप्रदोप्यन्यथा य. काल करवालकोटिविहतस्थूलेभकुम्भस्थल । चित्रं यच्च सर-
स्वतीकृतरति श्रीकण्ठपूजापरश्चातुर्व्वर्ण्यविचारचारुचतुरो यच्चार्थचिन्तामणि ॥ [६९॥*]
यस्योत्तु(त्तु)ङ्गजेन्द्रमज्जनगलद्दानाम्बु(म्बु)भिर्मिश्रित रेवावारि विविक्ततिक्तमुचितस्तानेन
तन्वीजन । सप्राप्योरुनितम्ब(म्ब)ताडनवशव्यस्तास्तवीचीचय स[द्वद्व] स्मरसौरभेण महता
निर्व्याजमायोजित ॥[७०॥*] रामाणां कु-
- 28 चमण्डलेषु नियत हारप्रकारक्रमात्संपूर्णै शशिमण्डले च विमले ज्योत्स्नाच्छलेनोज्व(ज्ज्व)लम् ।
मन्ये¹¹ मानसवारि यस्य वितते हन्सावली¹²विभ्रमाद्भ्रान्त्वाशेषमुमापतेस्तु वसतौ
विश्रान्तिमागाद्यश ॥[७१॥*] सपूज्य देवमीशानम्बिभवै¹³ स्वैर्यथोचितै । यथागम
यथाशास्त्र स्तोत्रस्मिहित¹⁴वानृप ॥¹⁵ [७२॥*] अविचलितमनोभिर्यैस्त्वमीश क्षितीशैर्विभव-
विहितकृत्यैरिज्यसे [ते] कृतार्था । य इह कृ[तवि]-
- 29 कारा मन्मथैकान्तचिता(त्ता) भवति वरद तेषा सपदुन्मादहेतु ॥¹⁶ [७३॥*] समदकरिघटाभि
कि किमङ्गाङ्गनाभिर्मदनशयनलीला भावयन्तीभिराभि । कनकतुरगवासोरत्नजातैर्न कृत्य न हि
भवति भवानीवल्लभस्यार्चनं चेत् ॥[७४॥*] भवति नृपतिवन्शे¹⁷ जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुत-

¹ Read ससार-

² Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

³ Read ससार

⁴ The *akshara* प, which was omitted, is written below the line

⁵ Metre. *Sikharinī*

⁶ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁷ Metre of this and the next six verses *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁸ Read -रत्ननिधि समाश्रितवती

⁹ The *visarga*, which was at first incised after र, is cancelled

¹⁰ The त्र of नेत्र is written below the line

¹¹ Originally मान्ये, changed to मन्ये.

¹² Read हसावली-

¹³ Read -मीशान विभवै

¹⁴ Read स्तोत्र विहित- The change of स्तोत्र into स्तोत्र has not been made in the original

¹⁵ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following three verses *Mālinī*

¹⁷ Read -वशे

- मुचितविचारश्चारुरूपप्रभाव । समरविजयसपत्तस्य यो नि प्रपञ्च¹ञ्चरणयुगलमूलं सश्रितः
शङ्करस्य ॥[७५॥*] किमिह
- 30 व(ब)हुभिरुक्तैर्नाथि सर्वस्य हेतुर्भवतु भवति नित्यं भक्तियोगो ममैक. । सकलसुखविशेषाद्यत्र
पीयूषवर्ष स्वयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥ [७६॥*] भूपत्रयशोराशिवर्णन प्रथमं
कृतम् । श्रीमता श्रीनिवासेन श्रीस्थिरानन्दसूनुना ॥² [७७॥*] भूपतीनां त्रयाणां तु कीर्त्तिकीर्त्त-
नमुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लम् । विहितं सज्जनेनाथ सुधिया थीरसूनुना ॥ [७८॥*] पत्तनमण्डपिकायां ॥
लवणस्य खण्डिका[यां षो]-
- 31 [ड]सि(शि)का घाणके च षोड³ षोडसि(शि)का । तैलस्य मासि मासे दिनमनु च युगायुगे
च पौरस्तु ॥⁴ [७९॥*] पूगफलमरिचशुण्ठीप्रभृतिषु भाण्डेषु भरकपौरस्तु । वीथी च प्रति च
कपर्दी द्यूतकप⁵र्दास्तु शाकवात्ताकम् ॥⁶ [८०॥*] रसवणिजामादायस्तृणपूलकधी[र्म्]रादि य-
त्किञ्चित् । दत्ते करी चतुष्टयमङ्ग तुरङ्गो द्वयन्तु पौराणाम् ॥ [८१॥*] यद्वहद[न्य]दान
किमपि च विद्याधनन्तदुद्दिष्टम् । य[त्त्र] . . . दः [पुण्यश्री]-
- 32 [की]र्त्तय प्रवर्त्तन्ते ॥[८२॥*] यत्र च श्रीनोहलेश्वरमठे श्रीमदधोरशिवा[चा]र्योभूत् ॥
क्वचिद्भि[क्षावृ]त्ति क्वचिदपि च शाकाभ्यवहृति. क्वचिन्मूलाहार. क्वचिदपि च कदाश्च
वु(बु)भुजे । पर ज्योति शैव विगलितरजस्कान्धतमस न्वि(वि)चिन्वन्नो यातो विषविषयवे-
[ग]स्य कलनाम् ॥⁷ [८३॥*] तेनेय प्रशस्ति सङ्गतिमानोता । श्रीत्रिपुरी[सौ]भाग्य-
पुरलवणनगरदुर्लभपुरविमानपुर[न]⁷
- 33 . . . भिः काष्ठ[वृ]ष. प्रत्यहमथ रक्षित समानेय । देव म्मचिचार्य⁸ [चारु]-
दारुणि ॥⁹ [८४॥*] सुश्लिष्टव(ब)न्धघटना विस्मितकविराजशेखरस्तुत्या । आस्तामियमा-
कल्प कृतिश्च कीर्त्तिश्च पूर्वा च ॥¹⁰ [८५॥*] कायस्थश्रीसीरुकस्य ॥ करणिकधीरसुतेन
तु नाईनाम्ना प्रशस्तिरालिखिता । सत्सूत्र[धा]र[स]ङ्गमतनूजनोन्नेन चोत्कीर्णा ॥[८६॥*]
स्वकी[यदायादक्रयपु(प्र)दानम्] ॥¹¹ द¹² [१*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Om ! Adoration to Śiva.

(Verse 1) May the mass of Sambhu's matted hair, the store of all blessings, protect you !—(*the mass of matted hair*), on which the rolling waters of the Mandākinī (*i.e.*, the Gangā), flowing down from the bright vault of heaven, appear like a white umbrella, being upheld by the wind from the opened mouths, dreadful through the large expanding hoods, of the lord of serpents (*which is*) greatly afflicted, being drawn into a tight knot !

Moreover—

(V. 2) May the flame of the fire of the eye of the moon-diademed (Śiva) protect

¹ Read निष्प्रपञ्च—

² Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

³ Delete षोड There is no indication that these *aksharas* have been cancelled

⁴ Metre of this and the following three verses *Giti*

⁵ The *akshara* प which was at first omitted is written below the line

⁶ Metre *Śukharinī*

⁷ About eight *aksharas* are illegible here

⁸ Perhaps भ्रम्मचिचार्य is meant

⁹ Metre *Āryā* (?)

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse *Āryā*.

¹¹ These *aksharas* are fairly legible on the original stone.

¹² One *akshara* is indistinct here, and two or three more have been lost by the breaking off of the corner of the stone

you,—(*the flame*) which rises up as if to burn the moon, because it is a friend of the god of love!

(V 3) May the nectar-rayed (moon) of Śarva, the unique flower in the forest of his matted hair, protect you!—that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, persistently asks for,¹ in order to play with; which is the stake when (Śiva), the destroyer of the cities, plays at dice with the goddess (Pārvatī), (*and*) which Pārvatī uses as a missile when she is talking angrily (*with Śiva*) in amorous sports!

(V 4) May the gigantic dance of the conqueror of Tripura (*i.e.*, Śiva) in which he indulged to his heart's content² protect you!—(*the dance*) during which the quarters were pushed back by the exceedingly strong blasts of wind, caused by his massive arms, which suddenly became terrific through his graceful movements as he energetically applied himself to it (*i.e.*, to the dancing); and during which the sky rose higher as the earth bent down under (*the weight of*) his mighty *chārī* step!

(V. 5) Using my speech to (*describe*) the family which has sprung from the moon, I, alas! have, through folly, begun to measure the sky with my hands

(V 6) Even though my speech has no brilliance, it will attain it from this great family of the moon whose rise is being described. Or, do not, mark! the streams of rut of the elephants of the quarters, though naturally black, attain the (*white*) colour of the milky ocean, when they come into contact with it?

(V. 7) That abode of lustre which obtained its rise from the eye of Atri, which befriends the earth by whitening it, which rises up to the Lōkālōka mountain (*and*) dispels great darkness, is called the moon. The crescent of that very (*moon*) adorns the forehead of Sambhu. From the same moon sprang, what more (*need I say*?), this family also of the **Haihayas**

(V 8) And in this (*family*) which was rendered the highest object of reverence by (*those*) primeval kings, Budha and others, there was a noble prince named Arjuna who covered the wide quarters with the lustre of his fame, which deserves praise because he cut down his enemies like forests.

(V 9) What happened even to that lord of Lankā (*i.e.*, Rāvana) when he was engaged in hostility with him—(*the lord of Lankā*), who with ease had lifted up³ (Kailāsa) the lord of mountains belonging to Śarva, (*and before whom*) the lord of gods went, none knew where, on his elephant which was terrified by the fire issuing from the thunderbolt as it vibrated and broke in striking (Rāvana's) broad chest—that indeed is the measure of his glory!

(V. 10) Who are we, oh! to describe the merits of him whom the god Dattātrēya, that abode of unrestrained amorous endearments of the goddess of fortune, favoured

¹ Kielhorn, who made the *pada-chchbēda* as *krivā graham mārḡati*, translated—'that (*moon*) which the six-faced (Kārttikēya), child as he is, lays hold of and seeks to play with' It is better to construe the words as *āgraham krivā kbēlāya mārḡati*

² Kielhorn translates *avyābat-ēchcham* by 'to the full extent of your desires', evidently treating it as an adverb modifying the verb *avyāt*. The tenor of the whole verse, however, requires that it should be taken as an adjective to *tāṇḍav-āḍambaram*. Śiva could indulge in the dance to his heart's content, because the quarters were pushed back, the sky rose higher and the earth bent down, thus affording more space for his dance.

³ Kielhorn translated 'of that lord of Lankā even, who with ease had coaxed Śarva and the lord of mountains', evidently deriving *ullālita* from *ullal* to coax, to fondle. But the word is clearly used here in the same sense as *ullāsita* (lifted up) in *bēl-ōllāsita-v(b)āhu-danda-vibhita-Śrīkantba-saiz-ōddha(r)itab* in line 6 of Goharwa plates of Karna (No. 50, below).

with the gracious promise of sons? What is the use of vain prattle? In this case even the goddess of speech is, I fancy, clearly perplexed!

(V 11) Then, from him who was a mountain¹ for the creepers that were the far-reaching vows of good men, how many lords of earth did not spring, the fame springing from whom was in the habit of defeating (*i e.*, surpassing in lustre) the young (*i e.*, full) moon?

(V 12) Among those who thus appeared successively was born **Kōkalladēva (I)**, who caused the wonder of men, who marked the highest limit of blessedness, who was like Indra on the orb of the earth that submitted to him; who was the wild fire in burning the spreading creepers that were his enemies; (*and*) whose valour, adorned as he was with pride, pervaded the circle of the three worlds

(V 13) On account of whose forces, when they met together for the conquest of the world, marching like the waves of the ocean overflowing its bounds, the multitude of the broad hoods of the lord of serpents sank under the earth which was pressed down by their excessive weight

(V 14) When the dust raised by his forces gradually rolled on from the earth to the sky, the pairs of Chakravāka birds, apprehending (*the approach of*) night, separated in grief, the peacocks, mistaking it for the approach of clouds, performed a joyful dance, and on the disappearance of all light, the eyes suddenly became blind

(V 15) When the lords of elephants in his vast army, which was fond of the forests on the sea-shore, plunged into (*its*) water like the principal mountains crowding together, the ocean after a long time was reminded of that occasion when the Mandara mountain revolved in it.

(V 16) While he was occupying the slopes of the Vindhya mountain, the forest, with its multitudes of birds chirping harshly, cried out, as it were, in pain, as (*the trees were*) being broken by the rutting elephants of the army.

(V 17) Having conquered the whole earth, he planted two unique pillars,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya)² that (*well-known*) **Krishnarāja**, and in the quarter of Kubēra³ **Bhōjadēva** the treasure-house of fortune

(V 18) From him then was born **Mugdhatunga**, than whom (*there was*) none exalted in the three worlds. And when he was desirous of conquering the quarters, what country did he not obtain, having destroyed his enemies?

(V 19) His sole object of affection, when he was preparing for fight, was his sword,—(*which was*) a couch for the goddess of battle, a bolt for (*the destruction of*) the enemy's army, a sprout of the creeper that was his anger, a dear friend of haughtiness, a channel (*made*) of sapphire for the water of good deeds, a branch of the tree of bravery, and an endless path for the movements of his adventurous deeds

(V 20) Possessed of the prowess of Rudra⁴, he so dealt with the hostile forces

¹ It is not necessary to translate *parvata* by 'a tree' as Kielhorn does. Again, his translation of the expression *taruna-tāraka-rāja*, etc. as 'renowed for their zeal in defeating kings who were like newly risen Tārakas' and his remark 'Tāraka was a Daitya who was killed by India' are manifestly wrong. *Tāraka* (n) means 'a star' and *tāraka-rāja*, 'the moon'

² *I e.*, in the south

³ *I e.*, in the north

⁴ Kielhorn translated *raudram yō dhāma vi(bi)bbrat* by 'possessed of terrific splendour'. The whole verse is, however, intended to compare the battlefield, where the king slaughtered his enemies, with the cemetery where Rudra revels in the company of his hosts of spirits and goblins. Besides *raudra* is used before in the sense of 'terrific' and it is not likely to have been used in the same sense again in the last quarter. I, therefore, prefer to take *raudram dhāma* as 'the prowess of Rudra'

in every fight that crowds of goblins stalked about, headless trunks (*of warriors*) were running (*here and there*), carrying their own heads (*which had been*) cut off, small imps were howling, confronting goblins had fire blazing forth from the hollows of their mouths and (*the battlefield*) appeared dreadful with the terrific cries of ill-omened jackals howling in their desire for devouring flesh

(V 21) The forests near the sea-shore where his forces were encamped during his expeditions, had their coral sprouts doubled on account of the foreparts of the hands of women moving (*among them*) to gather them¹

(V 22) 'Here the waves of the ocean are playing, here the wind is blowing which makes the women of Kērala sport, here the serpent is taking away the fragrance of the trees'.—Thus wandered his thoughts in the vicinity of the Malaya mountain!

(V 23) Having conquered the rows of countries along the shore of the eastern ocean, and having taken the country of Pālī from the lord of Kōsala, he, who continually destroyed the abodes of (*his*) enemies, was the ablest master of the sword

(V. 24) From him was born that Kēyūrararsha², who was guided by polity³, who fulfilled the ardent desires of the minds of the women of Gauḍa; who sported on the breasts of the ladies of Karnāṭa even as a deer does on a pleasure-hill, who applied the ornamental mark to the forehead of the women of Lāṭa; who enjoyed the pleasures of love with the women of Kāśmīra, (*and*) was fond of the excellent songs of the women of Kaliṅga.

(V 25) Even when his forces marched for vanquishing the guardians of the quarters, sporting as at the time of world-destruction, so as to rouse the apprehension of the three worlds, no mass of dust could rise from the ground, inundated as it was with the streams of tears flowing from the eyes of the wives of (*his*) enemies who were again and again taken captive

(V 26) In battle that king wielded his large sword, which, being covered with a multitude of pearls from the pitcher-like frontal globes of elephants which were clearly broken open, appeared, as it were, to be strewn with the particles of the enemy's fame, which it had often drunk but subsequently emitted, under the pressure of the king's firm grasp

(V. 27) Up to the Kailāsa mountain, the friend⁴ of Pārvatī's continuously charming sport, up to the excellent eastern mountain from where rises the lustre of the sun, near the bridge (*of the south*) and then up to the western lord of waters (*i e*, the western ocean) the valour of his armies caused unending oppression to his enemies.

(V. 28) He strew the battlefields all over with the heads of his proud enemies who, exasperated with rage attacked him—(*the heads*), the skull-bones of which were falling off, being pressed by the machine-like hands of the exulting female goblins, eager for the blood dripping from (*the parts*) struck by his vibrating swift arrows, (*and*) which were honoured with side-glances of (*heavenly*) damsels moving in the sky

(V. 29) "(Our) king is Rudra incarnate; (*our*) king is the support of the mansion of the three worlds; (*our*) king is an iron fetter for curbing the wayward princes;"—When multitudes of excellent bards continuously uttered such brilliant words of flattery, the minds of his enemies who were present in his hall of audience were incomparably afflicted

¹ The idea suggested is that the fingers of the women were like coral

² He is identical with Yuvarājadēva I mentioned in verse 46 below

³ Kielhorn translates *nīti-nayanab* by 'the observer of good conduct', but the idea that the science of politics is an eye of the kings is often met with in Sanskrit literature Compare *Daśakumāracharita* (Bom. Sansk Series ed, 1919), p 130

⁴ *I e*, where Pārvatī is always sporting

(V 30) There was (*a sage*) named Bharadvāja, (*who was*) free from the blemishes of sin, (*and*) who was the sole lord of those whose wealth is tranquillity. What sprang from his male energy deposited in a jar—that verily was Bhāradvāja, *i e*, Drōṇa whose deeds excited the wonder of the three worlds.

(V 31) His fame gracefully roamed throughout the three worlds; his fortune was limited (*only*) by his desires, his rage, (*manifested both*) by his curse and his bow, was terrible, such as would be suitable for the destruction of the world. What can we describe of that sole ocean of policy and valour, whose disciple was that husband of Subhadrā (*i e*, Arjuna) who with ease humbled the great pride of Śarva¹

(V 32) Seeing him whose strong arm was skilful in wielding the bow, and who with his many powerful arrows exterminated the Pāṇḍava army, even that son of Dharma, who was honoured for veracity, swerved (*from the truth*)² when he lost (*all*) hope of defeating the enemy.

(V 33) Now, in the water, of which he in the act of cursing had taken up a handful (*chuluka*) with his trembling hand, in rage to bring calamity on Drupada when insulted (*by him*), there sprang a man like victory incarnate, from him is descended the family of the Chaulukyas of great merit.

(V 34) In that powerful family, in which was produced a series of kings eminent in spreading valour and beauty, was born Avānivarman whose deeds were well-known in the (*whole*) universe, (*and*) who drew to himself the enemy's fortune when he bent his beautiful bow.

(V 35) That his grandfather was Śiṃhavarman and his father was Sadhanva the best of heroes,—this by itself rendered him exceedingly great in the world. To add to this was his great dignity.

(V 36) Of him, whose liberality has broken the seal of poverty of all people, (*and*) whose valour has made the enemies take shelter in the mountain-caves by the seashore, he (*alone*) apparently might possibly³ count the merits, to whom is indeed submissive the divine Bhāratī, the milch-cow of speech.

(V 37) As the lord of mountains (Himālaya) begot Rudrānī (*i e*, Pārvatī), the ocean Lakshmī, the divine sun the (river) Kālindī (Yamunā), the son of Atri the moon-light, Janaka's sacrificial rite Vaidēhī (*i e*, Sītā), even so (*he*), the jewel that fulfilled the wishes of the feudatory princes, begot that wonderful ornament in the form of a maiden, named the illustrious Nōhalā.

(V 38) As the daughter of Pulōman⁴ (*was the beloved wife*) of the lord of the hosts of Maruts⁵, as Chhāyā (*was*) of that lord of the light (*i e*, the sun) that dispels darkness, as Ratī (*was*) of the god whose bow is (*made of*) sugar-cane,⁶—even so did she become the beloved (*wife*) of Kēyūravārsha.

(V. 39) That moon-like king attained indescribable splendour through her, even as the elephant (*does*) by the stream of rutting juice, the seashore by a creeper of tender coral, a tree by the beauty of flowers, and a cloud by lightning.

¹ The reference is to Arjuna's encounter with Śiva described in the *Mahābhārata*.

² Kielhorn's translation 'Even that son of Dharma minding his promise retired *etc*' gives a wholly incorrect sense. The allusion here is to an incident in the Bhārata war when Yudhisthira was tempted to tell a lie to bring about the death of Drōṇa. See *Mahābhārata*, Drōṇaparvan, Adhyāya 193, vv 54-59. Compare also *Venīsamhāra*, Act III, v 111.

³ For *yad* used here in the sense of 'possibly,' compare the *Mēghadūta*, v 113.

⁴ *I e*, Śachī

⁵ *I e*, of Indira

⁶ *I e*, of the god of love.

(V. 40) For the attainment of religious merit she has constructed this temple of the god (Śiva) who is the sole object of Umā's love, (*this temple*), on the pinnacles of which with their cloud-scraping tops trips the sun, (*and which is*) as it were the mass of her extensive fame (*in a tangible form*)

(V. 41) The flags on it do not flutter, because, I fancy, they are constantly sprinkled with the foam-water of the horses of the sun, that are fatigued by continuous marching through the sky

(V. 42) On the broad pinnacles of this temple, which has a lofty fluted disc,¹ the rows of fresh clouds clinging to them in the rainy season bear resemblance to flocks of pigeons

(V. 43) There was (*a sage*), Pavanaśiva, the lord of Madhumatī; after him flourished Śabdaśiva; the pious Īvaraśiva again sanctified his discipleship.

(V. 44) To him, who was a store of austerities, the cultured (*queen*) donated the villages Nipāniya and Ambipāṭaka as a reward for scholarship.

(V. 45) And she gave to (Śiva) the enemy of Smara, Dhaṅgapāṭaka, Pōṇḍī, Nāgabala, Khaḷapāṭaka, Viḍā, Sajjāhalī and Gōshṭhapālī.

(V. 46) From her was born to the illustrious king Yuvarājadēva (I), the illustrious Lakshmnarāja (II), elevated and possessed of great splendour like the sun, the lustre of whose feet, resorted to by fortune, was honoured by the exalted heads of kings (*even as the lustrous rays of the sun, possessed of beauty, are revered by the high peaks of mountains*), and who, by his unique, attractive and beautiful excellences, surpassed the god of love.

(V. 47) For the goddess of whose heroism the lady Fame verily spread out on the ground a four-stringed necklace, with the multitude of pearls from the frontal globes of the enemy's elephants, rent, in battle, by the edge of his firmly grasped sword.

Moreover—

(V. 48) Venerable is that Kadambaguhā where there was a succession of sages. To them again was Rudraśambhu, the chief of sages, an object of adoration

(V. 49) He, who was most venerable in this world by his power (*derived from the knowledge*) of the reality, had in this world a disciple (*named*) the Lord of Mattamayūra, who, having completely removed the stain of impurity from the king Avanti, communicated to him the supreme lustre² (*by initiating him in the Śaiva faith*).

(V. 50) After him came the illustrious Dharmaśambhu, who became an ornament of the world, (*and*) whose feet were revered by the lustre of the crest-jewels of princes, who, having crossed the ocean of the Śaiva faith by his austerities, attained fitting, spotless and pleasing fame

(V. 51) After him came his disciple Sadāśiva, who had a store of austerities, (*and*) whose venerable feet were worshipped by princes with the rays of their crowns.

(V. 52) After him came his disciple named Mādhumatēya, who, living on fruits and roots, was possessed of excellent lustre, (*and*) in whom austerities and radiance always dwelt together

(V. 53) After him there was (*his*) most venerable disciple Chūdāśiva, who, being

¹ In Indian Śilpaśāstra, *amalasāraka* means 'a circular fluted disc which surmounts the spire of temples', so called from its resemblance to the *emblem myrobalan*. Cf *Skandhād=urdhvam bhavēd ghaṇṭā yadī v-āmalasārakam*, in *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Vol II, p. 173

² Kielhorn at first read *puram-abō* in this verse and translated it as 'who became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince Avanti,' but himself corrected his mistake later on in *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p. 353.

desirous of final liberation, removed completely the taint consequent on actions (*performed in previous births*)

(V 54) Then (*came*) his disciple named **Hridayaśiva**, a mine of all virtues, whose fame deserves to be sung even now, the soles of whose uniquely venerable feet were rendered beautiful by the multitude of rubies set in the crowns of princes

(V 55) To whom is not the holy man an object of praise—(*the holy man*) who, an abode of (*all*) lores, wise and true to his vows, increased still further and for a long time the fame of the illustrious **Mādhumatēya** lineage, who, moreover, surpassed the earth by his forbearance, the cloud by his impartiality, and the ocean by decorum of conduct, and (*who*) vanquished the god of love by his freedom from passion?

(V 56) Or, why need that foremost of sages be praised at all—(*he*), whom the king, the illustrious moon of the Chēdī (*country*), showing his devotion by presents sent by well-conducted messengers, brought him hither respectfully (*and*) in due form?

(V 57) The illustrious **Lakshmanarāja** also, being full of devotion himself, offered that great ascetic the monastery of the holy **Vaidyanātha**.

(V 58) The sage, having accepted it, again made over the holy **Nauhlēśvara** monastery to his well-conducted disciple **Aghōraśiva**.

(V 59) Then, having accomplished his object, the powerful lord of Chēdī, with all his elephants and horses (*as well as*) powerful feudatories and foot-soldiers, proceeded to the extremely charming western quarter, causing terror to all his enemies, his progress being difficult to check

(V 60) Having struck with valour those who showed vehemence for fighting,¹ having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who submitted to him, having fulfilled the desires of suppliants with wealth on which they had set their hearts, he allowed the host of his army to sport in the water of the ocean

(V 61) Having bathed in the ocean, the illustrious (*Lakshmanarāja*) quietly worshipped (*the god*) **Sōmēśvara** with golden lotuses and also offered something else

(V 62) He worshipped **Sōmēśvara** with that (*effigy of*) **Kāliya** wrought of jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the prince of **Ōḍra**, after defeating the lord of **Kōsala**. The prince, having besides presented elephants, horses, white garments, garlands, sandal and other (*gifts*), (*and*) being filled with joy, very humbly praised (*the god*) to get rid of the troubles of worldly existence

(V 63) “Whenever a prince, who is freed from ignorance by bowing to your feet (*and*) is devoted to the truth, considers this life worthless, his royal fortune will not produce again (*any*) passion in him,² for he gets rid of re-birth”—Absorbed in such meditation, he fixed his mind on Śiva’s greatness.

(V 64) From him was born the great lord of the earth, the illustrious **Śaṅkara-gaṇa (III)**, whose matchless pair of feet was worshipped even by (*his*) enemies.

(V 65) Firm in daring as he was, he devoted his sword to the destruction of the innumerable hosts of his enemies, his charity always delighted the people, being of

¹ Kielhorn translated *samara-kṛita-vikārān=vikramēna prahṛīya* as ‘having valorously struck down (*adversaries*) who were humbled in battle’ The verse is intended to contrast two types of the king’s adversaries—(i) those who prepared themselves for fight and (ii) those who submitted to him The poet has used *vikāra* and *vikṛiti* several times in this inscription in the sense of ‘passion,’ ‘rage’ etc

² Kielhorn translates ‘His good fortune is no longer liable to change’, but *śrī* which is used here generally means ‘fortune,’ ‘wealth,’ ‘prosperity’. *Vikṛiti-kṛitayā na (bhavati)* can scarcely mean ‘is not liable to change’ For the idea of fortune infatuating a person, see below *ya iha kṛita-vikārān* etc in verse 73, below For the meaning of *vikṛiti* see n 1, above

matchless beauty, he humbled the haughty pride of the mind-born (*i.e.*, the god of love), and as the lord of the earth, he was praised at all places and times by the wise.

(V 66) The pair of his lotus-like feet, which afforded a broad resting place for fortune, was adorned by the rays of jewels set on the broad sides of the diadems of princes as they bowed (*to him*) Fortune, which resorted to his ocean-like breast, had come to him as a heritage,¹ not so, however, the glory of heroism which depended on the edge of that prince's sword.

(V 67) His younger brother was the illustrious king **Yuvarajādēva (II)**, on whose feet princes bent down as bees hover on lotuses. Of him, who was an abode of devotion to truth, courage and pleasing speech, and the sole resort of fortune and valour, even a good man² will not probably be able to describe all excellences.

(V 68) This prince overpowered with his arm and killed, with his hand which wielded a dagger, the radiant, fiercely roaring demon in the form of a tiger, whose mouth appeared terrible as it tore (*animals*) with its sharp teeth, the corners of whose eyes were blood-shot with rage, which used its paws as weapons of attack, and which sprang forward with its uplifted tail.

(V. 69) Though he delighted the eyes of women as a new god of love, he was otherwise the god of death who broke open the frontal globes of huge elephants with the edge of his sword and, strange to say, (*though*) he was fond of Sarasvatī, he devoted himself to the worship of Śiva, and clever as he was in discriminating between the four castes, he was a wish-fulfilling jewel to (*all*) suppliants.

(V. 70) When young women for their usual bath plunged into the water of the Rēvā, which was clear, but bitter, being mixed with the rutting juice which flowed into it at the bathing of his huge and excellent elephants, they innocently became perfumed with the strong fragrance of copulation³ as the multitudes of waves, dashing against their thighs and hips, surged up and down.

(V 71) I fancy that his radiant fame, after wandering everywhere,—on the round breasts of women surely in the form of pearl-necklaces, on the spotless full disc of the moon in the guise of the moon-light, on the extensive waters of the Mānasa lake as a beautiful row of swans,—has found rest in the abode of Umā's husband (*i.e.*, in Kailāsa).

(V 72) Having worshipped the god Īśāna (Śiva) with suitable (*gifts of*) his wealth, the king composed the (*following*) hymn of praise, according to traditional works (*āgamas*) (*and*) scriptures —

(V 73) "Happy are those kings, O Lord, who with steady minds worship thee, spending their wealth on (*charitable*) works. For those who (*on the other hand*) are swayed by passion, and whose minds are solely engrossed in love, fortune becomes a cause of intoxication, O granter of boons!

(V 74) "Of what use are these troops of rutting elephants (*and*) these women

¹ Kielhorn translates *kramēn-āgatā* by 'come to him gradually', but here the sense clearly is that of 'obtained by succession'. Compare *krama-prāpta* in Vākātaka seals. There is a contrast intended here between Lakshmī and Vīraśī. Both of them resorted to Śankaragana, but while he received the former as a heritage, the latter was attracted by his deft swordsmanship.

² The use of *sajjana* 'a good man' seems at first sight to be inappropriate here, as there is hardly any connection between the good nature of a man and his ability to describe the merits of a king. The poet has, however, used it here as his own name was *Sajjana*, see v 78 below. So he means to say 'Even I may not be able to describe all the merits of this king!'

³ Kielhorn's rendering 'they truly become perfumed with the strong fragrance of the god of love' does not bring out the intended sense clearly. The idea expressed in this verse occurs, though in a somewhat different form, in the *Raghuvamśa* also, see Canto IV, v 45.

who display amorous dalliance? Gold, horses, garments and all kinds of jewels are of no avail, if thereby (Śiva) the lord of Bhavānī is not worshipped.

(V 75) "Birth in a royal family, enjoyment of the earth, learning, proper discrimination, beautiful form (*and*) excellent victory in battle,—(*these*) accrue to him, who takes refuge with the holy feet of Śankara

(V 76) Why need I say more? May my single-minded devotion, the cause of everything, be always directed to thee O Lord!—in which there will be, by thy grace, a shower of nectar,—such as can be experienced by one's own self,¹—owing to the presence therein of all kinds of highest pleasures "

(V 77) The great fame of the (*first*) three princes was first described by the illustrious Śrīnivāsa, the son of the illustrious Sthīrānanda

(V 78) Then the brilliant eulogy of the three (*other*) princes was composed by Sajjana, the wise son of Thīra

In the *Mandapikā*² of the town—

(V 79) There shall be paid a *śōḍaśikā*³ (coin) on (*every*) *khandikā*⁴ of salt and (*also*) one *śōḍaśikā* for (*every*) oil-mill per month, and a *paura*⁵ for a couple of *yugās*⁶ per day

(V 80) In the case of betel-nuts, black pepper, dried ginger and other merchandise, a *paura* (*shall be paid*) by every measurer⁷; a *kapardī* shall be paid for every *vīthī* (shop) and *dyūtakapardas*⁸ for vegetables and egg-plants

(V 81) In the case of dealers in liquids, the tax should be (*in the form of*) bundles of grass,⁹ *dhūrmara*¹⁰ and whatever (*else may be possible*) An elephant (*offered for sale*)

¹ Kielhorn translates *svayam=anubhava-gamyō* by 'which will manifest itself of its own accord' The expression, however, clearly means that the shower of nectar cannot be described in words, but can be appreciated only by self-experience

² *Mandapikā* (from which the Marāṭhī word *Mandāī*, a 'market-place', is derived) seems to have been a pavillion in the market-place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed It was also called *Sulka-mandapikā*, see *Bhāvnagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions*, p 159

³ *Śōḍaśikā* was probably a coin equal in value to one-sixteenth part of a *dramma*. Cf *Vimsōpaka* mentioned in lines 10, 20, 26 *etc* of the Sīyadōnī inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol I, pp 174 ff

⁴ *Khandikā* seems to have been a measure of capacity corresponding to the modern *khandī* which is equal to 20 maunds The Harsha stone inscription of Vīgraharāja (*Ind*, *Ant*, Vol XLII, pp 57 ff) mentions the tax of one *vimsōpaka* on every *kūtaka* of salt at Śākambharī

⁵ *Paura* seems to have been a small coin like *kaparda* The Sīyadōnī inscription states in line 20 the tax of two *kapardas* per *yugā*, which was assigned to the local deity

⁶ The meaning of *yugā* is not certain, but it may be noted that the Sīyadōnī inscription states in line 6 that a *yugā* was stamped at the local *mandapikā* when a quarter *pañcāyaka-dramma* was paid and that it was valid for a day It was probably a voucher authorizing the owner to exhibit his articles in the market-place for one day

⁷ *Bharaka* is probably a kind of measure It is also mentioned in connection with cocoanuts in, v 71 of the Arthūnā inscription of Chāmundarāja of V 1136 (*Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p. 302) See also *Mitāksharā* on *Yajñavalkya Smṛiti*, II, 221 The Sīyadōnī inscription mentions in line 30 the tax of three-quarter *Vīgrahapālīya-dramma* on every *bharana* (measure)

⁸ *Dyūtakaparda* seems to have been a smaller coin than a *kaparda* It was so called probably because it was frequently used as a stake in gambling It may be noted that the Māngrol (Kāthiāwād) inscription of V 1202 mentions a daily tax of one *kākinī* on gambling *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp 158 ff

⁹ *Pālaka* may be connected with *pālīkā* The Sīyadōnī inscription mentions in line 26 a tax on every *pālīkā* of leaves. *Pūtaka* is also mentioned in v 72 of the above-named Arthūnā inscription

¹⁰ Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *dhīvara* in the sense of 'a fish-basket'. *Dhūrmara* may have the same sense here

should be taxed four *pauras*, and a horse two *pauras*¹.

(V 82) Similarly whatever other gift and whatever reward for scholarship may be made (by them) the religious merit, wealth and fame are obtained.

At the monastery of the holy Nōhalēśvara there was the illustrious preceptor Aghōraśiva—

(V. 83) Sometimes living on alms and sometimes on vegetables, sometimes eating roots and sometimes subsisting on bulbous roots, seeking the supreme light of Śiva free from the intense darkness of passion, he had never to suffer from the virulent poison of sensual enjoyment

By him was the eulogy put together

The (*inhabitants of*) famous Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura . . . shall bring guarded (*to the monastery?*) the bull made of beautiful wood every day (*at the fan?*) of the god for the performance of the religious rite.

(V. 85) May this composition, which deserves praise from the wonder-struck poet Rājaśēkhara, and the afore-mentioned glorious work,² (*both of*) which have well-joined parts, endure till the destruction of the world!

Of the Kāyastha, the illustrious Śiruka³

(V 86) (*This*) eulogy was written by Nāī, the son of Dhīra, the writer of legal documents and was engraved by Nōnna, the son of the excellent Śūtradhāra (artisan) Saṅgama.

There shall be no sale or gift (*of any portion*) of one's own donation⁴

No 46, PLATE XXXVI

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II

THIS inscription was noticed for the first time by Mr R D Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, pp 51 ff. The same scholar subsequently published a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haishayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, pp 122 ff, and finally edited it with a lithograph and a translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXII, pp 127 ff. It is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj at Gurgi, a village about twelve miles due east of Rewa town in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewa.

The inscribed slab measures about 4' 1" by 3' 4". There are forty-nine lines in all. The average size of the letters is 8". The record has suffered a good deal in its lower part

¹ The Pēhēvā inscription (*Ep Ind*, Vol I, pp 184 ff) mentions the tax of one *dharma* on each horse brought to the market for sale. The Harsha stone inscription mentions the tax of one *dramma* on every horse sold by the Hēdāvikas of Uttarāpatha, *Ind Ant*, Vol XLII, p 64. See also *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, p. 124

² For *kīrti*, a glorious work, see *C I I*, Vol III, p. 212, n 6. It probably refers here to the temple of Nōhalēśvara

³ Śiruka was evidently the author of the portion of the present inscription which follows verse 77. Kielhorn however, thought that he was the writer who originally wrote the eulogy of the first three princes

⁴ For a similar restriction, see verse 35 of the Śirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta, *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, p 193

comprised in ll 23-46 owing to the flaking off of a large portion of the surface of the stone. In ll 28-39 especially, only a few *aksharas* at the right end can be read with confidence. The loss of this portion is very much to be regretted as, judging from the few preserved *aksharas*, it contained a description of the military exploits of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. As it is, we are left in doubt not only about the Kalachuri king during whose reign it was incised,¹ but also about the Śaiva ascetic who caused it to be put up.²

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and closely resemble those of the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhaśiva. The only points that call for notice are that *dh* in some cases shows the left limb developed as in the Kāritālāi inscription of Lakshmanarāja II,³ but it is here joined to the right vertical, see *-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhayab* in l 17. In other cases the letter does not differ from *v* except in the absence of the wedge at the top, and it is noteworthy that the two verticals of *dhā* are not joined here as is generally done in other records of the period. In one other respect⁴ the present inscription shows a later stage, *vr̥*, in the use of the *avagraha* which appears for the first time in the records edited here, see *-samadhayō=chchha-matayō*, l 17, *tasy-āspadē=gra-*, l 30 and *Mahēndrē=rvvudē*, l 31.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the opening obeisance to the deity, the whole record is metrically composed. There are forty-six verses in all. The inscription is composed in an artistic *kāvya* style. As regards **orthography**, the consonants preceding and following *r* are doubled in a few places, see *-tribhuvana-*, l 8, *-kīrttanīyab*, l 9 etc., *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*, see e.g., *-pravandha-*, l 4, the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in *yasō-*, l 13, and *n* for the *anusvāra* followed by the dental sibilant in *-pradhvansa-*, l 23 and *-vansa-*, l 24. In other respects the record is carefully written and incised.

The inscription falls into three parts. The first part, which comprises vv 1-26, contains the spiritual pedigree of the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present record. After two *mangala ślokas* invoking the blessings of Śiva, the inscription mentions **Madhumatī**, the abode of the Śaiva Saiddhāntikas. In their lineage there was an ascetic named **Chūdāśiva**. His disciple **Prabhāvaśiva** was invited by **Yuvarājadēva (I)**, the son of **Mugdhatuṅga**, and was placed in charge of a monastery which the latter had built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple was **Prasāntaśiva** who erected a temple of Śiva near another built by Yuvarājadēva, and installed in the shrines attached to it the images of Umā, Haṭa-Gaurī, Kārttikēya, Ganapati and Sarasvatī. He also built a monastery on the bank of the **Śōṇa** for the practice of Yōga, and another on the bank of the **Gangā** in Vārāṇasī for the performance of austerities. His disciples are said to have toured in the country, imparting right knowledge to the people and receiving homage from their rulers. Prasāntaśiva's disciple, **Īśānaśambhu**, is next praised. He appointed his younger brother-disciple **Prabōdhaśiva** the head of the monastery. Verse 21 which is partly mutilated seems to refer to the construction of a temple by Prabōdhaśiva near⁵ the

¹ Banerji referred it to the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva and N. P. Chakravartī to that of Kōkalla II (*Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, p 129 and n 1). I have supported the latter view below.

² Both Banerji and Chakravartī hold that the record was put up by Prabōdhaśiva. I have shown below that it belongs to the time of his successor, whose name is lost.

³ See above, No 42.

⁴ Banerji's remark that the record contains the later form of *dh* in which the upper loop has become open does not seem to be correct, for everywhere in this record the earlier form only is used.

⁵ The monastery of Prasāntaśiva seems to have been mentioned here as in the Chandrēhē inscription only to define the position of the temple built by Prabōdhaśiva. It does not seem to have been repaired by him as supposed by Banerji, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, p 129.

monastery built by his preceptor on the bank of the Sōna. These two buildings are referred to in the Chandrēhē inscription also. The next five verses are almost wholly damaged, but the few words preserved at the end of l. 30 indicate that verse 24 probably contained the name of another Śaiva ascetic who succeeded Prabōdhaśiva. The next two or three verses were devoted to his description, but they have unfortunately been too much mutilated, so that even the name of the ascetic has not been preserved. The *aksharas* at the end of l. 31 suggest that his fame had spread from the Mahēndra to the Arbuda mountain. Verse 26 mentions the village Sāmantapāṭaka, but in what connection it cannot be determined.

The second part of the inscription, which comprises vv. 27-34, contained a description of Kalachuri kings and their military exploits. Their family is introduced in v. 27 as *ēnānkāmvaya* 'the lineage of the deer-marked (moon)'. Verse 28, which mentions the defeat of a Gurjara king, probably describes Yuvarājadēva I, for, the latter is said to have conquered the north in the *Viddhasālabbhañjika* of his court-poet Rājāsēkhara, which means that he had inflicted a defeat on the contemporary Gurjara-Prathāra Emperor of Kanauj. The names of his successors who were eulogized in the next four verses have been lost; but verse 33 mentions the king Kōkalladēva who is doubtless the second king of that name, the great-grandson of Yuvarājadēva I. The following verse refers to his victories over a Gurjara king and the rulers of Gauda (Western Bengal) and Kuntala which comprised the Southern Maratha country and the adjoining Kanarese districts¹.

The third part of the inscription, which commences with verse 35, records the grants which the king Kēyūrarsha made for the benefit of the god Śiva installed in the temple where the present inscription was put up, and for the support of the Śaiva ascetics who were in charge of it. The name of the god was Sōmanātha as appears from v. 42. It was also mentioned in the opening obeisance, but only the last two *aksharas* of it are now legible. Among the villages granted by the king, the names of the following can be made out with certainty—Sārasaḍōllaka, Vakkaḍōllaka, Rajyaudha, Nāsapuṇḍikā, Khaṭōllikā, Ābhīrapallī, Sarasvatī (which may be a river), Sāmantapāṭaka, Bhaddhachiurā, Kusumbā,² Kukkuḍiyā, Rajōgrāma, Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka and Pōṇḍik. Besides these, two fields called Kavachakshētra and Nannēśvarakshētra are also mentioned in the same connection. Verse 43 expresses the hope that the provision for the maintenance (*vrutti*) of the Śaiva ascetics which was originally made by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva and was preserved by his successors may last forever. This clearly indicates that this Yuvarājadēva, who is evidently identical with Kēyūrarsha mentioned before in v. 35, is the first king of that name. The use of the plural in connection with his successors (*anantarair-nripaiḥ*) in v. 43 shows that at least three kings had followed him before the time of the present record³. This is also corroborated by the fact that Kōkalladēva II is the last king mentioned in it; for we know from other records⁴ that he was the fourth successor of Yuvarājadēva I. The present inscription, which apparently mentioned in verse 24, a successor of Prabōdhaśiva is the

¹ These victories were ascribed to Gāṅgēyadēva by Mr. Banerji on the ground that Gāṅgēyadēva is known to have raided Kuntala, but the record does not carry the genealogy of the Kalachuris further than Kōkalladēva II. *Vanavāsa* means 'dwelling in a forest' and has no reference to Banavāsī in North Kanara. Banerji supposed

² Banerji read this name as Tujumvā.

³ So he cannot be Yuvarājadēva II as supposed by N. P. Chakravarti. Besides, there is no evidence to show that Yuvarājadēva II also bore the name Kēyūrarsha.

⁴ Viz., the Bilhāri stone inscription (No. 45, above) and the Banaras plates of Karna (No. 48, below).

than the Chandrēhē inscription of Prabōdhasīva, dated K 724 (972-3 A C) and may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the tenth century A C

Of the geographical names mentioned in this record, Mahēndra is evidently the well-known mountain of that name on the eastern coast Arbuda is, of course, Mount Abu Himālaya and Vārāṇasī are too well-known to need identification Madhumatī has been shown to be identical with Mahuā which is now a small hamlet, one mile south of Tērahi in Madhya Bharat¹ Gauda and Kuntala have already been identified Of the villages granted by Yuvarājādēva, only Sārasa'dōllaka was identified by Mr Banerji with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilāspur-Katni section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, but it is far away from Gurgi It may be Sarsī, 2 miles south of the Sōna and 34 miles south by west of Chandrēhē Brahmapurī may be Bāhmangaon about seven miles south by west of Gurgi As for Karōdhaka there are several villages of the name Karaondi or Karaundia in the Rewa District, but the nearest to Gurgi is the Karaondi which lies only four miles to the south-east The other villages I am unable to identify

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धि³ [ना]थाय⁴ ॥ लङ्का[धीशेद्ध]⁵वा(बा)हुव्यतिकरचटुल[स्फा]टिकाद्रीन्द्रकोटि-
श्रेणीसघट्टवि(वि)भ्यद्गगनचरवरच्छन्नदि[क्वक्क]वाल(ल्म्) [1*]
- 2 — — — — ८⁶ मत्या जगदकृत तदात्रन्दनि[ह्री]दधोर स्वच्छन्द सोद्विवासी मुदमुपचिनुताच्चन्द्र-
चूडामणिर्व्व⁷ ॥[१॥*] नन्दिन्केय प्रविष्टा प[शुपति]—
- 3 [स*]द[न] [सैव*] देवीति म[न्ये] मिथ्यैतन्नास्मि सान्या मम क[थय क]प[र्दस्थिता का] तवेश ।
मुग्धे त्वद्रूपधारी त्वादशस्त्रिपुरसौ दृश्यता पातितोग्रे केनास्त्रेणेति दे—
- 4 [न्या] क[टुव]चनजित पातु मौनी शिवो व ॥[२॥*] [सच्चर्या]चा[र्यवर्या] [सतत*][हुत-
वह]स्निग्धधूमप्रव(ब)न्धप्रारब्धा(ब्धा)कालमेघोदयमदमुदितोन्नादिनृत्यन्मयूरा । अ—
- 5 स्तुचैः [सौ]धजालज्वलदनणुमणि[ज्यो]ति[षा]ञ्च[क्रवा]लै स्वर्लोकम्बा⁸ हसन्ती जगति
मधुमती धाम सैद्धान्तिकानाम् ॥[३॥*] पूर्वे यत्रावतीर्य व्रतनियतमनोवृत्त—
- 6 यस्तापसेन्द्रा शिष्याणामाशशसु शिवमतमतनु व्यस्तनि शेषदोषम् । येषामद्यापि कीर्त्तिर्द्वैवलयति
सुधाधौतकान्ति प्रसिद्धा विश्व सम्पन्नविद्वज्ज—
- 7 नकुमुदवनानन्दिनी चन्द्रिकेव ॥[४॥*] शैवानामन्वयेस्मिन्नतिमहति मुनिर्मनिनीयो मुनीनामेन —
शुष्केन्धनानानन्दवदहन इव द्योतमानैर्मर्महोभि ।
- 8 श्रीमाश्चूडाशिवोभूद्भवचरणयुग्मध्यानवो(बो)र्ध्द्विलाभप्रोद्भूतात्यन्तशुभ्रत्तिभुवनभवनाभ्यन्तरभ्रा-
न्तकीर्त्ति ॥[५॥*] तस्याखिलक्षितिपतिप्रणतोत्तमाङ्गचूडा—
- 9 मणिद्युतिचयार्चितपादपीठ । शिष्यो व(ब)भूव भुवनत्रयकीर्त्तनीय श्रीमत्प्रभावशिवनाममुनि-
र्मर्मीणी⁹ ॥[६॥*] आनीय य सहजवासनया नयज्ञ श्रीमुग्ध—

¹ Above, p 208

² From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ Read नम श्रीसोमनाथाय The name of the god occurs again in I 47

⁵ Banerji doubtfully read -त्रीरेन्द्र-, but r has only a wedge and no acute-angled triangle in its lower part as is seen here, and the subscript letter in the last *akshara* is certainly not r

⁶ The *aksharas* lost here may have been सर्व कल्पास्त—

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses *Sragdharā*

⁸ Read स्वर्लोक वा

⁹ Metre of this and the following two verses *Vasantatilakā*

- 10 तुङ्गतनयो युवराजदेव । सत्वो(त्त्वो)पकारभवदुत्तमकीर्त्तिहेतोरग्राहयन्मठमनन्तधनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥
[७॥*] तस्यामलेन तपसा च विवर्द्धमानविद्याव(ब)लेन च सम—
- 11 स्तजगत्प्रतीत । शिष्य प्रकामकमनीयगुणैकधाम श्रीमत्प्रशान्तशिवनाममुनिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥
[८॥*] आकृष्टा चिरसञ्चितेन तपसा यस्याङ्गसङ्गोत्सुका लक्ष्मीर्भोग—
- 12 पराङ्मुखस्य सतत नि श्रेयसाकाक्षया । आज्ञां प्राप्य परोपकारकृतये तद्वल्लभाना सता स्थानेषु
स्थिरतामवाप वनितेवात्यन्तसत्यव्रता¹॥[९॥*] त्याग स्तम्भमि—
- 13 वावलव्य(व्य) विलसज्ज्ञानाम्बु(म्बु)सेकक्रियामासाद्य प्रसरत्तपोव(ब)लकृतप्रत्यन्तरक्षाक्रम ।
इत्थ यस्य यसो(शो)मय स ववृषे का[ले]न कल्पद्रुमो येन व्याप्तमिद प्रस—
- 14 ह्य सकल ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरम् ॥[१०॥*] येन श्रीयुवराजकारितलसत्कैलासशृङ्गोपमप्रा—
सादोत्तरत सुमेरुशिखरस्पृद्धि प्रसिद्ध[म्भु]वि । सद्य स्थापितमीश्व—
- 15 रस्य सकलत्रैला[लो]क्यविस्मापक यत्स्वर्गं ब्रजतस्तदीयस(श)स सो[पा]²नमार्गायते ॥
[११॥*] य प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमया च मिश्र³भीश षडाननमथ प्रथितोस्की[र्त्ति] ।
- 16 प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान्द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च⁴ ॥ [१२॥*] दाहोत्तीर्णसु—
वर्णदानशमितद्व्यार्थिसार्थस्पृह सिद्धस्थानमचीकरत्तदपर य शो—
- 17 णतीरोपरि । यस्मिन्योगजुष प्रविश्य नियमध्वस्तान्तरायाधय शान्ता सिद्धसमाधयोऽच्छमतयो
ग[च्छ]न्ति मुवते पदम्⁵ ॥[१३॥*] तीर्थस्थाननिषेवणोद्यतधिया—
- 18 मत्यन्तविश्रान्तये यस्तत्कारितव(वा)न्मुनि सुरसरितीरे तप स्थानकम् । यत्ससेव्य महेश्वराच्च⁶—
नरता वाराणसीवासिनो मन्यन्ते भवसागर गुरुमपि क्षीण
- 19 यथा [गोष्प]दम्॥[१४॥*] आसीनस्य जितासनस्य विजने हृत्पद्ममध्यस्थितस्था—
णुध्याननिलीननिश्चलमन सवेदितान्तर्मुद । जग्मुर्यस्य दिनानि दाननिरत—
- 20 — ७⁷[पाञ्चार्थिक]तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानविचक्षणैश्च गुणिभि सार्द्धं परीक्षाक्षमैः ॥ [१५॥*]
तीव्राशोरशुसंधा इव निरतिशयोल्लासिन स्वै प्रभावैर्यस्यान्तेवासिनोधस्तमसि नि—
- 21 [पतिता*][न्प्रत्यहं] वो(बो)धय[न्त ।] [लो*]कानालोकदानो[प]कृतिपरिणमत्कीर्त्तय संभृ—
ताज्ञा[शो]भा भूभृच्छिरोभि प्रवरमुनिजनैरच्य(र्च्य)मानाश्चरन्ति⁸ ॥ [१६॥*] तस्याभ[व]—
- 22 [त्प*]र[शु]राम इवेश्वरस्य [शिष्य*] समस्तकविपुंगवगीतकीर्त्ति । श्रीशानशम्भुरखिलाव—
निपाल[मौ]लिमालामणिद्युतिपिशगितपादपद्म⁹ ॥[१७॥*] नि[ज्जि]त्य
- 23 ७७—७—७७७—७—७ [सर्वार्थि]ना येन श्रीर्गमितोपभोगपदवी¹⁰ [दौर्ग]त्यदु खच्छिदा ।
सद्विद्या भवव(ब)न्धनव्यतिकरप्रध्वन्स¹¹कर्मक्षमव्यापारेति
- 24 [समभ्रस]७७७—७—७—७—७¹² ॥[१८॥*] यो माद्यत्कलिकालदन्तिदलनव्यापारपञ्चाननः
श्रीमन्मत्तमयूरवन्स¹²तिलको नि शेषविद्यानिधि । विद्वत्प—

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

² The engraver at first incised पी, but later on cancelled the curve on the top.

³ What looks like an *anusvāra* on *mi* is probably due to a fault in the stone

⁴ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁵ Metre of this and the two following verses *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁶ The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored here as —स्याध्यात्म—

⁷ Metre *Sragdharā*

⁸ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁹ Banerji read पदवी, but the *anusvāra* on वी is clear in the impression The sense also requires the use of the accusative

¹⁰ Read —प्रध्वन्स—

¹¹ Metre of this and the following verse *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹² Read —वश—

GURGI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KOKALLADEVA II

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- 25 [र्ष]द - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - [तस्या]शेषगुणाक[रस्य भुवने] - - म - - ० - ¹ ॥
[१५॥*] [श्री]मन्प्रवो(बो)धशिवनामनिजानुजस्य स्थानं समर्थं विजि-
- 26 त नि[जभक्तियोगात्*] ² - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - , - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - - ³ ॥
[२०॥*] [येन*] त्यागतप समाधिनिधिना स्वस्वामिनिर्मापित-
- 27 - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - - ० - - -
[वाछि*]तसिद्धिवा(बा)धकभि[या] नोल्लघयन्त्यम्ब(म्ब)रे ⁴ ॥[२१॥*] कू-
- 28 [प] - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - , - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - [१*]
- - - ० - ० [अर्थि*]निवह[प्राप्तो]प्यपूर्वोपितप्राज्यस्व-
- 29 ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - [॥२२॥*] - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - ,
- - - ० ० ० - ० बल्ल ० ० - [स]त्कर्मनिर्मापितम् ।
- 30 - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - , - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० -
[॥२३॥*] - - ० - [तदनु ?] - ० ० [ह ?]ज्ञतात्मा तस्यास्पदेऽग्र-
- 31 ० ० - ० ० - ० - - [१*] - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - , - - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - ⁵
॥[२४॥*] - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - [म ?]हेन्द्रेऽर्चु(र्वु) दे यस्योच्चैश्च
- 32 ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - , - - -
० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० [मासी]क्षम ⁶ ॥ [२५॥*] सामन्तपाट-
- 33 [क*] ० - ० ० याय[पु ?] - , - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - - [१*] - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० -
- , - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० नीना[म्] ⁷ ॥[२६॥*] एणाङ्गान्वय-
- 34 - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - , - - - ० ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] - - - ० ०
- ० - ० ० ० - - - [गृ]हीत्वा व(ब)लात्ख्यात ख-
- 35 [ङ्ग*] ० - ० - ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - ⁸ [॥२७॥*] - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - , - - ०
- ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - - [१*] [नि*][जि]त्य गूर्ज्जरपति
- 36 ० ० - ० - , - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - ⁹ [॥२८॥*] ० ० ० ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - ,
० ० ० ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - [१*] ० ० परिजनरक्षो-
- 37 - ० - - ० - , ० ० ० ० ० ० - - - ० - - ० - ¹⁰ [॥२९॥*] - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ०
- , - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - [१*]सा[मन्त]मौलिमणि-
- 38 [रज्जि*]तपादरे[णु] - - ० - [गजघटा] ० ० - ० - ¹¹ [॥३०॥*] - - ० - ० ० ० -
० ० - ० - , - - ० - ० ० ० - ० पराक्रमोभूत् [१*] [चि]त्रेपि य[क्लित] -
- 39 खितरूपमवेक्ष्य - - वीरव्रत ० ० ० - ० ० - ० - ॥[३१॥*] - - ० जा ० ० ० - [निजवैरि] -
- , - - [ण] विक्रमनिधिर्विपरीतमल्ल । आसी[न्]-
- 40 प कविकदम्ब(म्ब)[घनाय*]मान - - ० - ० ० ० - ० ० - [शशा]ङ्क ॥[३२॥*] तस्माद[भू]
० ० ० - दितपुष्प[धन्वसंगी*]र्यमाणवपुरप्रतिमप्रताप । कोकल-

¹ The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied here as कि नाम नालोक्यते ।

² The first eight letters may be conjecturally supplied as शैव जगाम भुवन

³ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁸ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁰ Metre *Māhī*

¹¹ Metre of this and the following three verses *Vasantatilakā*

- 41 देवनृपतिः [प]तिस्तमा[ना] — — — — — [नान्सु] (नांशुः) ॥[३३॥*] [प्र]-
विशति हतशक्तिर्गू[र्ज]र्[रेशो हि*]माद्रि जलनिधिजलदुर्ग गौडराजोधिसे—
42 ते । निवसति वनवासे कुन्त[ले][श.*] — — — — — [मण्डन चास्य मन्ये]¹¹ ॥
[३४॥*] [स्थान] — — — — — य कीर्त्तनी[य] पुण्यान्विताय मुनये स्वयम—
43 च्चिताय । — — नमू(मु)ल्लिखित[शा] — — — — — [केयू*]रवर्षनृपति [स्वयमाजहार]² ॥
[३५॥*] पक्क००० — — [त ?] तथा सारसडोल्लकम् । वक्कडोल्लकरज्यौ—
44 द्वे को ०० [ना]सपुण्डिका³ ॥[३६॥*] ०००००० — — ०, ०० पुर खटोल्लिका⁴ । ०
नकलाभीरपल्ली ० ००० सरस्वती ॥[३७॥*] [एतेषा] द्वादशकञ्च कवचक्षेत्रमेव च ।
45 सामन्तपाटकश्चैव वट ०० — — ०० [॥३८॥*] ००० या[तल्लपटी] शासन [स*]त्रमित्यपि ।
सँ ०० भद्रचिउरा [कुसु ?]म्वा(म्बा)⁵ च कु[क्कु]डिया ॥[३९॥*] रजोग्रामान्विता—
46 [नेता][न्शा] सनत्वेन दत्तवा[न् ।*] ००००० ० [सिद्धा]⁶न्तपारगाय गरीयसे ॥[४०॥*] पुर
पौरजनाकीर्ण ०००० समस्तकम् । भक्त्या समर्पयामास शासनत्वे—
47 [न भू*]पति ॥[४१॥*] करोडक व्र(व्र)ह्मपु[री] [सुसिद्धार्थ ?]कपोण्डिकाम् । नन्नेश्वर[क्षेत्र]-
मदात्सोमनाथाय श[म्भवे*] ॥[४२॥*] दत्ता श्रीयुवराजेन पालिता[न]न्तरैर्नृपैः । आकल्प—
48 [स्था*][यि]नी भूयाद्वृत्ति. शैवतपोभृताम् ॥[४३॥*] भारद्वाजान्वयश्रीमत्प्रयिव[र्द्ध]ननन्दन । प्रस-
(श)[स्तिमकरोत्स्तुत्यो] मधुर्मधुरया गिरा ॥[४४॥*] अलेखि लेखकेनेयम—
49 [व्रोक*]तनुजन्मना । अक्षरैर्दृषदि स्पष्टैः शिवनागेन धीमता ॥[४५॥*] उत्कीर्णा सूत्रधारेण
महेश्वरसुतेन च । माधवेन न — — ० [गु*]णिना विश्वकर्मणा ॥[४६॥*] सिद्धि⁹ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Adoration to [the holy Sōma]nātha !

(Verse 1) May the self-willed moon-crested (god Śiva) living on the mountain (Kailāsa),—who made the world,—which had its multitudes of quarters covered by the best of aerial beings¹⁰ terrified by the clash of the rows of peaks of the excellent crystal mountain (Kailāsa) (*when it was*) shaken by the movements of the mighty arms of the lord of Lankā, —dreadful with the echoes of their cries at the thought that it was the end of the world, —increase your joy !

(V 2) 'Nandin, who is this (*lady*) that has entered the abode of Paśupati¹¹ 'I think that she is none but your ladyship' 'This is false I am not she. She is some-

¹ Metre *Mālinī*

² Metre *Vasantatilakā*

³ Metre from here to the end *Anuṣṭubh*

⁴ Banerji read *Khayēllikā*

⁵ Banerji read these two names as भद्रचिउरा and तुजुम्वा

⁶ These two *akṣharas* are conjectural Banerji suggested वेदा-

⁷ Banerji's reading सान्तर— is not correct and does not give a good sense

⁸ The starred *akṣharas* in the beginning of ll 47-49, though lost in the accompanying plate, are read from an old estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol

¹⁰ The reference here is to the denizens of Kailāsa, who were terrified by the shaking of the mountain, and not to mere birds as thought by Banerji.

¹¹ The verse refers to Pārvatī's jealousy of the river Gangā which Śiva sheltered for a while in his matted hair. The verse is in the form of a dialogue first between Pārvatī and Nandin (Śiva's door-keeper) and next between her and Śiva who tries to conceal the Gangā from his consort. For a similar dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, see *Mudrārākṣhasa*, I, 1

one else O Īśa ! Who is seated in your matted hair ?' 'You simple-minded, he is the enemy of gods who has assumed your form See I have thrown him down before me !'¹ 'By what missile ?'—May Śiva who was thus silenced, being vanquished by the goddess (Pārvatī) with harsh words, protect you !

(V. 3) There is in this world **Madhumatī**, the abode of those who are versed in the Śaiva Siddhāntas,—which contains excellent Āchāryas of noble conduct, in which the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the untimely appearance of clouds caused by the uninterrupted mass of dark smoke of the ever-kindled (*sacrificial*) fires, (*and*) which laughs at the heavenly world with the mass of lustre of the large and resplendent jewels set on the rows of its high mansions,—

(V. 4) Where appeared the first best ascetics, whose minds were restrained by vows, (*and*) who taught the great and flawless doctrine of Śiva to their disciples,—whose well-known fame, having the bright lustre of nectar, even now whitens the universe, delighting the prosperous and learned men even as moonlight does the assemblage of night-lotuses.

(V. 5) In this very great succession of Śaivas there was the illustrious **Chūḍāśiva**, who was venerable to sages, who, with his shining lustre, was to sins what the forest fire is to dry fuel, (*and*) whose extremely white fame, which had arisen from the attainment of the perfection of knowledge through meditation on the feet of Śiva, roamed about inside the mansion of the three worlds.

(V. 6) His disciple was the wise sage called the illustrious **Prabhāvaśiva**, whose foot-stool was honoured by the mass of lustre of the crest-jewels on the heads of all kings bending (*in salutation*), and who deserved glorification in the three worlds

(V. 7) Having brought him out of a natural desire, **Yuvarājadēva (I)**, the son of the illustrious **Mugdhatuṅga**, who was versed in policy, made him accept a monastery, which was constructed at an enormous expense, with the object of gaining excellent fame arising out of the benefit to creatures

(V. 8) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious **Praśāntaśiva**, the sole abode of the exceedingly attractive qualities, who became famous in the whole world by his faultless austerities and increasing learning.

(V. 9) Attracted by his long-accumulated austerities, the goddess of fortune, (*though*) eager for the bodily contact of him who was always averse to enjoyment on account of his desire to attain final emancipation, remained steadfast like an exceedingly virtuous wife, in the houses of good persons who were dear to him, when she received his order to benefit others.

(V. 10) Having obtained the support of the post of (*his*) charity, having received the sprinkling of the water of (*his*) shining learning, and being protected all round by the force of (*his*) extending austerities, the wish-fulfilling tree of his fame grew up in course of time, which has completely filled the cavity of the vase-like universe

(V. 11) To the north of the temple,² resembling the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which was caused to be built by the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)**, he erected a temple of Īśvara, well-known on the earth, which vies with the summit of the Sumēru (mountain) (*in altitude*), which causes wonder to all the three worlds, (*and*) which serves as a flight of steps to his fame rising to heaven.

¹ Śiva is referring to the stream of the Gangā which flows down from his matted hair

² Banerji translates *prāsāda* by 'a palace,' but it is probably used here in the sense of 'a temple' Compare the Kāṭilāi inscription (No. 42), v. 18

(V. 12) The learned one, whose great fame was well-known, installed Umā, Śiva united with Umā, and the six-faced (Kārttikēya) in the shrines attached to the temple and also Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī at the gate

(V 13) He, who had satisfied the desire for wealth of hosts of suppliants with gifts of gold which had emerged (*purified*) by burning, caused to be built another abode for the *siddhas* on the bank of the Sōṇa, having entered which, the tranquil Yōgins, who have destroyed the impediments of mental anxieties by (*the performance of*) vows and who have clear minds, having attained success in meditation, reach the goal of final emancipation

(V 14) For the absolute rest of those who are intent on living in a holy place, he, the sage, caused to be built the (*well-known*) abode for performing austerities on the bank of the heavenly river (Gangā); having resorted to which, those who live in Vārāṇasī (Banaras), devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, consider the ocean of worldly existence, though extensive, to be as small in size as a puddle made by a cow's foot.

(V 15) Seated in a solitary place he,—who had mastered (*all*) the *āsanas*, who felt the inner joy with his steady mind absorbed in the meditation of Śiva seated in the midst of the lotus of the heart, and who was fond of making gifts,—passed his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adept in the philosophy of the Pāñchārthika¹ system and were capable of examining (*other systems*).

(V 16) Extremely resplendent by their own majesty like the multitudes of the rays of the sun, his disciples,—who day by day arouse those who are steeped in ignorance (*as the rays awaken those enveloped by darkness*), whose fame is due to the benefit they confer on the people by their gift of knowledge (*as that of the rays is due to the light they give*), whose commands are borne by kings on their heads (*as the splendour of the rays is borne by mountains on their peaks*),—move about (*among people*) being honoured by the best of sages

(V 17) His disciple was the illustrious Īśānaśambhu, even as Paraśurāma was of Śiva,—(*he*) whose fame was sung by all great poets, (and) whose lotus-like feet were adorned by the rays of jewels on the rows of heads of all kings

(V 18) Having conquered he, who removed the misery of poverty, made the goddess of fortune become an object of enjoyment to all suppliants, and [devoted himself to] right knowledge, because it is capable of destroying the multitude of the bonds of worldly existence

(V 19) Of him, who was a lion in the act of destroying the rutting elephant that is the Kali age, who is the fore-head mark of the illustrious Mattamayūra lineage, and the store of all learning, (*who is*) the source of all excellences in this world the assembly of learned persons . . . -[what has not been observed?]

(V 20) Having made over his office (*as the head of the monastery*) to his younger brother, the illustrious Prabōdhaśiva, he . . . [attained the world of Śiva] which he had won by his devotion.

(V 21) By him who was the store-house of charity, austerities, and meditation [was built a *matha* near the temple] erected by his teacher which [the celestial beings] do not cross for fear of obstruction in the attainment of the desired *siddhis*

¹ The Pāsupata system is called *pāñchārthika*, because it treats of the five subjects, *kārya* effect, *kāraṇa* cause, *jōga* union of the soul with Īśvara, *vidhi* rites, and *duḥkḥānta* the cessation of misery See *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, Ch. VI.

(V 22) And a well [was dug by him] The host of suppliants also having obtained abundant wealth which they had not (*even*) longed for before

(V 23) caused to be built by his good work

(V 24) Thereafter, the high-souled one in his place

(V. 25) His (*fame*) on high on the **Mahēndra** (*and*) **Arbuda** (*mountains*) was able

(V. 26) **Sāmantapātaka**

(V 27) In the lineage of the moon having snatched the well-known sword by force

(V 28) Having vanquished the lord of **Gūrjaras**

(V. 29) the protection of the family

(V 30) he, the dust of whose feet was reddened by the jewels on the heads of feudatories the herds of elephants

(V 31) was born the valiant one seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture the vow of heroes

(V 32) [From him was born] the king who was the store-house of valour, the terrible fighter who was to the poets what a cloud is to the kadamba trees

(V 33) From him was born the king **Kōkalladēva (II)** of matchless prowess, whose (*beautiful*) form was praised by the god of love, (*who was*) the lord of the best

(V 34) The **Gūrjara** lord enters the **Himālaya**, being deprived of power, the king of **Gauḍa** lies in the watery fort of the sea, the lord of **Kuntala** lives in the forest this I consider to be the ornament (*of his prowess*)

(V 35) The king **Keyūravārsha** himself offered by an inscribed [charter] the famous abode to the ascetic possessed of religious merit whom he himself worshipped

(V 36-7) The villages **Pakka-** and also **Sārasaḍōllaka Vakkāḍōllaka**
and **Rajyauddha** **Nāsapundikā** **-pura, Khaṭōllikā, -nakalā, Ābhīrapallī,**
(*and*) **Sarasvatī.**

(V 38-40) The twelfth part of these and the **Kavachakshētra**, and also **Sāmanta-pātaka** (*and*) **Vaṭa-** **Tallapaṭī, Bhaddhachiurā, [Kusumbā]** and **Kukkuḍiyā**, together with **Rajōgrāma**, [the king] gave as a grant to the great [ascetic] who had completely mastered the (*Saiva*) **Siddhantas**

(V 41) The king gave through devotion the whole city crowded with citizens as a grant

(V 42) (*He*) gave to the Śiva (*called*) **Sōmanātha** (*the villages*) **Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Susiddhārthaka, Pōṇḍikā** (*and*) the **Nannēśvarakshētra**

(V 43) May this provision for the maintenance of Śaiva ascetics, made by the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva (I)** and preserved by the succeeding rulers, endure till the end of the *kalpa*!

(V 44) The praiseworthy **Madu**, the son of the illustrious Trayivardhana of the Bhāradvāja family, composed this *prāsaṭi* in sweet words

(V 45) The intelligent scribe **Śivanāga**, the son of Avvōka, wrote it on the stone in clear letters

(V 46) It has been inscribed by the *Sutrādhāra*, the skilled artist **Mādhava**, the son of Mahēśvara

Success !

No 47; PLATE XXXVII

MAKUNDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

THIS inscription was brought to public notice by General Cunningham's Assistant Mr J D Beglar who found a rubbing of it in the Asiatic Society's collection. He called attention to its date¹ in connection with the description of the ruins at Makundpur, a village about nine miles south by west of Rewa, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. He could not, however, find the inscription when he visited the place in 1874-75. The record was next twice referred to by Dr Kielhorn² who, drawing attention to its date, pointed out the desirability of examining it. Its impressions were not, however, accessible to him, when he wrote his exhaustive articles on the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chēdi era³, and none has noticed the inscription since then. At my request D N P Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, kindly visited Makundpur in 1931. He was fortunately successful in tracing the inscribed slab, and supplied me with excellent estampages from which the inscription is edited here.

The record is incised on a slab lying on the ruins of a small temple⁴ situated to the north-west of Rūpasāgar, a large tank, at Makundpur. The inscribed surface measures 3' 2" in length and nearly 5" in height. The record has suffered considerably at the top, about half a dozen *aksharas* and the *mātrās* on the top of some more on the right-hand side of the first line being wholly or partially damaged.

The inscription consists of three lines of which the last two are shorter than the first. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh century A C. Most of the letters have a wedge or an inverted acute-angled triangle at the top. It is noteworthy that the left limb of *ś* is not joined to the right-hand vertical, *th*, though still without a vertical, has, for the first time in the records edited here, a horizontal line at the top, and *h* has a fully drawn tail. The language is Sanskrit. Attention may be drawn to the incorrect causal participle *ghatāpita*, l 3, formed on the model of *kārāpita* which figures in earlier records, and the wrong gender in *dharman=īdam*, l 2. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in *Vudha-*, l 1, and the dental *s* substituted for *ś* in *Jalasayana-*, l 2. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated in *Sūtradhāra-*, l 3 and *dharman-*, l 2 respectively.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. He is mentioned here with the title *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* which is rarely, if ever, seen to be assumed by rulers of the eminence and power of Gāṅgēyadēva. Owing to the mutilation of the Piawan rock inscription this is now the only known extant record of the reign of Gāṅgēyadēva. The object of the inscription is to record that the *Śrī śeṣṭhin Dāmōdara*, the ornament of the family of Grīhapati, caused a temple of *Jalasayana*⁵ (Vishnu reposing on water) to be constructed. The work was executed by the *Sūtradhāra Sāmbhūka*.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its date, which is given with full details in line 1 as **Samvat 772, the 12th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārtika, a Wednesday**. Beglar called attention to the fact that from the form of the characters, the date cannot be referred to the Vikrama Samvat. He also suggested that it probably referred to the Chēdi

¹ C A S I R, Vol XIII, p 5, n 1

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 85, *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 354

³ *Ind Ant* Vol XVII, pp 215 ff and *Festgruss an Roth*, pp 53 ff

⁴ This may be 'the Vaishnavic temple' which, according to Beglar, supplied materials for a large Śaiva temple nearby. See C A S I R, Vol XIII, p 4

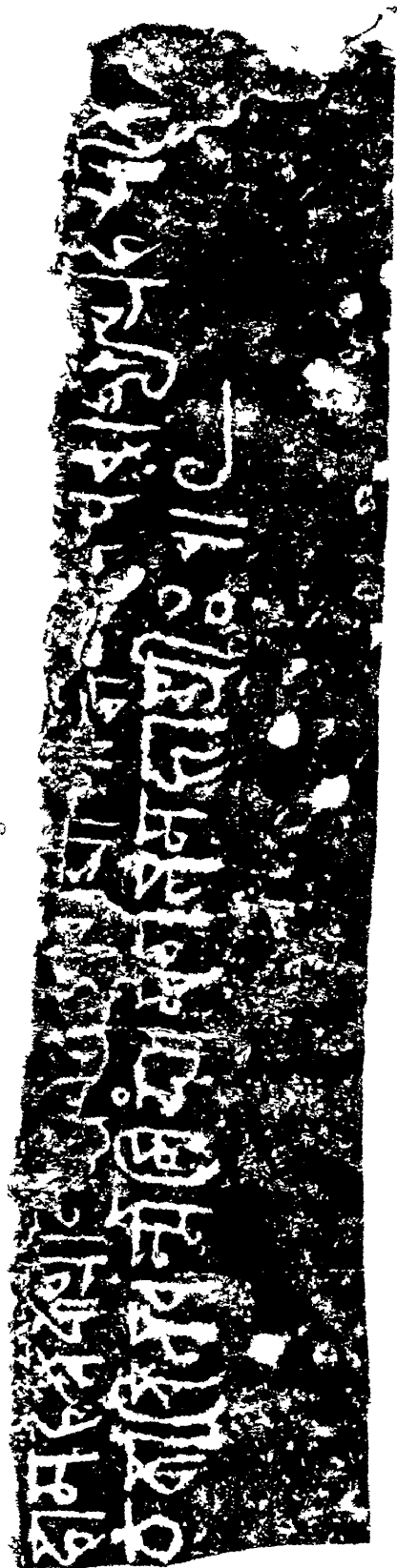
⁵ This form of the deity is probably identical with what is commonly called *śeṣasāyīn* 'Vishnu sleeping on his couch of the serpent Śēsha'. As the temple was situated near the large tank of Rūpasāgar, it was appropriately dedicated to this form.

MAKUNDAPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GANGEYADEVA (KALACHURI) YEAR 772

Left Half



Right Half



era,—an opinion to which Dr Kielhorn lent his support. This is no doubt the correct view, for the Banaras grant of Gāṅgēyadēva's son Karna which was made on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death is dated in the Kalachuri or Chēdi year 793 *ie*, only twenty-one years after the date of the present record. According to the epoch of 247-48 A C, the month of Kārttika should fall in 1019 A C if the Kalachuri year 772 was current and in 1020 A C if it was expired. But in 1019 A C the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 11 h after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October), while in 1020 A C the same *tithi* ended 5 h after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was the *tithi* connected with Wednesday in any way. Even the epoch of 248-49 A C which suits earlier dates of the era will not do, for in 1021 A C which, according to it, should correspond to the expired Kalachuri year 772, the *tithi* fell on Friday (the 20th October). The date is, therefore, irregular. But of the three equivalents mentioned above, the first, *वृ*, Tuesday, the 13th October 1019 A C comes nearest to it. Overlooking the discrepancy of one day, the date of the present inscription may, therefore, be taken to correspond, for the current Kalachuri year 772, to the 13th October, 1019 A.C. This is one of the few dates in current years. It shows, again, that the Kalachuri year must have commenced on some day before the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धि² [*] सम्वत्³ ७७२ कार्तिक शु दि १२ वु(बु)ध[दिने]⁴ महा[हं]महामहत्तक[श्री]—
[महाराज⁵?] [श्री][गाङ्गेयदेव⁶]रा[ज्ये] ग्रहपति—
- 2 कुलतिलकश्रेष्ठिदामोदरेण जलस(श)यनमठ कारि[त]⁷ धर्ममिद⁸ ॥ मंगल महाश्री ॥ सिद्धि² ॥
- 3 सूत्रधारसाम्भूकेन घटापितमिति⁹ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 772 on Wednesday, the 12th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika, during the reign of the *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka*¹⁰ the illustrious [*Mahārāja*] Gāṅgēyadēva, the *Śrēṣṭhin* (merchant) Dāmōdara, an ornament of the family of Grahapati,¹¹ has caused (*this*) temple of (Vishnu) who reposes on water, to be constructed. This is a pious work. (*May there be*) bliss and good fortune! Success!

(*This work*) was executed¹² by the *Sūtradhāra* (artisan) Sāmbhūka

¹ From inked estampages, kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read सवत्.

⁴ The *mātrās* and curves on the top of letters enclosed in brackets in l. 1 have been broken away.

⁵ Only the first *akṣhara* of this word is partly seen. I am not certain about the following three *akṣharas*.

⁶ Of the five *akṣharas* in this royal name, traces of the first are clearly seen, the third *akṣhara* is completely damaged, and only the *mātrās* over *ng* and *d* have been broken off, while the last *akṣhara* is quite clear. There is, on the whole, little doubt about the correctness of the reading given above.

⁷ The *anusvāra* over *ta* is wrongly placed over the following *akṣhara*. Read मठ कारित ।

⁸ Read धर्मोयम्.

⁹ Read घटितमिति.

¹⁰ For *Mahattaka* used as an official title, see l. 77 of the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XVIII, p. 251.

¹¹ *Grahapati*, *lit* the lord of planets, signifies the moon. The expression would then mean an ornament of the lunar race which would scarcely be appropriate in the case of a merchant. Perhaps *Grahapati* is a mistake for *Grihapati*, but even then it seems to be used here as a personal name rather than in the usual sense of 'a house-holder', or 'the head of a village'.

¹² *Ghatāpita* seems to be used in the same sense as *kārāpita*. For its sense, see Kielhorn's remarks on *kārāpaka* in *Ind Ant*, Vol. XIX, p. 62, n. 53.

No. 48; PLATE XXXVIII

BANARAS PLATES OF KARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 793

THE inscription on these plates was first brought to notice by Captain Wilford who described it as follows in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol IX, page 108:—

“A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish in the old fort of Banaras. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly and in the same shape with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad. on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pārvatī with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed, two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pārvatī and the bull is written *Śrī-Karṇadēva*. The grant is dated in the second year of his new year and also of his reign answering to the Christian year 192 . . . The ancestors of Śrī-Karṇadēva mentioned in the grant were, first his father Gāṅgēyadēva, with the title *Vijaya-kantaka*; he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kōkalladēva, whose father was Lakshmanarājadēva”¹ The plates were subsequently edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, pp. 297 ff, with lithographs, but without a translation, by Dr. Kielhorn, who gives the following account of their subsequent history².—

“The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford were lost for a long time; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when through the kindness of Mr Griffith, then Principal of the Banaras College, Sir A Cunningham received an impression, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College. Both were made over to Dr F E Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal and has thus enabled me to publish the text of the inscription, the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately, the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.” As the plates appear to have been lost forever, they are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr Kielhorn’s article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, pp. 297 ff

The plates, which are two in number, appear to be 1' 4" broad by 11½" high each and are inscribed on one side only. They have each a hole about 6" in diameter for the ring which held them together. The letters appear to have been deeply incised. The inscription consists of forty-eight lines, of which twenty-eight are inscribed on the first and the remaining twenty on the second. The writer began with closely packed lines

¹ There are several mis-statements in this account. The figure on the seal must be taken to be that of Lakshmi. What is described as a basket before the Nandi is probably an incense pot. There must have been another like it behind the bull, see the seals of the Goharwa and British Museum plates (Nos 50 and 54). The seal of Jayasimhadēva (Pl LII) shows a handle to these pots, which makes it plain that they are not drums as conjectured by Hultzsch (*Ep Ind*, Vol XI, p 140). The legend had probably a *visarga* at the end as in the legend of other cognate plates. The mistake about the second regnal year was probably caused by the word *dvitīyāyām* referring to the *tithi* in 140. As regards Wilford’s reading of the date, Cunningham has remarked, ‘I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193 and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plates,’ (*C A S I R*, Vol. IX, p 82). *Vijaya-kantaka* is shown by Kielhorn to be a mistake for *vijaya-kataka* ‘a victorious camp’. Finally, the misconception about Gāṅgēyadēva’s dying in a loathsome dungeon was probably caused by a wrong interpretation of v. 25. See, however, Kielhorn’s remarks in *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 302, n 38.

² *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 297

until he came to the middle of the second plate when he found that he had more than sufficient space at his disposal. He, therefore, left more space between his lines and wrote letters of a larger size especially in lines 38-40. The writing is in a state of good preservation.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Some letters show considerable development, approximating to their forms in the modern Nāgarī alphabet, though they are still in the stage of transition. The initial *ē*, for instance, shows, for the first time in the records edited here, its left curve separated from the right vertical in *ēkasmim*-, l. 28, elsewhere it is joined to the latter, see *ēk-atka*-, l. 11, *kh* has its left member fully developed, see *khyāta*-, l. 13, but notice *Natt-ākhyā*-, l. 10 in which it shows the older form, *n* appears with a dot for the first time in *bhuyangam=a*-, l. 11 and *bhū-bhamnga*-, l. 15, but without it in *=jangamah*-, l. 31 and *-Gāngēyadēvasya*-, l. 40. Similarly *th* has its upper loop open in *Dāsarathur*-, l. 15 and *-nāthah*-, l. 23, but in other cases it shows its older form, see *yasy=ārtha*- and *-tathā*, both in l. 8, *ph* has now a tail added to the loop on the right, see *phalam*-, l. 45, *s* in *-sārthu*-, l. 31 has the same form as in the modern Nāgarī, but in other cases it has the older form. The subscript *n* has the same form as when it is independent, see *Karnna* and *w=āvatīrnnah*, both in l. 29. Besides, owing to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver several letters appear in varying forms, see, for instance, *bh* in *bhāva*-, l. 1, and *-prabham*-, l. 2, *y* in *dharmamāya*-, l. 7 and *Gāmgēya*-, l. 28, *g* in *yōgāya*-, l. 7 and *-gamanām*-, l. 18 and *r* in *kārunya*-, l. 20 and *param*-, l. 32. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between *bh* and *h* as well as between *v* and *dh*.

The language is Sanskrit throughout, except in verse 12 which is in Prakrit. The first thirty-two lines which contain the eulogistic portion of the record are in verse, with the exception of the introductory *ōm namah Svāya*-, l. 1 and the words *kim=v=aparēna*-, l. 13. This part of the record is written in the usual *kāvya* style. The description in vv. 16 and 20, which is based on *ślesha* or *double entendre*, is cleverly done. It is noteworthy that v. 18 is taken from the play *Bālabbhārata* (called also *Prachandapāndava*) of Rājasekhara.¹ The formal part of the grant begins in l. 32 and is followed by six benedictive and imprecatory verses. The last line contains the date expressed in numerical figures. The record is very carelessly written. See, for instance, the mistake of concord in *yasy-ārtha-saktō matih*-, l. 8, the wrong form *Trikalimg y-ādhipati*- for *Trikalīng-ādhipati*-, l. 34, the use of the short for the long vowel in *-bhupālē* in l. 9 and *vice versa* in *-dhanānū-samdūta*-, l. 7, the use of *ē* for *ī* in *prathēta*-, l. 29 and the reverse of it in *-sārthīshv*-, l. 31, the wrong elision of the final consonant in *sthur=āsi* for *sthur=āsīt* and of *visarga* in *Lakshmi* for *Lakshmīh*, both in l. 22. These and other mistakes, too many to be enumerated, make it very difficult to restore the original correct readings. The following **orthographical** peculiarities may also be noticed:—*s* is used for *ś* almost throughout except in the case of *śrī*, see *Svāya* for *Śvāya*-, l. 1, *=āślēsha* for *=āślēsha*-, l. 3 *etc*, *v* is employed for *b* in *sad-vrahmanē*-, l. 1, *vavamdha*-, l. 4 and so forth; *y* takes the place of *j* in *tasy=ānyō* for *tasy=ānyō*-, l. 22, *-yāyata* for *-jāyata*-, l. 23 and *vice versa* in *dur-yyasah* for *dur-yyasah*-, l. 27, *n* stands for *ñ* in *ānrya*-, l. 8 and *parjyanaishīt* for *parjyanaishīt*-, l. 10, the *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *m* in *kim=v=aparēna* l. 13 and to *n* in *-vansa*-, l. 6 and *-vansē*-, l. 45; *ksh* is written for *khy* in *saukshakrit*-, l. 7 and *kshātām*-, l. 27 and *ky* for *ksh* in *kaukyēyakō*-, l. 26, the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in *nīstrimsatā*-, l. 21 and *Trikalimg y*-, l. 34; finally, the consonant following *r* is repeated in many cases, see *Kārttavīryah*-, l. 3, *Karnnah*-, l. 29 *etc*.

The plates were issued by **Karṇa** of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty, from his

¹ See *Bālabbhārata* (Nirnayasāgara ed.), Act I, v. 62.

victorious camp at **Prayāga**. After the customary verse in praise of Brahman, commences the genealogy of the donor From the famous king Kārtavīrya who subdued Rāvāna, were descended the Haihayas An ornament of their family was **Kōkkala** who gave protection to **Bhōja**, **Vallabharāja**, **Śrī-Harsha**, the king of **Chitrakūta**, and the king **Śaṅkaragaṇa**. This Kōkkala is evidently identical with Kōkalla I mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription¹ The first two kings mentioned here as having received help from him are also named in the Bilhāri inscription and are plainly identical with Bhōja I of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj and Krishna II of the Rāshtrakūta family who, from Rāshtrakūta records, is known to have married Kōkalla's daughter Śrī-Harsha, the king of Chitrakūta, is the well-known king of that name in the Chandēlla dynasty, whose kingdom included that hill fort Finally, Śaṅkaragaṇa is not Kōkalla's own son as was supposed by Dr Kielhorn, but the first prince of that name, the father of Gunāmbhōdhidēva, mentioned in the Kahla plates of Sōdhadēva² As Gunāmbhōdhidēva was a contemporary of Bhōja I, it is not unlikely that his father may have received some help from Kōkalla I in the early part of the latter's reign

Verse 8 states that Kōkalla married the princess **Nattā** of the Chandēlla family By her he had a son named **Prasiddhadhavalā** who is evidently identical with the Mugdhatunga of the Bilhāri inscription.³ A Prakrit verse introduced here states that he conquered the Pāli country to provide for the great princes who would be born thereafter in his family As already shown, this statement is corroborated by the Bilhāri inscription which mentions that Mugdhatunga took the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala

The record next mentions Prasiddhadhavalā's son **Bālaharsha** who is described in general terms His name is omitted in the Bilhāri inscription, either because his reign was short or because he was a collateral He was succeeded by his younger brother **Yuvarājadēva I** who is said to have attained the position of *Paramēśvara* (Emperor), through his devotion to Śiva He was followed by his son **Lakshmanarāja (II)**. As already observed, verse 18, which occurs in his description, is borrowed from the *Bālabhārata*, a Sanskrit play of Rājāśekhara Lakshmanarāja's son and successor was **Śaṅkaragaṇa (III)** who was followed by his younger brother **Yuvarājadēva II**. The latter's son was **Kōkalladēva II** who was succeeded by his own son **Gāṅgēyadēva**. The record finally mentions Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor **Karna** who granted the present plates The eulogy of these princes is merely conventional and contains no reference to historical events.

The present record gives Karna the Imperial titles *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* He is also called here the lord of **Trikalinga** and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**. Vāmadēva is clearly identical with Vāmārājadēva whose name is mentioned with the same Imperial titles in the Saugor stone inscription of the time of Śaṅkaragaṇa I⁴ Karna made the present grant at **Prayāga** after bathing in the **Vēṇī** and worshipping Śiva on the occasion of the *samvatsara-śrāddha* of his father, Gāṅgēyadēva, which he performed at Prayāga⁵ The object of the grant was the village **Srusī** situated in the *bhūmi* (sub-division) of **Kāśī**.⁶ The

¹ Above, No. 45, vv 12 ff

² Below, No 74, v 8

³ Above, No 45, v 18

⁴ Above, No 35, l 1.

⁵ Note *ib-ava* in l 39 of the text

⁶ See below, p 244, n 11.

donee was the Brāhmana **Viśvarūpa**, son of Nārāyana, grandson of Vāmana and great-grand son of Āmaha¹ who belonged to the Kauśika *gōtra* with the *pravara*s Auddālaka,² Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra, who had emigrated from Vēsāla. The date of the *śrāddha* is given, in line 40, as **Saturday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna** and that of the charter, in the last line, as **Monday, the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793**. The latter *tithi* and the year are expressed in numerical figures only

As Dr Fleet has shown from his calculation of the date of Karna's Goharwa plates, this *śrāddha* was performed on the *first* anniversary of Gāngēyadēva's death and this view is also confirmed by the wording of the grant³ From other Kalachuri records⁴ we know that Gāngēya died at the foot of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga Kaina seems, therefore, to have especially gone to Prayāga to perform the first annual *śrāddha* of his father at the holy place where he had died The dates mentioned in this inscription, like those in other Kalachuri records, must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. Though no year is mentioned in connection with the first date, it is probably identical with that of the second, for, it is not likely that the issuing of the plates was delayed by more than a few days or months at most Of these two dates, the second is quite regular, for according to the epoch of 247-48 A C, the ninth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in the expired year 793 ended 18 hours after mean sunrise on Monday, the corresponding Christian date being the 18th January 1042 A C The date of the *śrāddha*, however, if it refers to the same Kalachuri year as it evidently does, is **irregular**; for the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna in that year *commenced* 5 h 20 m after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 10th January 1042 A C) and *ended* 7 h 10 m after mean sunrise next day⁵ It was not, thus, connected with Saturday in any way This date, therefore, appears to be irregular Dr Kielhorn, however, found by calculation that the same *tithi* of the previous month (*viz.*, the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha) was current at sunrise on Saturday, the 12th December 1041 A.C He, therefore, supposed that the *śrāddha* was really performed on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, but 'the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in l 40 the month in which he was writing the grant' Such an explanation is not impossible and other cases of a similar type can easily be cited⁶ But this involves the supposition that there was an interval of more than a month between the making of the grant and the recording of it. Some scholars have, therefore, attempted to explain away the irregularity of the present date in other ways.

Dr Fleet thought that the mistake lay in the week-day (or else in the *tithi*) rather than in the month,⁷ but he offered no explanation of it. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, on the other hand, suggested that though Gāngēya died on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna, and hence the *śrāddha* must be performed on that date, in the year 793 it fell on a Sunday, which is not an auspicious day for such ceremonies. It was, therefore, per-

¹ See below, p 244, n 14

² See below, p 249, n 20

³ The text mentions the *samvatsara-śrāddha*, which means the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary The *śrāddha* on a later anniversary is called *prati-sāmvatsarika-śrāddha*

⁴ See, for instance, v 12 of the Khairha plates of Yaśahkarna (below, No 56)

⁵ According to Kielhorn's calculations, the *tithi* commenced 4 h 15 m after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A C, and ended 5 h 49 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 300

⁶ See, e g, the date of the Pēndrābandh plates (below, No 101)

⁷ *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, p 146, n 7

formed on the day before and while *dvitīyā*, the anniversary day, could not be changed, it had to be associated with the week-day on which the ceremonies actually took place.¹ This explanation also does not appear to be convincing, because, there is no authority in the Dharmaśāstras for changing the *tithi* for the performance of a *śrāddha*, even if it falls on an inauspicious day. We must, therefore, seek some other explanation of this irregularity

It seems to me that the date of the *śrāddha* was really the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. As shown by Dr Kielhorn, in the Kalachuri year 793 it was connected with the sunrise of Monday, but as the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon for the performance of a *śrāddha*², Karna must have performed the *śrāddha* of his father in the afternoon of the preceding day, i.e., Sunday, the 10th January 1042 A.C. when the second *tithi* was current. As we have seen before, this was the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death. The Smritis lay down two or three *śrāddhas* which are to be performed before the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary of a relative's death³. The ceremonies are, therefore, usually commenced one or two days before the day of the first anniversary. Karṇa also seems to have done the same. At the time of the *ūnābdika śrāddha* on the day preceding the annual *śrāddha*, i.e., on Saturday, the 9th January 1042 A.C. he seems to have made a *sankalpa* about the grant. On the next day he performed the first annual or *samvatsara-śrāddha*. The grant was thus made by Karṇa on Saturday in connection with the *samvatsara-śrāddha*, which fell on the second *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna. The writer of the grant has, by mistake, coupled Saturday, when the grant was actually made, with the *tithi* of the first annual *śrāddha* which was really performed the next day. The foregoing discussion will show that Gāṅgēyadēva died on Phālguna va. di 2 of the Kalachuri year 792, corresponding to the 22nd January 1041 A.C.

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the present grant, Dr Kielhorn at first identified the river **Vēṇī** in which Karṇa had bathed before making the grant with the Waingangā of Madhya Pradesh⁴. Later on, however, he corrected himself and identified it with the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā with the subterranean Sarasvatī at Allahabad⁵. The village **Vēsāla**, from which the donee hailed, is plainly Vaiśālī which figures prominently in Buddhist literature. Archaeological excavation has identified it with Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar⁶. **Prayāga**, where the *śrāddha* was performed, is of course Allahabad. As for **Srusī**, it is probably identical with Sursī (long 82° 52', East and lat. 25° 12', North) in the Mirzapur District, 9 miles north of Chunār⁷. It is stated that the village was situated in the sub-division of Kāśī, modern Banaras, and it is noteworthy that Sursī is just outside the southern boundary of

¹ *Ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 206, n. 3. He has not cited any authority for his statement that Sunday is regarded as an inauspicious day for the performance of a *śrāddha*.

² तथा श्राद्धस्य पूर्वाह्णिकदपराह्णे विशिष्यते । *Manusmṛiti*, *adhyāya* III, v. 278. Compare also पूर्वाह्णिकास्तु त्रितययो देवकार्ये फलप्रदा । अपराह्णिकास्तथा ज्ञेया पितृवर्षे तु शुभावहा ॥ Hemādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Parisēsha khanda*, (*Bibl. Ind.*), p. 283.

³ These are the *ūnābdika*, which according to some is performed one day before, and the *sapindīkarana* and the *ābdika* (also called *samvatsara-vimōksha*), which are performed on the anniversary day. Some authorities identify the *sapindīkarana* and *ābdika śrāddhas*. See Hemādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Parisēsha khanda*, pp. 294 ff, *Nirṇayasandbh* (*Nirṇayasāgar* ed.), p. 427.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 299.

⁵ The Kamauli plates of Jayachandra also mention *Vēṇī* in this sense, *ibid* Vol. IV, p. 122.

⁶ *A. R. A. S. I.*, for 1903-4, pp. 81 f.

⁷ The identification was first suggested in my article in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 1, pp. 51 ff.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धि^२ [॥*] ओ नम सि(शि)वाय ॥ निर्गुण व्यापक नित्य सि(शि)व परमकारण(णम्) ।
भावग्राह्य पर(र) ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे^३ नम ॥^४ [१॥*] यद्वेध^५ स्थितमव्य[य] प-
- 2 रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिस्चि(चि)दसु(शु)प्रभ(भम्)।^६ सूर्याखा(ख्य)स्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो यस्य
स्फुरत्यूर्म्मय [॥*] सर्वज्ञान[म*]यो व(व)भूव [भ]गवास्तस्मान्मनुम्मनिसो यस्मात्सृष्टिरभू-
[दिय गु]-
- 3 णवती स्त्रीपुत्रिमित्ता तत ।^७ [॥२॥*] देव श्रीकार्तवीर्य क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(ण)
भूतधात्र्या हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्विवि (वि)भ्यत्तुहिनागिरिसुतास्ले (स्ले)षसन्तोषितेभ (श)म् [॥*] दोर्दण्डा-
- 4 काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाहव्याधौतय^८ (थ्य)क्षपूजागुरुजनितरुष रावण यो ववम्ध^९ ।
[१३॥*] यस्य भ्रूभ्र(भ) [ङ्ग*] भीता ददति नृपतय विलष्ट-
- 5 मावे प्रतिप^{१०} आ के(कै)लास(सा)त्सहेल हरवृषभसमुत्खात[सृ] (शृ)गाग्र[भि]त्ते । आ
च.^{११} प्राच समुद्रात्सुरसरिदतुलस्थूलमुक्तावलीकादम्भोर्ध्वेक्षिणाच्च स्फु-
- 6 रदतुलमणे सेतुसीमन्त[भा]ज. [॥४॥*] तद्वन्स^{१२} प्रभवा नरी(रे)द्रपतय ख्याता[॥*] क्षितौ
हैहयास्तेषामनृ(न्व)यभूषण^{१३} रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानल । धर्म्मध्यानध-
- 7 नानू(नु)सधितसुख. सस्वत्सता^{१४} सौक्ष (ख्य)कृत्प्रेयास(न्स)र्व्वगुणाङ्कितप्रभुतया श्रीमानू-
भूकोक्कल्ल^{१५} । (॥)^{१६} [५॥*] सम्यक्स (क्शा)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदिन धर्म्मय योगाय च^{१७} इष्टा-
- 8 [पू]त्तंपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मति ॥ (१) आनून्या(ण्या)धिगमाय दाननिरति
सद्वस(श)पुष्टेस्तथा ज्ञानाभ्यासवसा(शा)न्म(न्मु)मुक्ष(क्षु)पदवीमते च य प्राप्तवान् ।
[१६॥*] भोजे व-
- 9 ल्ल[भ*] राजे^{१८} श्रीहर्ष (र्वे) चित्रकटभू(भ)पाले । स(श)ङ्करगणे च रा[ज*]नि यस्यासीदभयद

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- पाणि ।¹[१७॥*] सचिमिवेन्द्र² कमलामुपेन्द्रो³(न्द्रो) नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः । चन्देल-
वसप्रभवा
- 10 सुसिला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पर्जनैषित्⁴॥⁵[८॥*] उद्दामदर्पद्विषतो जयन्त कद(न्द)र्पमापि-
(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् । अजीजनत्स स्थितये जनस्य तस्या महास(श)क्तिध[र] कु-
- 11 मारम् । [११॥*] नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुव(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो धवलः स राजा । वोढु (ढु)
धुर यो गुरुहारहा योज्यानुपेन्द्रान्कहार चकार⁶ ॥ [१०॥*] एकैक(क) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
- 12 स(श) स्व(स्व) जीवित(त) रक्षता भक्ष्यार्थं(र्थं) गड्डाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलितः ।
चारित्राय ददो(दौ) जल सुरपतिर्गच्छन्न[ह*]ल्यामृतौ वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेप्ययमभूदौ-
- 13 चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः प[द] (दम्) ॥⁷[११॥*] किम्वापरेण⁸ । होहिन्ति एत्थ वसे पुरिसा पुहड्य⁹-
गारवमहग्घा[१*] इअ भाविऊण जेण पालीण परिण(ग्ग)हो गहिओ ॥¹⁰[१२॥*] तत्सुनु¹¹ ख्यात-
- 14 कर्म्मि दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(बा) हुर्महात्मा भूमेभ(भं)र्त्ताव(ब)भूवक्षतरिपुनृपतिव्वी(व्वी)लहं-
ष (हर्षं)¹² सु[ज*]न्मा । य सद्वृत्तानुरागानुकृतकृतय(यु)गाचारमासू(श्रि)त्य जातस्त्य-
- 15 क्तान्योन्योपमर्द्धस्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गत्रि(स्त्रि)वर्गं ।¹³[१३॥*] । धन्योत्र दास(श)-
रथिरेव रिपुर्द्धसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्किमपर समरोत्सवाय भ्रूमंज्ज¹⁴[भ*]ग्नसकलद्विषतो
- 16 धिगस्मानात्मानमाहवरसादिति यः सुसोच¹⁵ ॥¹⁶[१४॥*] सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य
तस्यानुय (ज) प्रथितवा(बा)हुव(ब)लो व(ब)भूव । दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-
- 17 न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः । [१५॥*] भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्सति¹⁷प्र[ण*]यिनीमालम्ब-
(म्ब)मानस्तन(नु) कुव्वणि समरेपि नाग(क)पथगानागच्छतो विद्विः(द्विषः) ॥ (१) विख्या-
- 18 ता भुवि भूरिमागमनामुच्चैर्द्धद्धाही(हि)नी यः साक्षात्परमेस्व(स्व)र[१*] समभवत्स-
म्यक्सि(क्षि)वाराधनात् ॥¹⁸[१६॥*] तस्मादभूलक्ष्मणराजदेव पुण्यै¹⁹ज्जानाना(ना)
- 19 जनितव्यवस्थ । आ(अ)वाप्य य धर्ममिव क्षितीस(श) चिराय लेभे जनना सुखानि ॥²⁰
[१७॥*] य सत्यस्य निधिः सि(श्रि)या च सरणि साम्ना च धाम्ना [च*] यो यो दाता च
दयालु-

¹ Metre *Āryā*

² Read शचीमिवेन्द्र

³ Kielhorn read मुपेन्द्रो, but the facsimile does not show any subscript *r* in this *akshara*, see the form of द्र 11 नगेन्द्र-.

⁴ Read the second half of the verse as चन्देलवसप्रभवा सुशीला नट्टाख्यदेवी स तु पर्यणैषित् ॥

⁵ Metre of this and the following two verses *Upajāti*

⁶ Read गुरुभारयुक्तामन्यानुपेन्द्रान्करदीचकार ॥

⁷ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁸ Read कि वापरेण

⁹ Kielhorn read this as एहड्य, but the form of ए, which occurs in this line and in l 28 are different.

¹⁰ Sanskrit—भविष्यन्त्यत्र वशे पुरुषा पृथिव्या गौरवमहार्घा ।

इति भावयित्वा येन पालीना परिग्रहो गृहीत ॥ Metre *Āryā*.

¹¹ Read तत्सूनु

¹² Kielhorn read -व्वी(व्वी)लहर्ष, but the facsimile shows *rēpha* over ह

¹³ Metre *Sragdharā*

¹⁴ The *anusvāra* on भ is clear and distinct Read भ्रूमंज्ज-

¹⁵ Read शुशोच

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁷ Read दृक्श्रुति-

¹⁸ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁹ The reading is clearly पुण्यै-, and not पुण्यौ- as taken by Kielhorn

²⁰ Metre *Upajāti*.

[illegible][illegible]

- 20 रेव च पद कीर्तिस्व(श्च) नीतेस्व(श्च) य. । तस्यासीत्परमेष दूषणकण[*] कारुण्य(ण्य)–
पुण्यात्मनः पात्रापात्रविवेचन न यदभूत्सर्वस्वदानेष्वपि ।¹[१८॥*] श्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव–
21 स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलक । सा(शा)सति वसुधा यस्मिन्पलायित(त) क्वापि कलि-
नापि ।²[१९॥*] असौ निस्तृ(स्त्रि)स(श)ता यत्र वक्रत्व पलितागमे [*] रथचक्रेषू(षु) चारि-
22 त्व वायो(यौ) स्वच्छन्दचारिता³ [॥२०॥*] तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)द्युवराजदेव पति
क्षिते क्षत्रकुलप्रभु(सू)ति । यस्यासिधाराजलघौतमु(मू)र्त्तस्त्रि(श्चि)र स्थिरासिचपलापि
लक्ष्मी⁴ [॥२१॥*] अर्थि–
23 सा[र्था]वधिस्त्याग से[स] सूरतयावधि⁵ । यस(श)[सा] धर्मरासे(शे)स्व(श्च) नावधिर्यस्य
भूपते ।⁶[१२२॥*] स्त्रीसास्वतोयायत यातकीर्तुं कोकलदेवो वस्वधिकनाथ⁷ । ज(य)
न्मण्ड–
24 लाग्रो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथार्थस(श)ब्द(ब्द) ।⁸[१२३॥*] नम्र कामुकवत्
कृत नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठत ।⁹ काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रस्त्रविहित भ्रान्तरादादण्डवत्[*]
25 कृत्वा साधुपरिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्करै स्थापित सत्रणामखिल कुलथेनरपतियि भयेनासिवत्¹⁰ ।¹¹
[१२४॥*] काककलनृपादवास्तसकलक्वाणीवपदक्षी¹²–
26 रक्षालितहारणो(गौ)रगुणभूगवदेवाभत्¹³ । यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौक्ये(क्षे)यकोग्रैसर
।⁹ स्तत्रैव प्रतिविवि[थ] पुनरभूदालावरं सन्मुखा¹⁴ ।¹⁵[२५॥*]
27 अगुनेज्ञो ज लोलेति क्षात यदिह दुर्जस¹⁶ । लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धौत दिव्यमादाय तद्वपु ।¹⁷
[१२६॥*] ख्यात[*] सत्यतया स धर्मतनय त्यागेन विरोर–
28 नि¹⁸ सोयेनेद्रसुर¹⁹ न चैतदभवत्सत्य गता²⁰ चेतसि । एकस्मिन्त्रितय कलो(लौ) समनिक²¹
गागेयदेवे नृपे दृ[स्ता]रिस्वितमिव तेर–

¹ This verse is borrowed with a slight change from Rājāśekhara's *Prachandapāndava* (I, 62) The latter reads तस्यैतस्य स एष in place of तस्यासीत्परमेष Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

² Metre *Āryā*

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ Read स्थिरासीच्चपलापि लक्ष्मी ॥ Metre *Upajāti*

⁵ Read शौर्यं शूरजयावधि

⁶ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁷ Following Kielhorn, I read the line as श्रीमास्ततोजायत जातकीर्तं कोकलदेवो वसुधैकनाथ The metre does not require कोकल to be changed to कोकल्ल

⁸ Metre *Upajāti*

⁹ This *danda* is superfluous

¹⁰ Kielhorn has ingeniously restored this very corrupt stanza as follows —

नम्र कामुकवत्कृत नियमित तूणीरवत्पृष्ठत
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रदृष्टविहितभ्रान्त च दोर्हण्डवत् ।
कृत्वा साधु परिच्छदेन रहित सम्यक्करे स्थापित
शत्रूणामखिल कुल नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

¹¹ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹² I propose to restore the first quarter as follows श्रीकोकल्लनृपादवाप्तसकलक्षोणीपद [श्रीयुत.*]. The last three *aksharas* which are wholly omitted in the text are supplied conjecturally

¹³ Read —गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत्

¹⁴ Read —सरस्तत्रैव प्रतिविविध पुनरभूदालालित सन्मुखम् ॥

¹⁵ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁶ Read अगुनेज्ञेति लोलेति ख्यात यदिह दुर्जस । as in the Goharwa plates.

¹⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁸ Read वैरोचनि

¹⁹ Read शौर्येनेद्रसुतो

²⁰ Read सता

²¹ Read समधिक.

Second Plate

- 29 वितथ¹ पूव्वे(र्व्वे) ये(य)थोक्ता भू(नृ)पा ॥²[२७॥*] तस्यात्मज कर्णं इवावतीर्णं
कर्णं. पृथिव्या(व्या) प्रथे(थि)तपृ(प्र)भाव । यस्याभिसे(षे)क[स्त्र](श्र)वणाद्वि(द्वि)ष—
30 द्विनष्ट(ष्ट) प्रहृष्ट द्विजमित्रवर्गै ॥³[२८॥*] यत्कीर्तिलतया दूर प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(१)
द्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोग स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥⁴[२९॥*] स्वय(य) समु—
31 त्मृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थि⁵ष्वचिन्तितीन् । कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(ण) भूमेर्जङ्गम कल्म(ल्प)पादप ॥
[३०॥*] स(श)क्तित्रमै(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धम्मा(म्म)त्मन
32 स्तुतिपद किमिहास्ति कि(कि)चित् । आसा(शा)स्यते परमिद कृतिभि सदे(दै)व राजन्वती
वसुमती भवते(तै)व भू(भू)यात् ॥⁶[३१॥*] तवे(दे)व(व) गुणगणालकृत—
33 स(श)रीर स्व(प्र)यागसमावासितश्रीमद्विजयक[टा] (टका)त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेस्व(स्व)रश्रीवामद(दे)वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा—
34 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रस्तु(त्रि)कलिग्या(गा)धिपतिश्रीमत्कर्णदेव[:*]
कुस(श)ली महादेवी महाराजपु[त्रा]⁷ महाम—
35 त्रि[णो] महामात्या⁸ महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्माधिकरणिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकरणिका
स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामतो(न्तो)
36 महाप्रमातारो महास्व(स्व)साधनिको महा[भा*]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष⁹ एतानन्यास्व(श्च)
कीर्तिताकीर्तिता(ता)स्व(श्च) यथाह(हँ) मानयति वो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति [१*]
विदित—
37 मसु(स्तु) भवता(तां) यथाहवाथा¹⁰कासि¹¹[भूम्य]न्तर्गतसुसिग्राम साव्र(म्)मधूक सगर्तस्थ—
लजलोपर सव्वीकरख[नि*]प्रभृतिसमुत्प—
38 त्सिमेतस्व(श्च)नुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्त ।¹² वेसालग्रामविनिर्गताय को(कौ)सि(शि)कगो-
त्राय ।¹³ ओदलदेवरात्रिस्वामित्र¹⁴त्रि—
39 प्रवराय वाजसनेयसाखाया¹⁴महप्रन(ण)त्रे वा[म]ननत्रे नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीविस्व(स्व)—
रूपाय ।¹⁵ इहैव पितु श्री—
40 मद्गाङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सरे साद्धे¹⁵ फाल्गुनव(ब)हुलपक्षद्वितीयाया स(श)नैस्व(श्च)रवासरे
वेण्या स्नात्वा भगवत(वन्त) देव(व)देव त्रिलोचन—

¹ Read दृष्ट्वा निश्चितमेव तैरवितथ

² Metre *Sārdūlavāṅkīṛidita*

³ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁴ Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

⁵ The lithograph clearly has सार्थिष्व— Read —सार्थिष्वचिन्तितान्,

⁶ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁷ The Goharwa plates read महाराजपुत्रो

⁸ As Kielhorn has observed, what was intended to be incised here was perhaps महामात्य । महासन्धि-
विग्रहिक । etc Or read महामात्यो, महासन्धिविग्रहिको etc in conformity with महाप्रतीहारो etc.

⁹ This official is omitted in the Goharwa plates

¹⁰ The three *aksharas* are superfluous

¹¹ Read काशीभूम्यन्तर्गतसुसी— Kielhorn admitted that he could not make out the proper reading of
the name of the district in which the donated village was situated He read the name of the village as
सुसि, but it is clearly mentioned as सुसी in l 42, below

¹² This *danda* is superfluous

¹³ Read औहालकदेवरात्रिस्वामित्र—

¹⁴ Kielhorn read —साखाय । मह—

¹⁵ Read सवत्सरश्चाद्धे, as proposed by Kielhorn. Fleet later on remarked that the change was

- 41 मस(श)नस(स)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(चा)र[प्र*]पचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यसमस्र(श्च)—
द्ध(द्ध)या सा(श्वा)द्ध विश्वायोभयभोगेन¹ सा(शा)स[न*]त्वेन यप्रदत्त² । अत . श्रीमत्क—
42 ण्णदेवपादा[*] स्तुसीग्रामनिवासिन समस्तजनपदान्समादिस(श)ति [1*] विदितमस्तु भवता(तां)
यथा ग्रामोयं स्माभि.³ सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा—
43 भागभोगकरहिरण्यदण्डादायकासोत्पन्तिप्रभृति⁴समस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या) अस्थोपन(ने)[त*]व्या
इति [1*] तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न
44 गत(गन्त)व्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥ सर्वानेता[न*] भाविनो राजपुत्रा[न*] भूयो भूयो याचते
रामभद्र । सामान्योय(य) धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा(णा) काले का—
45 ले पालनीयो भवद्भि.⁵ । [1३२॥*] व(व)हुभि(वँ)सुधा भुक्ता राजभि सगरादिभि ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्⁶ । [1३३॥*] अस्मिन्वत्से⁷ द्विधना—
46 पि⁸ यस्वा (श्वा)न्यो नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सन न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [३४॥*]
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैदा(र्दा)नानि धर्मार्थयस(श)स्करा[णि] ।
47 नृमाल्य⁹वा प्रतिमानि तानि को न(ना)म साधु पुनराददीत।¹⁰[३५॥*] अस्व(श्व)मेध-
सहस्रेण राजमु(सू)यसहतेन¹¹ च [1*]गवा कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिह—
48 र्त्ति नसु(शु)ध्रति (॥)¹² [३६॥*] सुवर्णमेक(क) गामेका(का) भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुल[म्*] ।
हरन्न [रक?] माप्नोति यावदाभु(भू)तस(स)प्लव(वम्) ॥ [३७॥*] संवत् ७९३ फाल्गुन-
वदि ९ सोमे [1*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Ōm ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) (and) supreme light conceivable by the mind !

(V 2) That which, though highest and changeless, appears in two forms,¹³—the light which has the refulgence of intelligence, from which in the form of the sun there shine forth waves such as the days¹⁴,—from it there sprang forth the venerable mind-born

unnecessary But this was the *śrāddha* on the first anniversary of the death of Gāṅgāyadēva, which is called सवत्सरश्राद्ध Subsequent annual *śrāddhas* are called प्रतिमावत्सरिकश्राद्धा

¹ The *akṣharas* here are quite clear Perhaps the intended sense is —योदकसर्गेण, as suggested by Kielhorn

² Read सप्रदत्त ।

³ Read ग्रामोयमस्माभि

⁴ Kielhorn proposed to read दायाकरोत्पत्ति—

⁵ Metre *Sālinī*

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

⁷ Read —न्वसे

⁸ Read द्विजघ्नोपि

⁹ Read निर्माल्य—

¹⁰ Metre *Indravagṛā*

¹¹ Read राजस्यशतेन च

¹² Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

¹³ These may be the male and the female Compare द्विधा कृत्वात्मनो देहमर्धेन पुरुषोऽभवत् । अर्धेन नारी

॥ *Manusmṛiti*, ch I, v 32

¹⁴ The *Śabdakalpādruma* gives *bhāsvara* in the sense of 'a day' and cites the work *Rājānirghanta* as its authority

Manu, the repository of all knowledge, from whom proceeded this entire creation possessed of *gunas*¹ through male and female (*creatures*)

(V 3) There was the king, the divine and illustrious **Kārtavīrya**, the ornament of the earth,—who threw into bondage Rāvana who had propitiated Īśa (Śiva) by making the terrified daughter (Pārvatī) of the snow-mountain embrace him when he (Rāvana) lifted up the mountain Kailāsa with ease, (*and*) who was greatly enraged when his offerings to the three-eyed (Śiva) were washed away by the stream of the greatly flooded Rēvā which was turned back by the suddenly placed dam of his (*i e.*, Kārtavīrya's) mighty arms.²

(V 4) Being frightened by his frown, kings (*of the countries*) extending as far as Kailāsa, the slopes on the tops of whose summits are dug up by Śiva's bull, and as far as the eastern ocean which has a string of matchless and large pearls in the form of the celestial river (*i e.*, the Gangā), (*and*) again as far as the southern ocean which has a shining peerless jewel³ and a parting line of hair, *viz* the bridge (*of Rāma*), adhere steadfastly to affliction

(V 5) The lords of kings, who were born in his race, became famous on the earth as the **Haihayas**. An ornament of their family was the illustrious **Kōkalla (I)**⁴ who kindled the fire of anguish in the minds of his enemies, whose pleasures were linked with the wealth of religious contemplation, who always made good people happy, (*and*) who was dear (*to all*) as his majesty was marked by all good qualities

(V 6) Day by day he duly reflected on the *sāstras* for (*the knowledge of*) religion and union (*with God*),—(*he*) whose mind was fond of wealth (*only*) for religious and charitable works (*and*) for the benefit of others, who was devoted to charity to pay off the debt he owed for being brought up in a noble family, and who ultimately reached the path of beatitude through application to knowledge.

(V 7) His hand afforded protection to **Bhōja**, the king **Vallabha**, the illustrious **Harsha** who was the lord of **Chitrakūṭa**, and the king **Śaṅkaragaṇa**.

(V 8) As Indra married Śachī, Upēndra (Vishnu) Kamalā (Lakshmi), the moon-crested god (Śiva) the daughter of the mountain (*i e.*, Pārvatī), even so did he espouse the good-natured queen **Naṭṭā**, born in the **Chandēlla** family

(V 9) For the establishment of good order among the people, he begat on her a prince endowed with great prowess, who vanquished (*his*) enemies, possessed of haughty arrogance, and who was the god of love to ladies of fully-developed and compact breasts.

(V 10) The king was well-known in all the three worlds by (*his*) name **Dhavala** with **Prasiddha** prefixed (*to it*),⁵—who, in order to bear the very heavy yoke (*of governing the earth*), made other kings lend their (*helping*) hands⁶ (*i e.*, exacted tribute from them)

(V 11) By making over constantly serpents one by one to the Eagle, (Śesha), the lord of serpents, caused (*his own*) humiliation The lord of gods (*i e.*, Indra) lost his

¹ *Viz*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, which in different proportions constitute the nature of all beings

² For the story, see the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki, Uttarakāṇḍa, Adhyāyas 32 and 33

³ This is probably the island of Ceylon, which, being situated opposite Rāma's bridge, appears like a jewel worn by a woman at the parting line of her hair

⁴ The name appears here as *Kōkalla* due to the exigency of metre

⁵ *I e.*, the name was *Prasiddhadhavalā*

⁶ There is a play on the verb *karadī-chakāra* *Prasiddhadhavalā* made kings pay taxes for carrying on the government of the earth, as he would have taken their help to bear a heavy yoke

character by having intercourse with Ahalyā in season This king (*on the other hand*) became the resort of proper conduct, adorable in all the three worlds.

(V 12) Why say (*anything*) else ?

'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their greatness in this world'—Thinking so, he took possession of (*the country of*) Pālī¹

(V 13) His high-souled son, Bālaharsha of noble birth, whose deeds are well-known, and whose arms resembling the trunks of the quarter-elephants stretched to (*his*) knees, became the lord of the earth, having destroyed all hostile kings. By resorting to him, who followed the practices of the Kṛita age out of his love for good conduct, the three (*purushāthas*),² giving up their mutual hostility and doing away with the host of their enemies (*i e*, passions), found a stable resting place

(V 14) 'Blessed was here the son of Daśaratha (*i e*, Rāma) alone, who had—what else?—an enemy in the ten-faced (Rāvana) for (*enjoying*) the festivity of fighting Fie on us, who have routed all (*our*) enemies by a (*mere*) frown!—Thus did he blame himself out of love for fighting

(V 15) Of him, who was Yudhishtira, being solely devoted to truth, there was a younger brother (*named*) Yuvarājadēva (I), endowed with well-known might of arms, a second Arjuna in the Kali age, the pre-eminent bow-man in exterminating warriors in the army of his invincible foes as Arjuna was in slaughtering those in the army of Duryōdhana³

(V 16) Having (*acquired*) knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of the earth, having a mind (*lit*, body) fond of the Vēdas, sending his advancing foes along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes, he, through his devotion to Śiva, became actually an Emperor (or Śiva⁴ incarnate, who is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth, who sends his foes along the path of heaven and bears on high the river Gangā that flows in several streams⁵).

(V 17) From him was (*born*) Lakshmaṇarājadēva (II) through the religious merit of the people,—(*he*) who established order (*in this world*), and in whom the people, having obtained a (*righteous*) king like Dharma,⁶ became happy for a long time

(V 18) He was a treasure of truth, the path for fortune (*won*) by conciliation and prowess,—who, liberal and kind as he was, obtained fame and political wisdom Meritorious as he was by compassion, he had this slight blemish that he did not discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy even when he was giving away all his property

(V 19) From him was born the illustrious Śaṅkaragaṇadēva (III), the ornament of the expanse of the whole world While he was ruling over the earth, even Kali fled away, one does not know where

(V 20) (*Under his rule*) (*only*) the sword was *nstrimśa* (measuring more than thirty fingers) (*none else being nstrimśa or devoid of compassion*), (*only*) grey hair was curly (*none else*

¹ This verse is in Prakrit and is probably intended to represent what the people said about Prasiddha-dhavalā

² These are *dharmā* 'religious merit,' *artha* 'wealth' and *kāma* 'enjoyment of pleasures'.

³ There is a play on the word *duryōdhana* here

⁴ The other meaning of *Paramēśvara*, viz., 'Śiva' is also intended; for, as shown below the adjectival expressions are so worded as to describe both an Emperor and Śiva In the former alternative *bhū-bhāra-kṣama-drīk* is to be separated from *śruti-pranayinīm* and construed with *Paramēśvarah*, in the latter *drīk-śruti* means a serpent There is also a play on the word *vāhinī* which means here (1) an army and (2) a river

⁵ The Gangā is called *tri-pathagā* because it flows in heaven, on the earth and in the nether regions

⁶ *I e*, Yudhishtira who was noted for his benevolent rule.

being crooked), and (*only*) the wheels of the chariot had *aritva* (*i e*, had spokes) (*there being aritva or hostility nowhere else*), (*and*) (*only*) wind blew where it liked (*but none else acted in a self-willed manner*¹).

(V 21) His younger brother was Yuvarājadēva (II) the lord of the earth, born of a warlike race; being bathed with the water of the sharp edge² of whose sword, even the fickle goddess of fortune became steady

(V 22) His charity was limited (*only*) by the multitude of his suppliants, and his prowess (*only*) by the victory over (*his*) brave (adversary), but to that king's fame and accumulation of religious merit there was no limit

(V 23) From that famous (*king*) was born the illustrious Kōkalladēva (II) the sole lord of the earth His *mandalāgra*³ (sword) was rightly called so since it kept (*in check*) the *mandalas* (multitudes of enemies) in front of it

(V 24) That foremost of kings made the entire host of his adversaries submissive even as he bent his bow, held it in check in the rear as he tied his quiver on (*his*) back, routed it in all directions the moment he cast an (*angry*) glance at it even as he whirled his arms whose revolutions in the different directions were noticed (*only*) for a moment, and depriving it completely of its possessions, made it pay tribute even as he completely unsheathed his sword and grasped it with the hand⁴

(V 25) Then there was the (*illustrious*) Gāṅgēyadēva who obtained the kingdom of the whole earth from the illustrious king Kōkalladēva (II), who was the abode of virtue as stainless as a pearl-necklace washed with milk, who was preceded in the forefront of the battlefield only by his sword,⁵ and whose beautiful face became crooked (*only*) when it was reflected in that very (*sword*)

(V 26) By resorting to his divine person, the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the scandal that she does not appreciate merit (*and*) is fickle

(V 27) That (*well-known*) son of Dharma (*i e*, Yudhiṣṭhira) was known for his truthfulness, the son of Vīrōchana (*i e*, Bali) for his liberality, (*and*) the son of India (*i e*, Arjuna) for his valour—this was not believed by the minds of the good. Seeing (*however*) that all the three (*virtues*) were present in (*even*) a greater measure in the king Gāṅgēyadēva, they concluded that the aforesaid kings were truly as described

(V 28) His son is Karṇa of well-known valour, who is as it were Karṇa⁶ descended on the earth Hearing of his coronation, his enemies disappeared, (*while*) hosts of Brāhmanas and friends rejoiced

(V. 29) Extending far and wide, the creeper of his fame, day by day, reduces the empty space inside the pavillion of Brahmā's egg⁷

(V 30) Granting personally inconceivable objects to multitudes of supplicants, he is some strange moving wish-fulfilling tree, decorating the earth

¹ There are puns on several words here *nistrimśa* (1) 'a sword' (*lit*, 'measuring more than thirty fingers') and (2) 'devoid of compassion', *aritva* is to be understood as derived from (1) *arim*, 'a wheel' (containing spokes) and (2) *ari* 'an enemy'

² *Dhārā* (a sharp edge) also means 'a shower'

³ *Mandalāgra* means (1) 'a sword' and (2) 'that which has a host (*mandala*) (of enemies) in front of it'

⁴ The description is so worded as to be applicable to the host of enemies on the one hand and to the king's bow, arms and sword on the other As before, *kara* means (1) 'a tax' and (2) 'the hand'.

⁵ *I e*, he needed none else to help him

⁶ The well-known hero of the Bhārata war

⁷ *I e*, the universe.

(V 31) Is there any (*adequate*) word of praise for him, the righteous-minded one, who is the sole abode of the three royal powers,¹ (*and*) a mine of virtues? This is, however, prayed for by wise persons—‘May the earth have always a good king only because of you!’

(Line 32) From his glorious and victorious camp fixed at Prayāga,—the *Paramabhataṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Karṇadēva**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikalīṅga**, whose person is adorned by the multitude of such qualities,² who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhataṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious, **Vāmadēva**, being in good health, duly honours, informs and commands the following and other (*officers*) whether named or not, (*viz.*) the *Mahādēvī*,³ the *Mahārājaputī*,⁴ the *Mahāmantrins*,⁵ the *Mahāmātya*,⁶ the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*,⁷ the *Mahādharmaadhikarāṇika*,⁸ the *Mahākṣhapatalika*,⁹ the *Mahākāraṇika*,¹⁰ the *Mahāpratihāra*,¹¹ the *Mahāsāmanta*,¹² the *Mahāpramātri*,¹³ the *Mahāsvasādhamika*,¹⁴ the *Mahābhān-dāgarika*,¹⁵ (*and*) the *Mahādhyakṣha*—¹⁶

(L 36) “Be it known to you that on **Saturday, the second (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Phālguna**, on the occasion of the **first annual śrāddha**¹⁷ of our father, the illustrious **Gāṅgēyadēva** at this very place. We, having bathed in the **Vēṇī**, having worshipped with great devotion and with the five kinds of offerings made with a collection of food and having performed the *śrāddha* with unequalled faith, have given as a grant with a libation of water, the village **Srusī** included in the *bhūmi* of **Kāśī**,—together with mango and *madhūka* trees,¹⁸ inclusive of pits, (*cultivable*) land, water and waste land, together with the produce of mines, quarries and so forth, extending to the four boundaries and limits,—to the illustrious Pandita **Viśvarūpa**, the son of Nārāyana, grandson of Vāmana, (*and*) great grandson of Āmaha,¹⁹ of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*, the Kauśika *gōtra* (*and*) the three *pravaras* Audālaka, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra,²⁰ who has emigrated from the village **Vaiśālī**.”

(L 41) Wherefore, the illustrious and revered **Karṇadēva** commands all people living in the village **Srusī**—“Be it known to you. Knowing that this village has been

¹ See above, p. 42, n. 9

² *Viz.* those which are described in verses 28-31

³ The Great Queen, the Queen-consort

⁴ The Great Prince, the heir-apparent to the throne

⁵ The Chief counsellors. The word appears in the singular in other Kalachuri records

⁶ The Chief Executive Officer

⁷ The Chief Minister for Peace and War

⁸ The Head of the Department of Religion

⁹ The Chief Keeper of Records

¹⁰ The Chief Secretary

¹¹ The Chief Usher

¹² The Chief Feudatory

¹³ The Chief Surveyor. He was probably the Chief Revenue Officer

¹⁴ The Great Equerry. For his duties, see the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya (II, 30). There the officer is called *Aśvādhyakṣha*

¹⁵ The Chancellor of the Exchequer, called *Sannidhātri* in the *Arthaśāstra* (II, 4)

¹⁶ The Great Superintendent, who probably exercised supervision over all departments. He is, however, omitted in the Goharwa plates. The Khairhā plates of Yaśahkarna (No. 55, l. 26) mention him

¹⁷ See above, p. 239, n. 3

¹⁸ *Bassia Latifolia* from the blossoms and seeds of which liquor was distilled

¹⁹ Kielhorn read this name as *Maha*, see above p. 244, n. 14

²⁰ Kielhorn proposed to read the names of the *pravaras* as Audāla, Dēvarāta and Vaiśvāmitra, but the *Gōtrapravarānbandhakadamba* gives the *pravaras* as above

given by us as a grant, (*you*) should pay all dues such as *bhāga*,¹ *bhōga*,² taxes, levy in gold, the produce of mines and so forth to this (*grantee*) Not even wind should blow in (*the village*) with a view to harm him!"

(*The following is* the solicitation (*of the grantor*):—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(*In*) the year 793, on the 9th (lunar) day of the dark (fortnight) of Phālguna, on Monday.

No 49; PLATE XXXIX

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr Nagendranath Basu, and a transcript of it made by him and M M Haraprasād Sāstrī was first published without any facsimile in the *Bīrbhūmabibaraṇa*, Vol II, p 10 Its transcript was subsequently given together with a description and a photograph of the pillar on which it is engraved by Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1921-22, pp 78 ff and pl XXVIII (a) The inscription is edited here from a set of impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

'Paikore'³ is about three miles to the east of the Murarai Station on the Loop Line of the E I Railway The name is supposed to be a corrupted form of *Prāchīkōṭa* or the 'Eastern Citadel' . . . The most important antiquities of Paikore are the **two inscribed pillars** at Nārāyaṇa-chatvara, lying on a masonry platform by the side of a tank, along with an image of Narasimha and several others. The inscriptions refer to the Chēdi King Karna and King Vijayasēna Both the pillars seem to have been crowned with images and the inscriptions engraved on them must have referred to the dedication of the images The Vijayasēna pillar clearly exhibits the headless figure of the goddess Mānasā, while the Karnadēva pillar being broken off just at the commencement of the inscription shows no trace of the image The pillars must have been sunk into the floor, as we see from the rough-hewn surface of the lowermost portion of the Karnadēva pillar, the square and octagonal sections of the shaft above being highly polished and decorated with beautiful tracery The design on each side of the square is that of a vase (*mangala-kalāṣa*), the top and bottom of which are covered with full-blown lotuses and foliage, while at the centre appears a *kīrtimukha*, the necklaces of pearls issuing from which are held by bearded attendants

"The inscription begins on the tapering circular portion of the shaft and is continued over the octagonal section"⁴ It consists of six lines of unequal length, the first measuring only 15" and the last 9" It has suffered by exposure to weather especially in the first four lines. The characters belong to the proto-Bengali variety of the North Indian alphabets The average size of the letters is 2" The forms of *j*, *t*, *p* and *s* are specially noteworthy. The letters were written in a hurried cursive hand and were incised very shallow. The reading is, therefore, doubtful in many cases At the top of some letters such as *d*, *p* and *y* there appears a hook such as is noticeable in some places in the Bēlāva copper-plates of Bhōjavarman⁵ and the Deopārā stone inscription of Vijayasēna.⁶ R,

¹ *Bhāga* is a share of produce

² *Bhōga* probably refers to some petty taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the *Manusmṛiti*, Adhyaya VII, vv 130-132

³ Properly, *Pāikōḍa*, a corrupt form of *Prāchīkōṭa*

⁴ *A R A S I* for 1921-22, p 79

⁵ *Ep Ind*, Vol. XII, pp. 37 ff.

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff.

which has the same form as *ch*, seems to be distinguished from it in some places by a dot in its triangle. As the first member of a conjunct, the letter appears generally above the line, but in *Karnnadēvasya* in line 5 it is written on the line as in the Deopārā stone inscription¹. The ligature *nn* has two different forms in *Karnna* and *dān-a(ā)rnnava*, both in line 5. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout. The only orthographical peculiarity it presents is the doubling of a consonant after *r*.

The inscription is one of the **Kalachuri king Karṇa**² who is styled here *Mahārāja* and the King of **Chēdi**. It is not dated. The object of it is evidently to record the dedication, by the king Karṇa, of the image of a goddess whose name has not been specified.

TEXT³

- 1 श्री⁴ श्रीगणपति [1*]
- 2 [तत्प्र]ति[पालिन ?]⁵
- 3 सिद्धि⁶ [1*] देवद्विजगुर(रू)[न्*] [भज ?]न्ता(ता) [श्री चे] [दि*] दव(देवे)न भ[क्ति]नात्र⁸
- 4 नेह्यन्⁹ [श्रद्ध]या [त्म ?]न[*]¹⁰कर्मणा राजश्रीक[र्ण]देव[स्य]¹¹
- 5 सिद्धि¹² [1*] स्वस्ति [श्री¹³]म[हा]राज¹⁴श्रीचेदि[रा][ज*]स्य श्रीकर्णदेवस्य दान(ना)-
र्णवा(व ?)¹⁵कीर्तिप्र[ता]प¹⁶न्याये*—
- 6 षु(?) तन्मय¹⁷ विश्व(इव)कर्म¹⁸र(च)रणप्रसादात्(त्) देवीमूर्तिनृम्मिता¹⁹[स्ती]य-
(य) श्री[की²⁰]ति ॥

¹ *Loc cit*, p. 305

² The name of the king occurs in two places at the end of line 4 and in the middle of line 5

³ From inked stampages

⁴ The superscript *ī* is imperfectly formed

⁵ No transcript of this line is given by Haraprasād Śāstrī and Dikshit. Almost all the *akṣharas* except *zi* are doubtful.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁷ Haraprasād Śāstrī read the line as देवद्विजगुरुभजन्तो वैष्णवादयः स्वभिनन्ति दू * *, while Dikshit gave the transcript *dēva-dvija-guru[bhaja]ntari*. The *akṣharas* between गुर(रू) and द(दे)व(वे)न are extremely doubtful.

⁸ Read भक्त्यात्र. There is space for two more *akṣharas* at the end of this line if it was of the same length as the following one. But there are no clear traces of letters. Perhaps किञ्चित् is intended.

⁹ Haraprasād Śāstrī read निवेदयन्, but the impression shows only four, not five *akṣharas*. I follow Dikshit's reading here.

¹⁰ Both Haraprasād Śāstrī and Dikshit read श्रद्धयास्मिन् कर्मणि, but I fail to see any trace of the superscript *i* of *smi* and *ni*. I therefore propose the reading given above, though with diffidence.

¹¹ The sense requires a form in the instrumental. Read नेह्यता कर्णदेवेन.

¹² Expressed by a symbol

¹³ The superscript *ī* is imperfectly formed as in the case of the first *ī* in l. 1.

¹⁴ Haraprasād Śāstrī read समुद्रराट् and Dikshit समुद्रराज्य. The first *akṣhara* appears like that in the beginning of l. 1, which both of them read as श्री, while the last *akṣhara* appears to be clearly *ja*. It has a flourish at the bottom as in राजेन in the inscription of Vijayasēna on another pillar at Paikore. I therefore propose to read श्रीमहाराज, though I must confess that the *akṣhara* *hā* is very doubtful.

¹⁵ Haraprasād Śāstrī reads ध्वनन्ति वा and Dikshit जयन्तस्वा, neither of which is satisfactory.

¹⁶ This word is read as प्रसास्ति by Haraprasād Śāstrī and as प्रसास्ति (?) by Dikshit. The last *akṣhara* is clearly *pa*, in any case it shows no sign of the superscript *i*. The middle *akṣhara* is probably *ta*, see प्रसादात् in line 6. The left curve here is irregularly broken in two parts.

¹⁷ These four *akṣharas* are omitted by Dikshit. Haraprasād Śāstrī read स्वहस्तिय which makes no sense. The sense seems to require a reading like तन्मयेन.

¹⁸ Read विश्वकर्म—

¹⁹ Read मूर्तिनिर्मिता—

²⁰ This *akṣhara* was read as का, but in view of the *visarga* which follows त्ति I think it is probably की, the superscript *ī* being imperfectly formed. See श्री in lines 1 and 5.

TRANSLATION

The holy Ganapati Being protected(?) by him

(Line 3) Success! (*This image has been set up*) by the illustrious king **Karṇadēva**, the glorious lord of **Chēdi**, who honours gods, Brāhmanas and preceptors with devotion, . . . desiring no (*reward*) for his faith and doings (?)¹

(L 5) Success! Hail! This is a famous glorious work,—the image of the goddess made, by the grace of the feet of Viśvakarman, (*by an artist*) who is absorbed in the glory (*springing from*) the ocean of liberality, prowess (*and*) justice . . . of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious lord of **Chēdi**, the illustrious **Karṇa**.

No 50, PLATE XL

GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNA

THESE plates were turned up by the plough of a Kewat in an old fort at **Goharwa**, a village in the Manjhanpur *tahsil* of the Allahabad District. They were edited, with collotype plates, but without a translation, by Dr E. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 139 ff. They are edited here from the same plates.

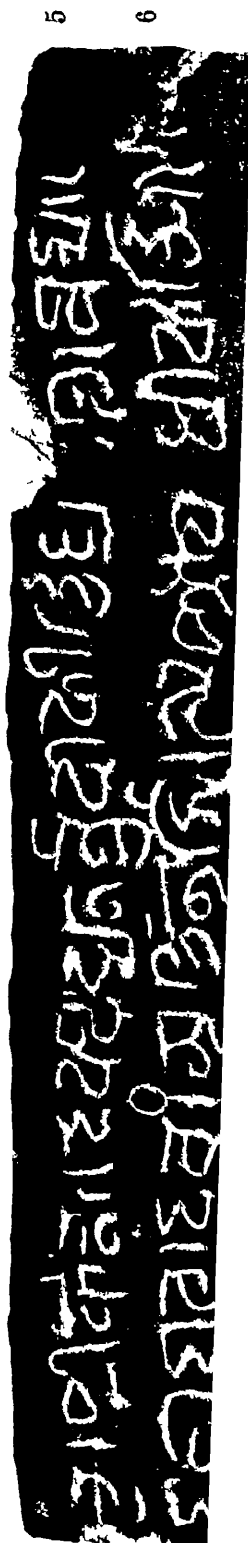
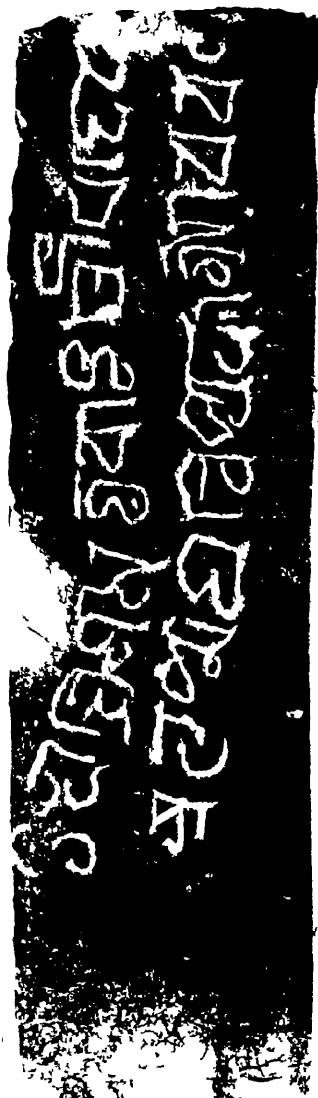
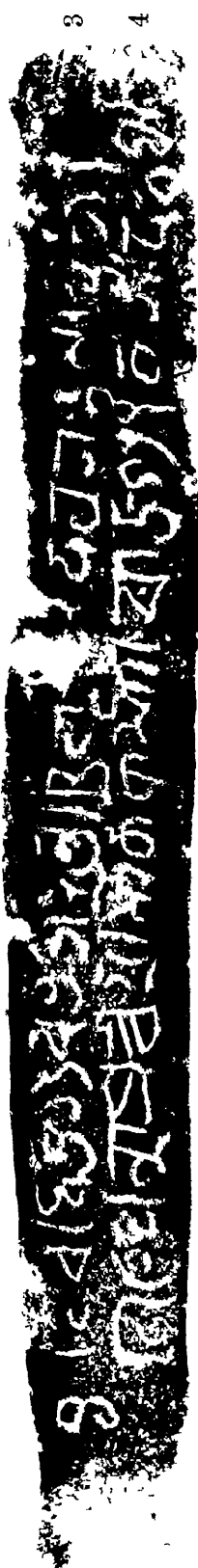
‘These are two copper-plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the inscription was inside. The box measures nearly 15½ inches in length and about 11½ inches in breadth. The second plate, which fits into the box, is a little smaller than the first. The depth of the margin of each plate is about ½ inch.’ The plough in turning up the plates broke the ring. The seal was thus detached from the plates. ‘It is bell-shaped and has an almost circular surface which measures 3 inches in diameter. The upper portion of the seal bears in relief a seated figure of the goddess Lakshmī, facing the front and attended by two elephants pouring water over her. At the bottom is a bull couchant, facing the proper right between two indistinct symbols (drums?). Across the centre is engraved the name of the king who issued the plates—*Śrīmat-Karṇadēvaḥ*.’² The inscription is throughout in a state of excellent preservation.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and resemble those of the Banaras plates of the same king. There are, however, some minor differences. The letter *n*, for instance, is everywhere without a dot, similarly the upper loop of *th* is closed in all cases. But in the case of the initial *z*, *th*, *ph*, *bh* and *ś*, the present record invariably shows an advanced stage. The older form of the initial *z*, consisting of a comma below two dots, which is seen to continue even in the Banaras plates, is here replaced by a sign approximating to the modern form of the vowel, see *iti*, l. 3, *th* appears here for the first time with a vertical stroke over the loop, see *-pāda-pīthas-*, l. 8; the tailed curve to the right of the vertical of *ph* has now sunk lower down, see *phalam*, l. 46, the wedge on the left of *bh* has given place to a vertical which is joined to the right limb by means of a horizontal stroke, see *alabhata* and *-bhūshanam-*, both in l. 4, *ś* has everywhere the modern Nāgarī form, see, e.g., *krāma-vaśāt-* l. 14, the peculiar form of the ligature *śr* is also approximated in this record, see *śrīkantha-*, l. 6. Besides these, we may note that *n* is in many cases written without a loop,

¹ As the readings in this and the following lines are in many cases doubtful, I am not quite sure of the intended sense.

² From the account given by Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 139-40. I take the symbols near the bull to be incense-pots, see above, p. 236, n. 1.

PAIKORE STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KARNA



see *-ratnam* l 3, *-vandha*, ll 5-6 etc, the forms of *v* and *ch* have in some cases been confused, see, e g, *-abhūvan*, l 7, *van-āśraya-*, l 30 and *-charitam*, l 28; similarly those of *p* and *y*, see *nityam*, l 1, *-madhya-*, l 5 and *npu-*, l 20. The vertical dash is introduced here for the first time at the end of the lines 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47. The *akshara chh* with two upright strokes on either side is used to mark the end of a section in ll 33, 35 and 44.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The first thirty-three lines which contain the eulogistic portion are in verse with the exception of the opening *Svasti, ōm Vra(Bra)hmanē namah*. There are thirty verses in this portion of which three (*viṣ*, 1, 12 and 18) are common to the earlier Banaras inscription. It is noteworthy that one of them (*viṣ*, v 12) occurs there in a different context. It praises there not Yuvarājadēva II as in the present record, but his grandfather of the same name, i e, Yuvarājadēva I. The formal part of the grant which is in prose begins in line 33. Then come six benedictive and imprecatory verses, and finally the mention of the writer's and engraver's names and the customary *man-galam mahā-srīb*. The record is carelessly written. Final consonants are not so indicated in many cases, which has resulted in the neglect of *sandhi* in *-pranṛityata vētālō*, ll 26-27, *-vaśāta bhairakshāch=cha*, l 30 etc. Cases of wrong *sandhi* are seen in *-vandyō Chēd-īndra=*, l 11, *-āśram-ēka-*, l 30 etc. The *visarga* is incorrectly omitted in some places (see *-grāmani*, l 6, *ākrāmata*, l 25) and added in others (see *-vihitahśrikantha*, l 6). In a few cases, consonants are seen wrongly omitted, added or substituted by others, see, e g, *-samārambhē* for *-sangam-ārambhē*, l 14, *svam=indrājāl-ōpamam* for *svapn-ēndrajāl-ōpamam*, l 6. As regards **orthography**, we may notice that the sign for *v* is employed to denote *b*, see *vrāhmī* l 2, *Vudhab*, l 3 etc, *ś* is used for *s* in *-śruta*, l 26 and vice versa in *bhrisam* and *āsā-*, both in l 15, the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in *tri-bhuvana-*, l 4, *p* for *ph* in *pātikara-*, ll 15 and 24, *j* for *y* in *iyāja*, l 33, and *sh* for *kh* in *-mayūsha-*, l 3, the *anusvāra* before *s* is incorrectly changed to *n* in *yaśānsi*, l 32, while in *-tāmvra-* l 32, and *ś-āmvra-* l 39, a superfluous *v* is inserted after *m*.

After two verses in praise of Brahman, begins the eulogy of **Karna** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty** and his ancestors. Karna's pedigree is here traced back to the moon. The first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya, is **Lakshmanarāja (II)**, who is said to have won victories over the kings of **Baṅgāla Pāṇḍya**, **Lāṭa**, **Gurjara** and **Kāśmīra**. His son was **Yuvarājadēva (II)**. The name of Yuvarājadēva's elder brother **Śaṅkaragana (III)** is here omitted, probably because he was a collateral. Verse 12 states that he attained an Imperial position, but, as already pointed out, the verse was originally composed for his grandfather Yuvarājadēva I. Yuvarājadēva II was succeeded by his son **Kōkalla (II)**, whose description given here is purely conventional. About his son and successor **Gāṅgēyadēva**, however, the record gives more information. He is said to have thrown the king of **Kīra** into prison, exacted a heavy tribute from the lord of **Aṅga**, vanquished the ruler of **Kuntala**, and raised his arm like a pillar of victory after defeating the prince of **Utkala**. He was followed by his son **Karṇa** who granted the present plates. Though the poet has devoted as many as eleven stanzas to his glorification, the description is entirely conventional and altogether devoid of historical interest.

The prose portion, which follows v 30, gives the same description and mentions the same Imperial titles of Karna as the corresponding part of his Banaras plates. Besides these, there is one more title of Karṇa mentioned here, which is not noticed in the earlier record. He is said to have, by his arm, attained overlordship over the three kings, the lords of horses, elephants and men.

The present plates were granted by Karna at his victorious camp fixed at the **Karṇatīrtha** which was probably a *ghāt* built by him at Allahabad¹ The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Chandapahā**, situated in the **Kauśāmbapattalā**, which was made by Karna after bathing in the Gangā at the **Arghatīrtha** and worshipping the god Śiva. The donee was the learned **Śāntīśarman**, the son of the Āvasathika Mālhū and grandson of the Upādhyāya Silū of the Vājasanēya *śākhā* and the Vidarbhi-Kaundinya *gōtra*,² with the three *pravaras* Āngirasa, Ambarīsha and Yauvanāśva. The grant was made on **Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika, in the seventh year of the administration** renowned by the illustrious **Karṇa**.

Unlike the Banaras plates, the present inscription does not mention any year of the Kalachuri era. It gives however 'full titles of paramountcy' to Karna, which makes it plain that the seventh year mentioned here is of his own reign. We have seen above³ that the *samvatsara-śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēyadēva's death. Gāṅgēyadēva must have, therefore, died on Phālguna va di 2 in the expired Kalachuri year 792 corresponding to 22nd January 1041 A.C. As the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karna's reign fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793. The same month in his seventh year must, therefore, have fallen in the expired Kalachuri year 799 (1047-48 A.C.) The full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika in this year ended 13 h 30 m after mean sunrise⁴ on Thursday, and was, therefore, civilly connected with that day. Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C. is thus the date of the present grant.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the *śrāddha* mentioned in the Banaras plates dated K. 793 was performed not on the first, but on some subsequent anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, Karna's accession will have to be dated before 1041 A.C. and his seventh regnal year will fall in some year before 1047 A.C. We know that Gāṅgēyadēva was reigning in 1030 A.C.⁵ We have, therefore, to see in which of the years between 1036 A.C. and 1047 A.C. the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika was connected with Thursday. The only year which satisfies these requirements is 1044 A.C. In that year, the full moon *tithi* of Kārttika ended 20 h. after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 8th November 1044 A.C. This would place Karna's accession in 1038 A.C. The date of Gāṅgēya's death which occurred on Phālguna va di 2 will, on this supposition, be the 25th January 1038 A.C. This would suit somewhat better the Tibetan tradition, according to which Atiśa intervened during an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by *king* Karna of the west before he started for Tibet in *circa* 1040 A.C. as shown by Prof. Levi.⁶ But it would make the coupling of Saturday with Phālguna va di 2 in the Kalachuri year 793 quite inexplicable.⁷ The selection of Prayāga for the performance of the *śrāddha* would, again, appear specially appropriate only on the supposition

¹ The grant was made after bathing in the Gangā and worshipping Śiva, and the village was situated not very far from Allahabad. The *ghāt* was, therefore, probably built at the holy place of Prayāga.

² Hultzsch took the expression to mean 'of the Kaundinya *gōtra* residing at Vidarbhi'. But it may be noted that a Brāhmana Vidarbhi-Kaundinya is mentioned in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 6,3, and IV, 6,3.

³ See above, pp 239 f.

⁴ According to Fleet's calculations it ended 11 h. 45 m after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), *Ep Ind*, Vol. XI, p. 146.

⁵ Albēṛūni, writing in 1030 A.C. mentions Gāṅgēyadēva as the king of Dāhala.

⁶ *Le Nepal*, Vol. II p. 189.

⁷ The apparent irregularity can be explained if the *śrāddha* was performed on the first anniversary of Gāṅgēya's death, see above, p. 240.

that it was performed on the first anniversary of his death which, as already stated, is known to have occurred at that holy place. The only way to reconcile the dates of the Banaras and Goharwa plates is, therefore, to place Gāṅgēya's death and Karna's accession in 1041 A.C.¹ As stated before, this makes the date of the present grant regularly correspond to Thursday, the 5th November 1047 A.C.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, **Baṅgāla**, **Kāśmīra** and **Gurjara** are too well-known to need identification. **Lāṭa** has already been identified. **Aṅga** comprised the country round modern Bhāgalpur and **Kīra** that near Baijnath in the Kangra valley.² **Kuntala** was the country under the rule of the Later Chālukyas and comprised parts of the Southern Maratha Country and the adjoining Kanarese districts.³ **Utkala** included much of the territory now comprised in the State of Orissa. Prof. Hultsch has correctly identified **Kōśamba** with the modern Kōsam, 36 miles west of Allahabad. The donated village **Chandapahā**, which has remained unidentified, is Chanpahā, about three miles N. N. W. of Kōsam. The close similarity of its name to Chandapahā and its proximity to Kōsam (ancient Kauśāmbī), leave little doubt about the correctness of the proposed identification.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धि⁵ [1*] स्वस्ति ॥ ओ ब्रह्मणे⁶ नमः ॥ निर्गुण व्यापक नित्य शिव पर[म]कारण(णम्)। भावग्राह्य पर द्यो(ज्यो)तिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रह्मणे⁷ नमः ॥⁸ [१॥*] शुद्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति
- 2 या मुनय ॥ (1) मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी सू[क्ष्मा]पि सा जयति ॥⁹ [२॥*] क्षीरो-दधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविर्ब(र्ब)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दुरेषः ।
- 3 अस्मादजायत बु(बु)धः स किल क्षितीशमाद्य(द्य) पुरुषसमाप तनूजर[त्त] (लम्) ॥¹⁰ [३॥*] इति महति सुधामयूष(ख)वशे नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः ॥ (1)
- 4 अलभत भरतस्स चक्रवर्त्ती तृ(त्रि)भुवनभूषण(ण)भूयमेकमेव ॥¹¹ [४॥*] अत्रे(त्रो)दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीनामीश क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवर्त्ती [1] य-
- 5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजपंजरमध्यवर्त्ती काराग्र(गृ)हे धृत इव प्रसभ दशास्य ॥¹² [५॥*] वैरिध्वान्तभिद-सहस्रकरता(तो) भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतवा(बा)हुव(ब)-
- 6 न्धविधुरो नक्तचरग्रास(म)णी [1*] हि (हे)लोल्लासितवा(बा)हुदण्डविहितः श्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धति¹³ प्राग्विक्रान्तममू(म)न्यत स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमं (मम्)¹⁴ ॥ [६॥*] यज्ञाग्नि-

¹ Tibetan tradition does not give a certain date for Atiśa's departure to Nepal. If the event occurred before 1040 A.C., Karna may have invaded Magadha during his father's lifetime.

² *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p. 97

³ *I H Q*, Vol XXII, pp. 309 f

⁴ From the lithograph accompanying Dr. Hultsch's article in *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, pp. 139 ff

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read ब्रह्मणे

⁷ Read सद्ब्रह्मणे

⁸ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

⁹ Metre: *Āryā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*

¹¹ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*

¹² Metre: *Vasantatilakā*

¹³ Read -विहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद्धति

¹⁴ Read स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in the British Museum plate (No. 54, 1 6) Metre: *Śārdūlavakrīḍita*.

- 7 धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्व(न्व)ह्वो नरेन्द्रा । राज्ये न येषा विरराम वृष्टिर्व्विपक्ष-
नारीनयनान्वु(म्बु)वाहै ॥¹[७॥*] व(ब)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुण. परि-
- 8 भूतपाण्यो(ण्डयो) लाटेशलुण्डनपटुज्जितगुर्जरेन्द्र । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटान्वितपादपीठस्तेषु
क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदेव ॥²[८॥*] आसीद्यद्वि-
- 9 जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिद्धर³शिर सिद्धरपूला (रा) रुण त्वङ्गत्तु-
(त्तु)ङ्गत्तु (त) रङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभू-
- 10 दाम्भोनिधि⁴ पूण्णो वैरिकठोरकचदलनास्वासिद्धव्वपूरैरिव⁵ ॥⁶[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याण(ल)-
लनाभुजङ्गो नि शेषवा(घा)त्रीधरणाय शेष । तत स
- 11 जज्ञे जगदैकवद्यो⁷ चेदीन्द्रचद्रो(न्द्रो) युवराजदेव ॥⁸[१०॥*] यौवनेन तनौ यस्य प्रतापेनारि-
म(मू)र्द्धसु । कुलाद्रिकु[ञ्जे]ष्वरिभिस्त्रि(स्त्रि)भिस्तुल्य पद ।⁹
- 12 दधे ॥¹⁰[११॥*] भूभारक्षमधूकश्रुति¹¹प्रणयिनीमालव्य(व)मानस्तनु ।¹² कुर्व्वाण समरेपि
नाकपथगानागच्छतो विद्विषा(ष) । विख्याता भुवि भूरिभार्गर्ग(ग)-
- 13 मनामुच्चैर्दध्वाहिनी य साक्षात्परमेश्वर समभवत्सम्यक्शिवााराधनात् ॥¹³[१२॥*] दिक्प-
र्यन्तनिखान(त)गूपनिचय क्षमापालचूडामणोस्त-
- 14 स्मादद्भुतविक्रम क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् । चक्रे यद्विजयप्रयाणपणव स्व[र्गा]ङ्गनास-
[ङ्ग*]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितक्षोणीप-
- 15 तीना भूत(शम्)¹⁴ ॥[१३॥*] आसा(शा)जये समदसिधुरगधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकरा ककुभा
करीन्द्रा । पू(फू)त्कारमार्त्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य चक्रु
- 16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्निराशा ॥¹⁵[१४॥*] यस्मिन्सुखैकप्रभवे प्रजाना तेजोनिधौ चेतसि वर्त्तमाने ।
तत्त्वे(त्त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगमाजा निता-
- 17 न्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीना¹⁶ ॥¹⁷[१५॥*] आक्रामदूर्ध्व(र्ध्व) व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डसषट्स्फुटित यश ।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारता गत(तम्) ॥¹⁸[१६॥*] कारापजरव(व)द्वकी-
- 18 रनृपतिदी(दी)प्तोज्जलक्ष्मीचयै¹⁹ तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत् । येनाकारि
करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना

¹ Metre *Upajāti*

² Metre *Vasantatilakā*

³ Read —वेदोदयात्पूज्जत्सैनिकगन्धसिधुर— as in the British Museum plate (No 54, l 9)

⁴ Read —दम्भोनिधि

⁵ Read —कठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव as in the Rewa stone inscription (No 51, l 7) and the British Museum plate (No 54, ll 9-10)

⁶ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīdita*

⁷ Read जगदेक—वद्यश्चेदीन्द्र—

⁸ Metre *Upajāti*

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁰ Metre *Anushtubh*.

¹¹ Read —इक्षुति—

¹² This *danda* is superfluous

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse *Sārdūlavikrīdita*

¹⁴ The Rewa stone inscription and the British Museum plate read रसन्

¹⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁶ Hultzsch proposes to read प्रलीना, but as the impersonal construction is intended here, प्रलीनम् is required

¹⁷ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁸ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁹ Read —चयैस्तस्मा—

२ यो मुनयः ॥ सा कमलापलंजनो वीहीनो आपि सा जयति को न यवि रप
 ४ अस्मादजायत दुवः सा कोलजिगीरा माघ पुत्र न वसे माप त न ज र्वा ॥ इति म
 ६ अलतततन तस्मै वक्र वक्रिष्टु व न मू षणत्र पामकाप्रवा अत्र दितादि त
 ८ स्य प्रवण्डु पंजन मवा वती को ग मू ४ त र व प स सं द रा स्या खि नि स
 १० ववि पुमा न कं व म शा सणा हिला त्रा सित रा द द पा वि हितः श्री के व र लो छ नि
 १२ दामिः पी ग म षि त द्रा स म्मा द न र व ह म्बा न न द्यो न ग षि ना य षो वि न स म ट
 १४ मूत पाण्या ला ए श लु ड न प ड् द्वि त उ क्ति नि द्र ग का म्मो ग वी न मु कु टा डे त पा
 १६ ऊ य प्र या ण ज न त व्या पा म षा षो रा मा न्म ज न सौ नि क गा त सि दू ग षि न
 १८ दामो नि विः प्रा सी वि नि का ठ न कं व र ल न ष्च सि द्ध य प्र नि न वा सा ह्यि वि
 २० जा ह ड ग षि क रं या षि दी ड र डो जु व ग ड षि व ॥ आ वा न न ता नो य सा प त
 २२ य वि ॥ सा न क म ४ क र्क ति प्र ण षि नी मा ल य मा न स नुं क षी ण स म ना प
 २४ म ना मु च्छि र्द व द्रा हि त्री यः सा दा य न प्र ख न स म त व स म्म को रि वा गा व
 २६ म्मा द्भु त वि क र्म क म र स म्म का क र ना ना न र ता व क्ति पं दि ज य प्र या ण प
 २८ ती ना नु सा ॥ आ सा ज षि स म द सि दू ग रं वा सा षो सा षा द य त क माः क
 ३० का षा ल म दू य ध नि ॥ नि ना सा ॥ य स्मि न्म र्ख क प्र ता व प्र ष्णो ना ता जा नि
 ३२ स म त स म्म सा प्र लो ना ना क म द्भ र्द व द्रा ३ स द्भ र्द म्मा र त म रा ॥ मु न
 ३४ ग र पा नि र्दो प्रो द्भु त द्भो व षिः त म्मा कु त ल त न म जि न सि को गा जे रा द व
 ३६ नि र्जि ण क ल म व वि स मि ज प स म्म त्व का षा लु ड ॥ अ नु ग डे नि ता ल
 ३८ न द पुः ॥ अ लि म ना न व मा र्द ज न व न दि रा ति प त स क ल त क स क र
 ४० य म्मा ॥ का म्म द्भ प्र सा म त्र प्र ता प प स गा दि बा य म्मा म्मा ण स्या सा ष
 ४२ म्मा ॥ व मा र यः श य सा द्या द्या प द्या व ड् द्वि ती ॥ स्या दी च त व ना त
 ४४ व नि ॥ पा ग म्म नि ना य सा वि पु त र र वा र्द रो नि का ने वि
 ४६ नो प्र म म्म र्मि क र्क री का न पा उ क्ति त प त्रा षि त म म्मा र्द य

मको गणा सावग्राह्यमद्यात्तास्तस्मिन्नुत्तमो नमः शुद्धिदयं कवे वल्लीमिव नोपयात्र
उयता की गय वि रं पमिमयमुवा निस्तमा वि वन्त वन वनूषण मि दुनधन
माप तत्र जं नवां इति मही तसु समयूष वरा नृ पाति न जं च त मोक्ति काय पा नः ॥
का प्रवा ज्ञा विता दित कुलि जं पा ती प ती न मो रः क मा द ज नि हित य व क त व ती य
पु म स प रा स भा वि नि क्ष त्र वि रः सह स क न ता प्र पा ल प्र द मा णि मि दं च त वा दू व
वो हतः श्री कं ठ रितो ह तिः प्रा धि का न म म न त स ध मा णि मि दं ज्ञा ता प मा णि मि दं
गो ष्ठा य पां वि न न म ट मि दं पा द मा ग न य ना ड वा दि ता व न त त द न गु णा प नि
ता मी न वी न मु कु टा रित पा द या ठ स पु क्ता द ज नि ले ज्ञा प ना ज द य मा ज्ञा मी प चि
से नि क गा त्र मि दं ग गि नः मि दं ग पु ता क णा त डं मु दं तु ग न ता डं न म हा द्या णा ह
द य प्र नि न वा सा हित्य वि चा ण ल न तु ज्ञो निः ना ष वा त्री य ग णा या स धः त त स
ता वा न न ता य स प ता ष ना न म र्द सा कु ला द क ने मु नि ति वि मि दं लो प द
न स नुं कु षी ण स म ना प द क प ष गा ना ग क ता वि धि सा वि र्या ता स वि त नि मा त्री
न त व स म को री दा ग व ना ता दि को म त नि र्या न य ष नि व यः ज्ञा णा ल व ज्ञा णा ह
वा क्ता पं दि ज य प्र चा णा ण वः स त्री द ना स भा न सै म ज ल त र्प का य म हा न द्या णा ह
या स्या द द य त क साः क कु लो क ली द्याः प्र का न मा तं मि व र व र ग ना य क मा य क
न प ता व प्र ज्ञा ता ता ज्ञा नि वि ता स व द्री मा न ता वि प न मि नि वे चा णा ता ज्ञा नि ता
द्व ष्ट स्फु टि त म रा म नो पा ष्ट दु न क्ता ता ग या क्ता न ता म ता का ना प ज न व द की
मी ज न सि को गा जे या द तो स व ता य ता का नि क नी द्र कु म्भ द ले न व्या पा य ता स त्र ना
ज ना ज्ञे य ण द्यो ता ता ल वि र्या तं य दि ह द र्प शः ल आ स र द व ना वि तं रि क मा दा प
न त स क ल्प त क स कः नि धु य राः कु ल द क न मा क नः स त म स त स क ल्प न ना वि
गो न ग णो मु सा सा आ णा य सा म ज तु ग सा न द्या व क्त व ता ना य क आ डा न ह
ते ती सा द्दी च त व ना ता ग र्द कु ड ग क ग र ता ग न द ता मु डा य स ह ता द त व सु
नि क न वि वि ता ना दि गु णी कृत म पि ता उ द्द णु ता डा य वि मि खित
म श्र ना ह य स प या ण पु त ना य ज्ञा ना मा ना ह नो ष वि प द गो व य स

दिनेपातदि ॥ कुरुमीजामत ॥ प्रान्तः सान्तव नृषिनीकभिक मयात्वा
 वरु कदसाद्युमनिः ॥ यकु नपातशुभ्रु तकादि नमुयापा नेमत प्रनृत्पतावता ॥ २६
 मभेनोम्यातकुवा ता समितिस्तु गतमदतहसादि संज्ञापापा ॥ २७
 सुमभतावकीर्तिः संग्रामगडासुवेत्तमित्ता पुनस्तानावीनसौवा न वा नंतन नृत्तकवं ॥ २८
 मयादेवाविदिनाप्रागुहवनि वनेसाई वचुतसाट हस्त पदराका राट हस्तापतात वा ॥ २९
 तापापान वचनुगारामकेगुरुताम्य प्राकृता राटुषु ॥ यसाधि वृद्ध वीकिताविकमेल ॥ ३०
 पप नतसु नष्टाषाणपतनिर्मितमाः पुनपरिनिता वृत्तापु मभिनेक य सगुभा ॥ ३१
 सार्कल र पातधेतवस्यामो यसाधिकातिठनसास न ता पु पाट्टी डी कीयेमाग निवि ॥ ३२
 मत्या कृष्योपषप नमसदान कमलनाजाविनाड पनमेरुगरीवा माद वपाय यु ॥ ३३
 मपन ममाहस्वगे नृकोलिजाव पतिर्यी मत्कसीद वनिजुडा पादि तासु पतिगडप ॥ ३४
 रोली ॥ को जयस्तुवा गरी मत्कसीतीषी विद्यारातमहादवी महानाड पुत्राससम ॥ ३५
 नाण कामल प्रनीहा नमहादु पटीलका महानाड गानिका महानाड मन्त्रामहा पु ॥ ३६
 यथाहान निपुत्रे राजपुत्रा यथा प्रातच्छानकोरमप तलाया यथ महानागानि ॥ ३७
 नितमजापयान विदिनमस्तु नवना यथागामाय मस्यासत्यतु नोपाट विमुदः सजल ॥ ३८
 स्वसीमीपरी तसुतनटण्णानि गा वरपयि त्रगा विदसी कोण्डु न गोत्रायादिनसा या ॥ ३९
 सुपायाये सीत्त्रे पात्रा यथा वसाधक माल्य पुत्राय पंडितरी लात्रिध म्भिले वाहमारा ॥ ४०
 दे नणे स प्रमसंव सप्रकात्रेक मासि संकृ प र्ककारिणी पो म्भाम्भानि खो पुत्राधि ॥ ४१
 मह सोमन अर्घना विगंगा यासावा न गवत्रे शिव स दान केस म्भार्य मा नापित्रा ना ॥ ४२
 त्ररासनावन प्रदत्तहति मत्वायवा यय माननाग सा गदि नणादिस मस्त नाज प्रा ॥ ४३
 नतद पवि की र्ष घाना कनापि न गनृयामि ता क ॥ स वत्रि वात्र पुण्यारलाका ॥ ४४
 वात राम सद्रः सोमानो धेव मी सतु नृपाणां कालकालपाल नीया सवद्विगा व ॥ ४५
 सा मे दास्त्रमिस्त्र सानसा तया फले ॥ सभिंयः प्रातेश ज्ञानियेखत्र मि प्र बक ता ॥ ४६
 धेव धेव स ह साणि स्व ॥ मनिष्ठित्तमिदः ॥ ब्राह्मता वानु मन्त्रा वना न्ना वन नाका वा ॥ ४७
 तीतस्याप क नला ग्राह सास नं न वाते क्राम ता सुवर्ष म्भे गामकास्त्राम नपा ॥ ४८
 लिखितवाचद क रणि कर्षी स धी नयेना डकीर्षितं व विद्या नद ना मद्र ल म्भस्वरी ना

- 19 निर्जित्योत्कलमवधिसीम्नि जयस्तम्भ¹ स्वकीयो भुजः ॥² [१७॥*] अगुणज्ञेति लोलेति ख्यातं
यदिह दुर्यश । लक्ष्मास्तदधुना³ धौत दिव्यमादाय—
20 तद्वपु ॥⁴ [१८॥*] अतिमनोरथमर्थिजने धन दिशति यत्तत्स⁵ कल्पतरुस्तरु । रिपुयश कुसुदाकर⁶—
भास्कर सुतमसूत स कर्णनराधि—
21 पम् ॥⁷ [१९॥*] आक्रान्तदृष्टसामन्तप्रतापप्रसरादिव । चरणौ रणशौण्डस्य सोष्माणौ यस्य
रेजतु ॥⁸ [२०॥*] स्फुरद्भ्रूया वज्रचक्राभ्यामेक [व्या]जे[न] ह—
22 स्तयो । व(ब)भार य श्रियं सा[क्षा]दिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविज(जृ)भिनी(णीम्) ॥ [२१॥*] सूद्धोद्धृत⁹—
धराभारदिवकुजरकराय[तौ] । आनद्यता¹⁰ भुजौ यस्य हेलोद्धृत¹¹वसु—
23 न्धरौ ॥ [२२॥*] त्याग[व्य]सन्नितो यस्य विपुल शखयोर्द्वय(यम्) । निधान विधिना मन्ये
द्विगुणीकृतमर्पित(तम्) ॥ [२३॥*] उद्दण्डसुण्डाग्रविमि[स्त्रि]ते—
24 न¹² पू(फू)त्कारचूर्णीकृतशीकरेण । मुक्तातपत्रायितमम्ब(म्ब)राद्धे यस्य प्रयाणे पृतनागजा-
नाम् ॥¹³ [२४॥*] नाह नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवस—

Second Plate

- 25 तिर्न [त्य]क्तपर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिर्दिनपतेर्द्विक्रमाक्रामत¹⁴ ॥ (1) प्रान्त श्रान्त-¹⁵
वरुथिनीकरिकरास्फाला—
26 वहेलोल्लासितकल्लोलावलिर्वाहु¹⁶च(द) ण्डमुदधिश्चक्रद सान्द्रस्वनै ॥¹⁷ [२५॥*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रुश्रुत¹⁸रुधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रनृत्यतवेता—
27 लोत्ताल¹⁹तालारवभरितककु[प्व]क्रपर्यान्तसीम्नि²⁰ । अन्योन्यालक्ष²¹वाचा समिति सु(स)रभसं
दत्तहस्तादिसंज्ञाव्यापारेणामराणा वररम—
28 णविधि कुप्त²²मासीन्मुहूर्त (र्तम्) ॥²³ [२६॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनस्सुमनोवकीर्ण²⁴ सग्रामरङ्गभुवि
भूमिभृता पुरस्तात(त्) । वीरस्य वीरचरित ननूवे(ते) कव(ब)—

¹ Read —त्कलमवधिसीम्नि विजयस्तम्भ as in the Rewa stone inscription

² Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

³ Read लक्ष्म्या तदधुना

⁴ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁵ Read यत्र स

⁶ Read रिपुयश कुमुदाकर—

⁷ Metre *Drutavilambita*

⁸ Metre of this and the following three verses *Anushtubh*

⁹ Read सूद्धोद्धृत—

¹⁰ Hultzsch proposes to read आनद्येता, but the sense requires a form like आनद्यता

¹¹ Read हेलोद्धृत—

¹² Read —शुण्डाग्रविनि सूतेन

¹³ Metre *Indravagā*

¹⁴ Read चेदिनपतेर्द्विक्रमाक्रामत .

¹⁵ Read प्रान्तश्रान्त—

¹⁶ Read —स्फालावहेलोल्लासितकल्लोलावलिर्वाहु—

¹⁷ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁸ Read —स्रुत—. The *visarga* after शत्रु is struck out.

¹⁹ Read —प्रनृत्यद्वेतालोत्ताल—

²⁰ Read —पर्यन्त—

²¹ Read अन्योन्यालक्ष—.

²² Read कष्टमासी— as in the Rewa stone inscription (No. 51, below), verse 20.

²³ Metre *Sragdharā*.

²⁴ The engraver at first incised —स्सुमानो, but afterwards cancelled the second vertical stroke of मा.
Read —स्सुमनोवकीर्णसग्राम—

- 29 धैर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥¹ [२७॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना प्रागु(ग्र)ह्यचारि-
व्रत² सार्द्धं व(व)न्धुतया गृहस्थपदवी कारागृहस्थापनात् [1*] वा—
30 नप्रस्थपद [व]नाश्रयवशात्(द्) भैक्षाच्च ति(भि)क्षो स्थिति ।³ येनेव⁴ चतुराश्रमेकगुक्ता⁵
स्पष्टा कृता शत्रुषु ॥⁶ [२८॥*] यस्यार्थिब्रजवाछिताधिकफल—
31 प्राप्यै निसन्य भू⁷ प्राकप्रत्यग्रधरणीधरान्तरस्य परतस्फुरद्बोषणा⁸ । एते⁹ निर्मितमा पुरा
परिनिते ब्रह्माण्डे अस्मिन्¹⁰ कथ(थ) सम्मास्य—
32 न्ति यशान्ति चदिदिनपतेराकुलो¹¹ भून्चिर(रम्) ॥¹² [२९॥*] कि तस्य कर्णनृपतेर्व्व(र्व्व)त
वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्ब्रपट्टे । उत्कीर्णमाणनिवि(वि)—
33 डाक्षरचक्रवालवचालितैर्व्व(र्व्व)धिरभावामियाज(य) विश्वं(श्वम्) ॥¹³ [३०॥*] छ॥ स
प(ए)ष परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु¹⁴—
34 ध्यात् ।¹⁵ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरपतित्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति श्रीमत्कर्णदेव¹⁶
निजगुर्जोपार्जितास्व(श्व)पतिगजप—
35 तिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति¹⁷ श्रीमत्कर्णदेव कुशली ॥छ॥ जयस्कन्धावार¹⁸ श्रीमत्कर्णतीर्थाधि-
वासिते महादेवी महाराजपुत्रो महाम—
36 न्त्री महासान्धिविग्रहिको महामात्यो महाधर्म्मोधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो महाक्षपटलिको महा-
भाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र—
37 मत्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिक¹⁹ एतानन्यांश्च(श्चा)कीर्त्तितान(न्) यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरुषा-
(षा)न्यथा प्रतिस्थान²⁰ कोशम्बपत्तलाय²¹॥ चन्दपहाग्राम—
38 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथार्ह मानयति बोधयति²² समाजा(जा)पयति [1*] विदितमस्तु
भवता यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराघाटविशुद्ध सजल—
39 स्थल साम्ब्र²³मधूक[*] सगर्तोषर सलोहलवणाकर स्वसीर्मा(मा)पर्यन्त[*] सवनत्णयूति-
गोचरपर्यन्त ।²⁴ विदभी(भो)कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब(म्ब)—

¹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

² The Rewa stone inscription (No 45, below) has द्वाग्र(ग्र)ह्यचारिव्रत

³ Read स्थिति The following *danda* is superfluous

⁴ Read येनैव

⁵ Read चतुराश्रमेकगुक्ता

⁶ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁷ Read निगम्यात्मभू

⁸ Hultzsch proposed to emend this as —धरणीधरान्तरसापारात्, but the correct reading is प्राकप्रत्यग्रधरणीधरान्तरचरस्फुरद्बोषणा See the Rewa stone inscription (No 51, below), verse 31.

⁹ Read एतन्

¹⁰ Read परिमित ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्

¹¹ Read यशान्ति चेदिदिनपतेरित्याकुलो—

¹² Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹³ Metre *Vasantatilakā* This verse with a slight change occurs in the Chandrāvati plates dated V 1050 of the Gāhadavāla Chandradēva, *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIV, p 195.

¹⁴ There is a vertical dash at the end of ll 33, 36, 39, 43 and 47.

¹⁵ This *danda* is superfluous

¹⁶ The *aksbaras* श्रीमत्कर्णदेव are superfluous here

¹⁷ Read —राजत्रयाधित्य

¹⁸ Read जयस्कन्धावारे

¹⁹ Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

²⁰ Read यथास्थान

²¹ Read कौशाम्बीपत्तलाया The following *dandas* are superfluous.

²² Read बोधयति.

²³ Read साम्ब्र—

²⁴ Read —पर्यन्तो The following *danda* is superfluous

- 40 रीषयौवनास्पत्रि प्रवराय¹ वाजसनेयसा (शा) खिने उपाध्यायसीलूपौत्राय आवसथिकमातृहू-
पुत्राय पण्डितश्रीशान्तिस्मर्म्णे² ब्रा (ब्रा) ह्याणाय
- 41 ग्रामोय एतेषा प (ए) व कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसवत्सरे कार्तिके मासि सु (शु) -
वलपक्षकार्तिकीपौर्णमास्या तिथौ गुरुदि-
- 42 ने एव सवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमत अर्घतीर्थे³ गगाया स्नात्वा भगवन्त शिव-
भट्टारक समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-
- 43 तमनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रावर्कक्षितिपर्यन्त शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोग-
हिरण्यादिसमस्तराजप्र-
- 44 त्यादाया एतस्याज्ञाश्रवणविधेयीभूय दातव्या । तदपचिकीर्षया न केनापि न⁴ गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥
भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोका ।
- 45 सव्वनितान्भाविन. पार्थिवेन्द्रान⁵ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र [1*] सामान्यो[य] धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)-
पाणा काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि ॥⁶ [३१॥*] व(ब)-
- 46 हृभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजति(भि) सगरादिभि । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥⁷
[३२॥*] भूमि य प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमि प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति ।
- 47 उभौ तौ पुण्यत्र(क) मणौ नियत स्वर्गगतिनौ⁸ ॥ [३३॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति
भूमिद । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-
- 48 सेत(त्) ॥ [३४॥*] अस्मिन्वसे(शे) द्विजघ्नोपि यश्चान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत(त्) । तस्यापि
करलग्नोह शासन न व्यतिक्रमेत(त्) ॥ [३५॥*] सुवर्णमेक गामेका भूमेरप्ये-
- 49 कमङ्गुल(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहू(भू)तसप्लव(वम्) ॥ [३६॥*] लिखित
चेद करणिकष्पी(श्री)सर्वानन्देन । उत्कीर्णित⁹ च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गल महाश्री ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Ōm! Adoration to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (*of the universe*), (*and*) supreme light conceivable by the mind!

(V 2) Glorious is that Brāhmī,¹⁰ which sages plant like a creeper in the pure field of their heart, and which, though subtle, bears the great fruit of final emancipation

(V 3) From the milk-ocean there came out this moon, the store of immeasurable nectar, (*who is*) an ornament of Śiva. From him was born **Budha**. He, they say, obtained a jewel-like son, (*namely*) the primeval king **Purūravas**.

(V. 4) In that great family of the nectar-rayed (moon), there was born a king

¹ Read -यौवनास्वत्रिप्रवराय

² Read -शर्मणे

³ Read श्रीमदर्घतीर्थे

⁴ This word is superfluous The Banaras plates (No 48, 1 43) read तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न गन्तव्यम् ।

⁵ Read पार्थिवेन्द्रान्

⁶ Metre *Śālmī*

⁷ Metre of this and all the following verses *Anushtubh*

⁸ Read स्वर्गगामिनौ

⁹ Read उत्कीर्ण

¹⁰ I e, the knowledge of Brahman, the ultimate reality

who appeared (*bright*) like a pearl. He, the universal sovereign **Bharata**, obtained (*the distinction of*) being¹ the sole ornament of the three worlds.

(V 5) In this very illustrious family of kings there was born, in course of time, the lord **Haihaya**, the universal sovereign, being caught in the midst of whose cage-like mighty arms, the ten-faced (*Rāvana*) was, as it were, confined in a prison.

(V. 6) Finding himself (*quite*) helpless in the bondage of the marvellous arms of (*that*) crest-jewel of kings (*i e*, Haihaya), who being thousand-armed routed his enemies even as the thousand-rayed (sun) dispels darkness, the leader of demons (*i e*, *Rāvana*), who had lifted up the mountain of Śrīkantha (Kailasa) with his sportfully waved arms, himself thought that his previous valiant deed was like a dream and an illusion.

(V 7) From him were descended many kings who pleased Indra with the smoke of their sacrificial fires, in whose kingdom there never ceased showers from the clouds which were the eyes of their enemies' wives.

(V 8) Among them was born in course of time **Lakshmaṇarājadēva (II)** who was clever in routing the king of **Baṅgāla**; who defeated the **Pāṇḍya** (king), who was adept in plundering the king of **Lāṭa**; who vanquished the **Gurjara** king, and whose footstool was honoured by the crowns of the heroes of **Kāśmīra**.

(V 9) The ocean, which became red, being flooded with (*the streams of*) vermillion from the heads of the huge scent-elephants in (*his*) army through exertion caused by his victorious marches, and which dashed against huge mountains with its dancing high waves, appeared to be filled as it were with the flooding streams of blood from the cut-off stiff necks of his enemies.

(V 10) From him was born that **Yuvarājadēva (II)**, the moon-like lord of **Chēdi**, the sole object of veneration to the (*whole*) world, who was fond of literature as a lover is of his beloved, and who, like the serpent Śeṣha, supported the whole world.

(V 11) Three things found a footing simultaneously, (*viz*) youth in his body, (*his*) valour on the heads of (*his*) enemies, and (*his*) enemies in the thickets on the principal mountains.²

(V 12) Through his devotion to Śiva he became actually an Emperor (or, Śiva incarnate), having acquired knowledge suitable for bearing the burden of (*i e*, governing) the earth, being fond of the Vēdas (*as Śiva is possessed of a body which is fond of serpents capable of bearing the burden of the earth*), sending (*like Śiva*) his adversaries along the path of heaven, and leading his powerful army, famous in the world, which marched by several routes (*as Śiva bears on high the river Gangā flowing in several streams*).

(V 13) From that crest-jewel of kings, there was (*born*) in course of time, (*a king*) named **Kōkalla (II)**, possessed of marvellous prowess, who planted a number of sacrificial posts in the farthest regions, and the drum, (*beaten*) at whose victorious march, served exceedingly well as an auspicious musical instrument at the commencement of the union of hostile kings with celestial damsels.

(V 14) On the occasion of his conquest of the quarters, the lordly elephants (*stationed*) in the quarters, which raised their long trunks in rage on (*smelling*) the fragrance of his rutting elephants, despaired (*of defeating them*), (*and*) gave out, as it were, a distressing cry to the lord of celestial beings (*i e*, of Indra) through the hum of bees (*hovering*) over their temples.

¹ For the form *bhāya* used in the sense of *bhāva*, see Pāṇini, III, 1, 107.

² *I e*, when he attained youth, his power was felt by his enemies, who leaving their kingdoms sought shelter in the thickets on mountains.

(V. 15) While he, who was a store of valour and the sole source of (*their*) happiness, dwelt in the mind of (*his*) subjects, their inward distress completely disappeared even as the ignorance of the *yōgins* does when the highest principle (Brahman), which is the repository of lustre and the unique source of bliss, shines in their minds

(V. 16) His glory, rising high and breaking (*to pieces*) owing to its collision with (*the upper shell of*) Brahmā's egg, has, I fancy, taken the forms of the moon, constellations, stars and so forth

(V. 17) From him was (*born*) **Gāṅgēyadēva**, who threw into the cage of a prison the king of **Kīra**,¹ who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of (*the king of*) **Aṅga** who was fond of defeating (*the king of*) **Kuntala** in a (*clever*) manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of splitting open the temples of lordly elephants, made his (*own*) arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the (*eastern*) ocean, after vanquishing (*the king of*) **Utkala**.

(V. 18) By resorting to his divine person the goddess of fortune has now got rid of the infamy that she does not appreciate merit and is fickle

(V. 19) Where he bestowed more wealth on suppliants than they desired, the wish-fulfilling tree was (*no better than*) an ordinary tree² He, who was to the enemies' fame what the sun is to an assemblage of night-lotuses,³ begat the king **Karṇa**.

(V. 20) The feet of him (*i e.*, Karna) who was skilled in war, appeared lovely, being warm as if because they had trampled over the spreading valour⁴ of the neighbouring haughty princes

(V. 21) Under the sole guise of (*the symbols of*) the thunderbolt and the discus on his hands, he bore (*with himself*) the goddess of fortune herself, who (*usually*) shines with Indra and Upēndra

(V. 22) His arms, which were long like the trunks of the elephants of the quarters, which have lifted up the earth with their heads, were delighted to rescue the earth with ease

(V. 23) The two large (*symbols of*) conches on (*his*) hands were, I imagine, the treasure (*of Kubēra*) which the Creator offered after doubling⁵ to him who was intently attached to charity

(V. 24) At his march, the spray of water, which issued from the tips of the formidable trunks of the elephants in (*his army*) and which was turned to particles by their puffing, appeared like an umbrella in the sky

(V. 25) 'I do not harbour, O Lord ! the families of (*your*) enemies, nor have I transgressed the past limits⁶—In order as it were, to say this to the King of Chēdi, who was over-running the circuit of regions, the ocean roared in a deep sound, throwing about his arms of waves to scoff at the movements of the trunks of elephants in the army which, being fatigued, (*had encamped*) in its vicinity.

(V. 26) In his war, when the farthest confines of the circuit of regions were filled with the noise of the loud clapping of the goblins who were dancing in intoxication caused by drinking the liquor-like blood flowing from (*the bodies of his*) enemies wounded by his

¹ There is a play on the word *kīra*, meaning (i) a country of that name and (ii) a parrot. The king was thrown into prison as a parrot is caged

² For the celestial tree yielded only what was desired by the suppliants

³ *I e.*, the enemies' fame contracted like night-lotuses during day-time

⁴ There is a play on the word *pratāpa* which means (i) valour and (ii) heat

⁵ *Śaṅkha* is one of the treasures of Kubēra. As Karna had the symbol of *śaṅkha* (conch) on both the hands, the poet imagines that he had double the treasure of Kubēra

⁶ This is supposed to be said by the ocean.

arrows, the ceremony of choosing (*their*) husbands in an assembly was, for a short time, performed with difficulty by the immortal (*i e*, celestial) damsels, who could not hear one another's words, by means of the hasty signs such as those of their hands

(V. 27) On the stage of battle-field which was strewn with flowers scattered by the gods who were stupefied with joy, the heroic deeds of the valiant (*Karna*), whose arms were merciless in forcibly dragging the (*enemy's*) fortune, were represented in dancing by headless trunks in the presence of kings

(V. 28) He thus showed himself to be a unique teacher of the four *āśramas* to his enemies,—who were, first, taught the vow of the *Brahmacharin*¹ by being separated from (*their*) wives, (*then*) the order of the house-holder by being imprisoned together with their kinsmen, (*then*) that of the forest-dwelling hermit by (*being forced to seek*) shelter in the woods, and that of the religious mendicant by (*being made to live on*) alms

(V. 29) Having heard the loud proclamations, resounding in the land extending from the eastern to the western mountain, that the hosts of suppliants (*coming*) to him would obtain gifts exceeding their desires, the self-existent (*Brahmā*) was long perplexed with the thought, 'Alas ! this *brahmānda* has already been created so limited in expanse ! How will the glory of the King of Chēdi be contained in it ?'

(V. 30) What can we describe of that king *Karna* by whose copper-charters, (*given*) to Brāhmanas,—which made a loud noise as multitudes of closely packed letters were being incised on them,—the (*whole*) universe is deafened

(Line 33) This *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Karnadēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of *Trikaliṅga*,—who has by his arm acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*viz*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (*and*) the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmadēva*,—being in good health duly honours, informs and issues the (*following*) command at his victorious camp fixed at the famous *Karṇatīrtha*, to the following, (*viz*) the *Mahādēvi*, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmantrin*, the *Mahāsāndhvirahika*, the *Mahāmātya*, the *Mahādharmaḍhikarānika*, the *Mahāpratīhāra*, the *Mahākshapatalika*, the *Mahābhāndāgārika*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahāpramattavāra*,² the *Mahāśvasādhānika* and other unnamed officers appointed to their respective posts as well as all people residing in their respective places the village *Chandapahā* in the *pattalā*³ of *Kauśāmbī* :—

(L. 38) "Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Om*) parents and Ourselves, We, having bathed at the glorious *Arghatīrtha* here and having worshipped the divine (god) *Śiva* today, **Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika in the seventh year of administration** rendered glorious by (*us*) the illustrious *Karna*,—in the aforesaid year, month, fortnight, *tithi* and day respectively, have given as a grant, with the words 'this village is his,' this village,—with its four boundaries well-determined, inclusive of water and land, the mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with mines of iron and salt, extending to its boundaries and together with woods, meadows and pasture-lands, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure,—to the Brāhmana the illustrious *Pandita Śāntīśarma*, the son of *Āvasathika Mālhu* and grandson of the *Upādhyāya* *Silū*, of the *Vājasaneyā śākhā*, the *Vīdarbhī-Kaundinya gōtra*⁴ and the three *pravaras* *Āngirasa*, *Ambarīsha*, and *Yauvanāśva* Knowing this

¹ *Viz*, *celibacy* Compare *Manuśruti*, II, 177

² This is a technical official title meaning probably 'the Chief Commander of the elephant force' Compare *Aśvavāra*, a horseman

³ *Pattalā* is a territorial division corresponding to the modern *taluk*

⁴ The sage *Vīdarbhī-Kaundinya* is mentioned in *Br Up* II, 63, and IV, 6, 3

and submitting to him by listening to his commands, you should pay all royal dues such as *bhāga*, *bhōga*, gold and others to him as you paid them (*to us in the past*). None should trespass with a view to harm him” In this matter there occur the (*following*) holy verses:—

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(L 49) This has been written by the *Karanika*, the illustrious *Sarvānanda* and engraved by *Vidyānanda*. (*May there be*) bliss and good fortune!

NO. 51, PLATE XLI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 800

THIS inscription was discovered by Dr N P Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, at Rewa, the chief town of Vindhya Pradesh in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewa. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the *Zenānā Mahāl* of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. The inscription was edited by me for the first time in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXIV, pp. 101 ff. It is edited here from two excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 7' 2" broad and 3' 1½" high. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Śiva and seems to have been brought over to Rewa from somewhere else¹. The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 23-31, in which, in some places, only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the *mātrās*, the *anusvāra*, the sign for the superscript *r* on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of *śh* have, in many cases, disappeared. The inscription consists of thirty-one lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in line 19. Except for the obeisance to Śiva with which it seems to have opened, and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king Karna and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-two² of these occur in the Goharwa plates of that king³. In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the *Kāyastha* caste as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karna, who founded the temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted, as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have, consequently, lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A C about the caste of the *Kāyasthas*. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

¹ In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that ‘the slab might have been brought from Gurgi like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now lying in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince’s Palace’ *A R A S I* for 1935-36, p. 89.

² *Vij*, verses 4, 6-18, 20-22, 24, 26, 30-32.

³ Above, No. 50.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The size of the letters varies from .8" to 1". Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by *prishthamātrās*. *Kh* has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see *-mekhāta-*, l 8, but *n* is still without its dot, see *Vangāla-bhanga-*, l 6, *th* has developed a vertical at the top, see *luthantu* l 3 and *-pītha-*, l 6, the upper loop of *th* is closed, see *-pāthō-mashī-*, l 16, its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see *-sthalē*, l 15, the left portion of *dh* is still undeveloped, the letter is, therefore, distinguished from *v* which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top, and in the case of *dhā* by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see *-avaidhavya-vidhāna-*, l 15, the right-hand curve of *ph* is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in *-phala-*, l 3, or a little lower down as in *-āsphāl-*, l 13, the curve of *ś* is joined to its vertical on the right, see *-śāsana-*, l 18, the letter can in many cases be distinguished from *s* only by its round top. Finally, *h* shows no tail, see *mahatī*, l 4.

The language is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. Of these, thirty-three fall in the first, and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part the present inscription has as many as twenty-two verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karna, there being only slight variations in their readings here and here as pointed out in the foot-notes to the transcribed text. In two cases (verses 20 and 26), the order of verses in this inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records,¹ but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards orthography, we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases, see, e.g., *Sambhōr=jjatā-*, l 2, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *-vaddh-ō-*, l 1, *mra* is used for *mra* in *-tāmra-pattaiḥ*, l 18, similarly *n* is wrongly substituted for *anusvāra* in *-pānsu-*, l 21. In *surā-pāna*, l 11, we have the change of *n* to *n* in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Karna of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. The object of it appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by a minister of Karna, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste.² The record is dated, at the end, in the year 800 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, the cyclic year being Khara.³ The date must obviously be referred to the Kalachuri era. As an expired year, it corresponds to 1048-49 A.C. The corresponding cyclic year was Khara according to the northern luni-solar system. This is the only date in the records of the Kalachuris, in which a cyclic year has been mentioned.⁴ In the absence of the necessary details the date does not admit of further verification.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Śiva. This is followed by three *mangala-slokas* in praise of Śiva, the last of which describes his *Ardha-nārīśvara* form

¹ An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse *Bhū-bhāra-kṣama-drik, etc.*, employed to describe Yuvarājādēva II in the present plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather Yuvarājādēva I in the Banaras plates of Karna. See above, p. 242.

² His name is lost in the lower mutilated portion. He was mentioned in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (No. 77, below, l. 30), but there too, his name is lost.

³ This name of the cyclic year had escaped my notice when I edited this inscription in the *Ep. Ind.* After *Kācharasya* in l. 31 there is room for only two *akṣaras*, of which one is clearly *ra*. There is, therefore, no doubt that the intended name of the year is *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the figures of the date, one of which was somewhat doubtful.

⁴ Another instance in which a cyclic year is coupled with a Kalachuri date occurs in the Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (K. 966), No. 117, below.

After two more verses,—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech,—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karna. As in the Goharwa plates, his pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya is **Lakshmanarāja** who is evidently identical with the homonymous prince mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva I in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karna. The description of this king and of his successors down to Gāṅgēyadēva is, in the main, given as in the Goharwa plates. In connection with **Gāṅgēyadēva**, however, the draft used here slightly differs from that of the Goharwa plates. Of the four verses devoted to his description, three (vii, vv 18, 20 and 21) occur in the latter record, but one of them (v 20) is employed there to describe his son Karna. Verse 19, which is not known to occur anywhere else, describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyadēva's victory near the sea-coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor **Karna** is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (viii, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) occur in the Goharwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern Country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (i.e., Karna's) forces, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karna achieved a victory over the king of the Eastern Country, who lost his life in the encounter. This probably refers to the overthrow of the contemporary Chandra king,¹ after which Karna seems to have placed Vajravatman in charge of the newly acquired territory.

Verse 25 refers to Karna's conquests in the south. It states that 'overrunning the district of Kāñchī, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the **Kuntala** was shaken by forcible seizure and the low **Pallavas** were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman, he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing.' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's penchant for *double entendre*. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra and is taken by some scholars to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the south. In later times, poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the *Saduktikarnāmrita* of Śrīdharadāsa. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in verse 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. But Karna's conflicts with the contemporary Chōla king, who is probably meant here as the ruler of Kāñchī, and the Chālukya king of Kuntala at least are substantiated by other evidence.²

Verse 27 states that 'when Karna approached (the Gurjara country), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gurjara women living in the neighbourhood and

¹ It may be noted in this connection that verse 12 of the Bhērāghāt inscription mentions that when Karna gave full play to his heroism the Vanga trembled with the Kalinga. The contemporary Chandra king is evidently referred to as the Vanga here, for the Chandras were ruling over Vanga, or Eastern Bengal.

² See verse 21 of the Karanbēl inscription of Jayasimhadēva, below, Appendix, No 3 and VDC Canto I, sl 102-3.

colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads' This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the Gurjara king, but unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karna's relations with the contemporary Gurjara king were already strained as early as 1048-49 A.C

The second part of the record commences with verse 34, which states that the twice-born caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the *mantra-śakti* (power of good counsel) of kings who were possessed of the other two powers, *viz*, the *utsāha-śakti* (personal energy) and *prabhu-śakti* (power derived from their royal position) We next get an account of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (*mun-īndra*) named Kāchāra who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Śiva He made the town Kulāñchā an ornament of the three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (*turiya-janman*) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (*i e*, Gangā) The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage, apparently to the Śūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (*i e*, Brāhmanas), would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (*i e*, Brihaspati) The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of *Kāyastha*, since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Śūdra), from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats who gave security from fear to all beings Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion¹ Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name, again, is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king Lakshmaṇarāja as Vishnu is to the three worlds This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45) The preserved portion of verse 46 states that Sōmēśvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse seems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess From line 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information We have, consequently, lost even the names of the descendants of Sōmēśvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karna From the description of the white splendour of a temple in verse 54, that it was, as it were, due to the laughter of Śiva, who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Śiva, at which the present inscription was put up This surmise receives confirmation from the opening verses which eulogize Śiva, as well as from the statement in v 58 that the person who caused the temple of the enemy of Smara (*i e*, Śiva) to be constructed himself composed the present *prāśasti*

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Kāyastha caste Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A.C, but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries earlier² The fanciful derivation of the caste-name *Kāyastha* given

¹ His name ended in *kara* and may have been *Prabhākara*

² In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmanas and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (*Ind Ant*, Vol LXI, p 48) D R Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha I (871 A.C) and the Gurmhā plates of Jayādityādēva II (870 A.C) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste

here occurs also in the *Naishadhiyacharita* (Canto XIV, v 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchāra.

The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages, but the name of Kāchāra as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature¹ It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A C² From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, *वृ३*, v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Bīāhmaṇa caste It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in verse 36 to a Sūdra (*turīya-janman*) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste, and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (*१६*, Brāhmanas) Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription, it is now impossible to say how the Sūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmanhood which seems to have been made in verse 34³

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of Sōmēśvara This latter is eulogized in vv 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence The mention of Lakshmanarāja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Sōmēśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmanarāja as stated in the Kārītālāi stone inscription⁴ A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld For, Sōmēśvara of the Kārītālāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmana, as he is called Bhatta therein⁵ and is said to have belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra*⁶ From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms⁷ Sōmēśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha, distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmanarāja himself, but of his successor, for, from verses 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmanarāja He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Sōmēśvara of the Kārītālāi inscription

Most of the **geographical names** occurring in the present record find mention

¹ In the Ajayagadh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandēlla Bhōjavaiṃman, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāsyapa (see *J A S B*, Vol VI, p 882)

² Is *kāchāra*, like *khachāra* (*Ind Ant*, Vol XL, p 31), identical with *Khazar*?

³ It is, of course, possible to take *turīya-janmā* in the sense of a Bīāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as *turīyārtham* (*yajñārtham*) *janma yasya sah*, *१६*, one who is born for (the performance of) a sacrifice, a Brāhmana Both the *St Petersburg Lexicon* and the *Vāchaspathyam* give this sense of *turīya*, citing the *Satapatha Brāhmana*, IX, 2, 3, 11 *etc*, in support of it But such an explanation would appear forced, since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit Halāyudha gives *turīya-varna* in the sense of a Sūdra Note also *agrayanman* (first-born) which means a Brāhmana Besides, the expression *yō bhūmi-dēva-pada-pāṇṣu-pavitra-maulih* in l 21 suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of the earthly gods or Brāhmanas

⁴ See verses 7-17 of No 42, above

⁵ *Ibid*, v 9

⁶ *Ibid*, v 2

⁷ It must, however, be stated that verse 16 of the inscription mentions that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by bards in the fore-front of the battlefield

in the Goharwa plates also. Their identification has, therefore, been already discussed. **Kulāñchā**, the town founded by the sage Kāchara, is evidently identical with Kōlāñcha, Krōdāñchi or Krōdāñja met within epigraphic records ranging in date from the tenth to the twelfth century A.C., which have been discovered in the modern States of Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Bharat¹ From the statements in these records the place seems to have been a stronghold of the Brāhmanas of the Śāndilya *gōtra*, most of whom belonged to the Sāmavēda According to the tradition recorded in the Kulapañjikās of the Rādhī and Vārēndrī Brāhmanas, five ancestors of these Brāhmanas came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha at the invitation of the king Ādisūta for the performance of a Vedic sacrifice The present inscription shows that the place was also the home of the Kāyasthas In a copper-plate inscription from Assam the village is said to have been situated in Śrāvastī² Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit identifies it with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal.³

TEXT⁴

- 1 . . .⁵[*] ----- ॐ ----- ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ मण्डलीगण्ड[शै]ले [स*][वे]ल्लत्कण्ड[जान्ध]—
व्यतिकरिणि जटाजूटकूटोदयाद्रौ । देयादुष्णीपव(व) द्वोरग [म]णि[किरण*]श्रेणिशोणा सुधा—
शोल्लेखालक्ष्मीश्चिर वस्तिमिरमवलितोदीयमानेव [शम्भो] ⁶॥१॥[*] य—⁷वनमन्दरोदरच—
लत्तुत्कार-----,
2 ----- ॐ ----- ॐ ----- ॐ ----- ॐ ----- [वेल्लि]त[म्] । तच्चण्डा[नि]लनेत्रदावदहनज्वालाजटाली—
कृ[त] स्व[र्णा]द्रे[रि]व सोद[र] विजयने शम्भोज्जटामण्डलम् ⁸॥२॥[*] व्यालव्याकुलम[र्द्ध]म—
[र्द्ध]मप[र] लीलालस[ल्लोचन] ----- ॐ ----- ॐ [मर्द्धमपर] ----- ॐ ----- ॐ [*] ----- ॐ
----- ॐ ----- ॐ ----- ॐ -----,
3 ----- ॐ ----- ॐ ----- ॐ ----- ॐ ----- [र] वपु ॥३॥[*] [शु]द्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे व[ल्ली]मिव रोपयन्ति
या मुनय । मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्रा(त्रा)[ह्मी] सू[क्ष्मा]पि सा जयति⁹॥४॥[*] रसामृतसुधावाच
कवी[ता] सद्गुणाश्रया । लुठन्तु विदुषा कण्ठे [श्रवे च ?] [वि]तत यश ॥¹⁰॥[*] क्षीरो—
दधेरपरि[मे][यसु]धानिधानमाविर्व(र्व)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दु*¹¹—
4 [रेप । अस्मादजायत वु(बु)ध. स किल क्षितीश*]माद्य पुरुरवसमाप तनूजरत्नम्¹²॥६॥[*]

¹ Mr J C Ghosh mentions six such charters, *Ind Cul*, Vol II, pp 358-59 To them I add the Kahla copper-plate grant of the Kalachuri Sōdhadēva, below, No 74, I have shown that in l 44 of that inscription the correct reading is Kulāñchiya (१६, of Kulāñcha) It is note worthy that the Brāhmana Jālu, mentioned therein as hailing from Kulāñcha, belonged, like other Brāhmanas of that place, to the Śāndilya *gōtra* and the Sāmavēda

² Padmanatha Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, p 155 This Śrāvastī was probably situated in Bengal, for the family, to which the minister of Karna belonged, is called *Gauda* in verse 32 of the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I (below No 77)

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, p 103

⁴ From inked estampages

⁵ The inscription seems to have opened with ओ नम शिवाय, for the temple where it was put up was dedicated to Śiva See above, p 266

⁶ Metre *Sragdharā*

⁷ Restore यच्चडावन—

⁸ Metre of this and the following verse *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁹ Metre *Āryā*

¹⁰ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹¹ The starred *akṣharas* in rectangular brackets in lines 3-18 are supplied from the Goharwa plates of Karna (above, No 50)

¹² Metre *Vasantatilakā*

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The image shows a page from an ancient manuscript, likely a Sanskrit text. The text is written in Devanagari script, which is a form of the Indic scripts used for writing Sanskrit. The page is heavily degraded, with significant noise and artifacts, possibly due to age or scanning quality. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the page. The first line starts with "ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय" (Om namo bhagavate vasudevaaya), which is a common opening prayer in many Hindu texts. The rest of the text is too obscured by noise to transcribe accurately.

इति महति सुधामयूख[व]शे नृपतिरजायत [मौ]क्तिकायमान । अलभत भरत स चक्रवर्ती
त्रिभुवन[भूष]णभूयमेक एव¹॥[७॥*] त[त्रो]दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीना[मी]श' [क्रमा]दजनि
[हैहयचक्र][वर्ती ॥*] यस्य प्रचण्डभुजपञ्जर*]—

5 [मध्यवर्ती कारागृहे धृत इव प्र*]स[भ] दशास्य² ॥[८॥*] वेरिध्वान्तभिद सहस्रकरतो
भूपालचूडामणे[र्य]स्मादद्भुतवा(बा)हुव(ब)न्धविधुरो न[क्त]चरग्रामणी । हेलोल्लासितवा(बा)—
हुदण्डविहितश्रीकण्ठशैलोद्ध(द्ध)ति[*] प्राग्विक्रान्तममन्यत स्वय[मपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमम्]³॥
[९॥*] यज्ञा[ग्नि][धूमै परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मा*]—

6 [दभूवन्व(न्व)हवो नरेन्द्रा ॥*] रा[ज्ये न] ये[षा] विरराम वृ[ष्टिर्वि]पक्षनारीनयनाम्बु[म्बु]—
वा[है] ॥[१०॥*] व(ब)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुण परिभूतपाण्ड्या(ण्ड्यो) लाटेशलुण्टनपटुर्जित—
गुर्जरेन्द्र । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाच्चितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मण[राजदेव]⁵ ॥ [११॥*]
आसीद्यद्विजयप्रयाण[जनित][व्यायामखेदोदयोन्मज्ज*]—

7 [त्सैनिकगात्रसिन्धुरशिर*][सिन्दूरपूरा]रुण । त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतरङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभृदम्भोनिधि
पूर्णो [वै]रिकठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्सिन्धुपूरैरिव⁶॥ [१२॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गो नि शेष—
धात्रीधरणाय शेष । तत स ज[ज्ञे] जगदेकवन्द्यश्चेदी[न्द्र]च[न्द्रो] युवराजदेव⁷ ॥ [१३॥*]
[यौ]वनेन त[नौ] य[स्य प्र]—

8 [तापेनारिमृद्धसु । कुला*][द्विकुञ्जे]ष्वरिभिस्त्रिभिस्तु[ल्य] प[दं] दधे⁸ ॥ [१४॥*]
दिवपयेन्तनिखातयूपनिचय क्षमापालचूडामणि⁹स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रम क्रमवशात्कोकल्लनामाभवत् ।
चक्रे य[द्विजय]प्रयाणपणव स्वर्गाङ्गनासङ्गमारम्भे मङ्गलत्[र्य]का[र्य]महितक्षोणीपती[ना]
रसन्¹⁰ ॥[१५॥*] य[स्मिन्सुखे]कप्र]—

9 [भवे प्रजाना*][तेजोनिधौ] चेतसि व[र्त्त]माने । तत्त्वे(त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगभा[जा] नितान्त—
मन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्¹¹ ॥[१६॥*] आक्रमाद्दु[र्ध्व] ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डसघट्टस्फुटित[त] यश । धत्ते
यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारमम्ब(म्ब)रे¹² ॥ [१७॥*] कारापञ्जररुद्धकीरनृपति[र्दी]प्तोङ्गलक्ष्मी—
चयैस्तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिर[सि]को गा[ङ्गे]य—

10 [दे*][दो]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना नि[र्जि]त्योत्कलमब्धि(ब्धि)—
सीम्नि विजयस्तम्भ स्वकीयो भुज[]¹³॥[१८॥*] यत्सेनाचरचक्रवालदलितक्षमापालदन्तावल—
श्रेणीशोणित[प]किले[षु] परित प्राप्ते[षु] पाथोनिधे । दृप्यद्वारणदारणोद्धतम[दैर्लीन] सल—
[ज्जै]रिव [प्रालेयाचलक]—

¹ Metre *Pushpūtāgrā*

² Metre *Vasantatilakā*

³ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* The Goharwa plates also have the same reading as here, but the metre is defective Read —स्वप्नेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in line 6 of the British Museum plate of Karna, below, No 54

⁴ Metre *Upajāti*

⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁷ Metre *Upajāti*

⁸ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁹ The Goharwa plates read क्षमापालचूडामणे— The *aksaras* here are quite clear

¹⁰ The Goharwa plates have भूस(शम्) Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹¹ Metre *Upajāti*

¹² The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मन्ये यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारता गतम् Metre *Anushtubh*

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

- 11 नदरोदरदरी[छिद्रेषु कण्ठीरवै] ॥[१९॥*]¹ यत्कुन्तप्रोतश[वृक्षु]तरुधिरसुरापाणमत्तप्रनृ-
त्यद्वेतालोत्तालतालारवभरितककुप्चक्रपर्यन्तसीम्नि । अन्योन्यालक्ष(क्ष्य)वाचा समि[ति] सरभस
दत्तहस्तादि[स]ज्ञाव्यापारेणामरी[णा] वरवरणविधि. क[ष्ट]²भासीन्मुहूर्त्त[म(म्)]³ ॥[२०॥*]
अतिमनो[रथ]म[र्थि]जने
- 12 [धन दिशति] यत्र स कल्पतरुस्तरु । रिपुयश कुमुदाकरभास्कर सुतमसूत स क[र्ण]नराधिप-
म्⁴ ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमन सुमनोवकीर्ण[स]ग्रामरङ्गभुवि भूमिभृ[ता] पुरस्तात् ।
वीरस्य वीरचरित[त] ननूते कव(ब)न्धैर्लक्ष्मीहठग्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य⁵ ॥ [२२॥*] दर्पकदु-
[र्वा]तरयेण नुन्नो गजाद्रि-
- 13 -- ८⁶[वि]दीर्णसन्धि । अन्त[र्य]दीयस्य व(ब)लाम्बु(म्बु)राशे[र्म]मज्ज पूर्वावनिराज-
पोत⁷ ॥[२३॥*] ना[ह] नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसति[र्न] त्यक्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव
चेदिनृपतेर्दिवक्त्रक्रमाक्रमत । प्रान्तभ्रान्त⁸वरुथिनीकरिकरास्फालावहेलोलसत्कल्लोलावलिवा(बा)-
हुदण्डमुदधिश्च-
- 14 [त्रन्द सान्द्रस्वनै ॥*]⁹ [२४॥*] हठग्रहान्दोलितकुन्तलश्री[वि]खण्डयमानाधरपल्लवा च ।
आक्रान्तकाञ्चीविषयेण येन दिग्दक्षिणा सवु(वु)भुजे प्रकामम्¹⁰ ॥[२५॥*] आशाजये समद-
सिन्धुरगन्धरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकरा[] ककु[भा] करीन्द्रा । पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव खेचरनायकस्य
च[क्रु] कपोल-
- 15 [मधुपध्वनिभिर्नि]राशा[]¹¹ ॥ [२६॥*] यस्मिन्समासीदति गूजर्जरी[णा] गण्डस्थले
साञ्जनवा(बा)प्लेशा । भालादवैधव्यविधानवर्णा पर्यन्तभाजा स्वलिता इवासन्¹² ॥
[२७॥*] हरिभिरनधिग[म्य] यत्सटालीजटालै[र्य]दप[रिमि]तख[ङ्ग] वारणैर्दृष्टेण यत् ।
विपिनमिव यदीयो दावव[ह्निस्तदुच्चै]रदह-
- 16 ८ ८ ८ --- कमेक[.] प्रताप[]¹³ ॥[२८॥*] भूर्जत्वच सङ्कलितेभदानपाथोमषीव[र्ण]-
विशेषभाज । हिमाचले येन वशीकृताना भुजिष्यपत्राण्यभवन्नृपा[णा](णाम्)¹⁴ ॥[२९॥*]
नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्राग्र(ग्र)हचारित्र[त] सा[र्द्ध] व(ब)न्धुतया गृहस्थपद[वी]
कारागृह[स्थापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपद
- 17 [वनाश्रयवशाद्भैक्षान्च*] भिक्षो[.] स्थि[ति] येनैव चतुराश्रमैकगुरुता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु¹⁵ ॥
[३०॥*] यस्यार्थिन्नजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभू प्राक्प्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरचरस्फार-

¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाह नाथ विपक्षगोत्रवसति (v 24 below), and therefore describes Karna

² The Goharwa plates have कुप्तमासीत्- which Dr Hultzsich proposed to change to क्लृप्त आसी- Here the *akscharas* are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript *ś* has been obliterated

³ Metre *Sragdharā*

⁴ Metre *Drutavilambita*.

⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

⁶ The missing *akscharas* were probably कूटेषु

⁷ Metre *Upajāti*

⁸ The Goharwa plates have भ्रान्त

⁹ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁰ Metre *Upajāti*

¹¹ In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed after यस्मिन्सुखकप्रभव *etc*, (verse 16 above) and is therefore intended to describe Kōkalladēva (II) Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹² Metre *Indravajrā*

¹³ Metre *Mālinī*

¹⁴ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁵ Metre of this and the following verse *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

- स्फुरद्घोषणा । एतन्निर्मितमा[] पुरा परिमि[त] ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डम[स्मिन्कथ समास्यन्ति] य-
शान्ति¹ [चे]-
- 18 [दिनृप]ते[रित्याकु]लो[भूच्चि]र(रम्) ॥ [३१॥*] [कि] तस्य क[र्ण]नृपत(ते)र्व्व(र्व्व)त व-
र्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्ब्रपट्टैः² । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि(वि)डाक्षरचक्रवालवाचालितैर्व्व
(र्व्व)धिरभावमियाय विश्वम्³ ॥ [३२॥*] यावद्भूचन्द्र चन्द्रो [रि]पुतिमिरभिदा [शू]र
शूरोस्ति याव[द्याव] --⁴ [रिचक्र⁵प्रदहन दह]नो या[व]-
- 19 -- ७ -- । -- -- यावदब्धि (ब्धि) [र्म]रुदधिपसमस्कन्ध यावन्मरु[त्वां]स्तावत्त्रायस्व धात्री-
मिति पदमजनि ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणामाशि[षा] य⁶ ॥ [३३॥*] ॐ ॥ उत्साहशक्तिप्रभुशक्तिभा[जां]
प्रवर्द्धनायाखिलमन्त्रश[क्ते] । द्विजातिरे[षा] पृथि[वीपतीनाममात्यधर्मस्य] ब्र(ब)भूव
[हेतु]⁷ ॥ [३४॥*] रा-
- 20 -- ७ -- [विमलत्रिनेत्रात्पवित्र]जन्मा किल काचराख्य । योसौ त्रिलोकीतिलकायमा[ना] पु[र]
कुलाञ्चामकरोन्मुनीन्द्र ॥ [३५॥*] तमादरादात्मवि[दा] वरिष्ठमाराधयामास तुरीयजन्मा [।*]
स्व[]सिन्धुकूले किल विश्वव[न्द्ये] ७ -- ७ -- ७ ७ -- ७ -- ॥ [३६॥*] -- ७ -- ७ ७
- 21 ७ -- ७ ७ -- [न्धयस्य कृत्वा] भविष्यति दिवस्पतिमन्त्रिकल्प । यो भूमिदेवपदपान्शु⁸पवित्र[मौ]लि-
[स्त] ख्यातपुण्यचरितं सुतमाप्नुहीति⁹ ॥ [३७॥*] सख्यामतीत्य काय[स्थ]स्तव यस्माद्गुणो-
[त्क]र । अत[] काय[स्थ] इत्या[ख्या] जाति[मात्माभि]- ७ ७¹⁰ ॥ [३८॥*] ७ -- ७ -- ७ ७ --
७ -- कुले ७ -- प्रथि-
- 22 त ७ -- । [अ]जीजनत्पुत्रमनन्तकी[र्त्ति] कायस्थवंश प्रससार तस्मान्¹¹ ॥ [३९॥*] तस्यान्वये
नयविद सुधिय कृतज्ञा सत्यव्रता सुकृतिनो गुणिन क्रमेण । प्रादु[र्व्व(र्व्व)]भूवुरसमादिचर[भी]-
तसत्त्वदत्ताभया कमल ७ -- र -- ७ --¹² ॥ [४०॥*] -- ७ -- ७ ७ ७ -- ७ ७ -- कुलेस्मिन्नेक
- 23 ७ -- [कर¹³ इति प्रथितो] व(व)भूव । [सर्व्वेषु] दुग्धजलरा[शि]समुद्भवे[षु] रत्नेषु कौस्तुभ
इवानुपमप्रभाव ॥ [४१॥*] पुर पुरो विशदगुणान्विशेषत सिसृक्षत[] पुरुषवरा[निहान्व]ये ।
चकार यः [प्रथितगुणान्पु]¹⁴ ७ -- ७ -- ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ --¹⁵ ॥ [४२॥*]
- 24 -- [त्रिभुवनस्य] । श्रीवत्स[भूष]ण इव श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवस्य¹⁶ ॥ [४३॥*] [नत्वा] सूतक-
दीन्द्रा[णा] वन्द्यमिन्द्रपति [सदा?] । समास्कन्दति यत्कीर्त्ति कात्तिकी [च]द्र[च]द्रि
[कां(काम्)]¹⁷ ॥ [४४॥*] [कमल?] किसलया जनानुरा[गे] कृतमूल[?] --¹⁸ । मा -- ७ --

¹ Read यशसि² Read ताम्रपट्टै³ Metre *Vasantatilakā*⁴ The missing *aksharas* may have been हृत्ता-⁵ This *akshara* is superfluous⁶ Metre *Sragdharā*⁷ Metre of verses 34-36 *Upajāti*⁸ Read पाशु⁹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*¹⁰ The missing *aksharas* may have been -यास्यति Metre *Anushtubh*¹¹ Metre *Upajāti*¹² Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*¹³ The name lost here may have been प्रभाकर¹⁴ Restore पुरस्तरान्¹⁵ Metre *Ruchirā*¹⁶ Metre *Āryā*¹⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*¹⁸ Perhaps कृतमूलबन्धा

TRANSLATION

[Om! Adoration to Śiva]

(Verse 1) May the beauty of the digit of the moon, which, rising straight as it were on the orient mount, namely the high coil of the twisted hair of Śiva, overspread with the dark colour of his throat, is reddened by the mass of the rays of jewels (*in the hoods*) of serpents which coil (*themselves*) like a turban (*round his head*) . remove your ignorance for long!

(V 2) Glorious is the coil of Sambhu's matted hair, which,—being overspread with the flames of the wild fire (*issuing*) from his (*third*) eye (*fanned*) by that fierce wind, (*and*) surrounded by serpents hissing and moving inside the Mandara (*mountain*), (*namely*), the mass of hair....,—appears akin to (Mēru) the golden mountain!

(V 3) [May] the body (*of Śiva*), one half of which is covered over with serpents, (*while*) the other half has a gracefully shining eye!

(For a translation of v 4, see that of v 2, above, p. 259)

(V 5) May the sweet words of poets, full of the nectar of sentiments, which are the resort of virtues, roll in the throats of learned men and their far-spread fame in (*their*) ears!

(For a translation of vv 6-18, see that of vv 3-11, 15, 13, 16 and 17 on pp 259 61)

(V 19) When the regions round the ocean became full of mud through the blood of the arrays of elephants of (*hostile*) kings killed by hosts of his soldiers, the lions, proud as they had become by the destruction of infuriated elephants, crouched, as if through shame, in the clefts of caves in the interior of the defiles of the snow-mountain

(For a translation of vv 20-22, see that of vv. 26, 19 and 27 on pp 261-2.)

(V 23) In the ocean of his forces there was submerged the ship, (*namely*) the **king of the Eastern Country**, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, its joints being rent by (*dashing against*) the promontories of the mountains which were his elephants

(For a translation of v 24, see that of v 25 on p 261)

(V 25) Over-running the district of **Kāñchī**, he thoroughly enjoyed the southern region, in which the fortune of the **Kuntala** was shaken by forcible seizure and the low **Pallavas** were destroyed (*as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure, and whose tender lower lip was wounded in kissing*)¹

(For a translation of v 26, see that of v. 14 on p. 260)

(V. 27) When he approached, tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of **Gurjara** women living in the neighbourhood, and colour-marks indicative of their non-widowhood slipped, as it were, from (*their*) foreheads.²

(V. 28) His unique valour consumed [the hostile army]³ which was inaccessible on account of horses with twisted manes, which contained an unlimited number of swords (*and*) appeared dreadful through elephants, even as wild fire consumes a forest which is impenetrable on account of lions with twisted manes, which contains an unlimited number of rhinoceroses and is dreadful through elephants.

¹ There is a play on the words *kāñchī*, *kuntala*, *adbara* and *pallava*, in consequence of which the verse conveys a double meaning.

² This foreboded the destruction of their husbands in the impending war with Karna

³ The word denoting this is lost in the original, but there can be no doubt about the intended meaning.

(V 29) In the Himālayas the birch-barks, with beautiful letters (*written on them*) with the ink of the collected rutting juice of elephants, were (*used as*) documents of homage by the kings whom he had subdued

(*For a translation of vv 30-32, see that of vv 28-30, above, p 262*)

(V. 33) 'As long as the moon, O moon on the earth! endures, destroying the foes of darkness, as long as the sun, O brave one! exists, as long as fire, O consumer of the hostile army! continues, as long as the ocean lasts, as long as Indra, O Indra's equal in strength!¹ exists—even so long may you protect the earth!'—Of such blessings of Brāhmanas did he become an object!

* * *

(V 34) In order to augment the entire power of counsel of the lords of the earth who are possessed of the power of personal energy and the power of lordship, this caste of the twice-born became the cause of (*the performance of*) ministerial duty.

(V. 35) (*There was*) verily . . . (*a person*) of holy birth, named **Kāchāra**, (*born*) from the blameless three-eyed (Śiva)—who, the best one among sages, made the city of **Kulāñchā** an ornament of the three worlds

(V 36) Him (*who was*) the foremost among the knowers of the self, a man born of the fourth (*caste*) propitiated on the bank of the heavenly river (*which is*) venerable to the (*whole*) world . . .

(V 37) . . . 'Mayst thou obtain a son of well-known and pious deeds, who, having his head sanctified by the dust of the feet of earthly gods (*i e*, Brāhmaṇas) will become almost like (Bṛhaspati) the councillor of the lord of heaven!²

(V 38) 'Since thou hast in thy body (*kāya*) an innumerable assemblage of merits, so thy self shall attain the caste known as **Kēyastha** '

(V 39) begot³ a son of infinite fame, from whom spread the race of the Kāyasthas

(V 40) In his family there were born, in course of time, matchless, wise, grateful, truthful, meritorious (*and*) virtuous diplomats, who afforded security from fear to creatures who had long been terrified

(V 41) In this family . . . there was one of matchless prowess who became famous by the name of [**Prabhā**]kara⁴ even as there was the Kaustubha among all the jewels produced from the milk-ocean

(V 42) He made famous the merits of the best men in this family, who were desirous of producing especially more and more spotless qualities

(V 43) Like (Vishnu) who has the ornament of Śrīvatsa, he was venerable to the illustrious **Lakshmanarājadēva** . . . of the three worlds.

(V 44) Having always bowed to the lord Indra (?) adorable to the foremost bards and poets, his glory assails the light of the moon in (*the month of*) Kārttika

(V. 45) . . . tender shoots of lotuses . . . which struck roots in the affections of the people . . .

(V. 46) . . . From him, the honoured **Sōmēśvara**, who devoted himself to the welfare of the people, had his noble birth . . .

¹ *Lat*, one whose shoulders are like those of the lord of gods

² This and the following verse are apparently addressed by the sage to the man of the fourth caste (*turiya-janman*) who was serving him

³ The subject is evidently the same man of the fourth caste

⁴ Only the last two *aksharas* of this name are now legible, see above, p 271, n 13

- (V. 47) through the strength of intellect (*and*) the might of arms
 the lotuses of the foremost learned people . . .
- (V 48) the king .
- (V 49) . . . and of kings, who with (*his*) hosts of meritorious men became a friend of the headmen of villages
- (V 50) . . . From him was born . . . who was as if unknown . . .
 (*and*) who, as a minister, was a personification of piety
- (V 51) . . . having resorted to the staff-like arm of him of uninterrupted fame . . . as from the deadly poison
- (V 52) . . . drank completely . . . the blood from the necks of prosperous foes . . .
- (V 53) of (Śiva) who has on (*his*) crest the moon resembling an elephant's temple.
- (V 54) . . . [the temple which appears white] as if through the embraces freely given by the Beauty of the crystal mountain since it is not inferior (to it), (*and*) as if through the laughter of Śiva who rejoiced to get such an (*excellent*) abode . .
- (V 55) As long as (*the necklace*) Vaijayanti looks beautiful on the neck (of Vishnu) . . [and the Gangā flows] from the high mass of brownish twisted hair (of Śiva) [so long may this temple endure]
- (V 56) The wise one caused to be constructed a monastery by expending gold . . .
- (V 57) . . .
- (V 58) Having caused this habitation of (Śiva), the enemy of Smara, to be constructed, he himself composed this great *praśasti* . . . by the great favour of the high-souled
- (V 59) of Trivikrama .
- This [*praśasti*] is of . . . , a servant of great poets
- In the very auspicious year 800, Khara by name

No 52, PLATE XLII

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA (KALACHURI) YEAR 810

THE fragments of the stone which bore this inscription were found in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of Dhamēkh,¹ 'the Hospital', at Sārnāth, four miles to the north of Banaras. The impressions of the fragments were sent to Dr Kielhorn, who conjecturally supplied the missing words in l 6 referring to the date, and calculated it. The text and translation of the record were published, without a lithograph, in the account of the excavations at Sārnāth by Sir John Marshall and Dr Sten Konow². The fragments are now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The inscription is edited here from excellent impressions which I owe to the kindness of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the Curator of the Museum.

There are, in all, six inscribed fragments. The record, when complete, must have occupied a space measuring 1' 9" in breadth and about 1' in height. Several letters on the right side of each line and a few more in the middle of the last five lines have been lost, as all the fragments of the original stone have not been recovered³.

¹ *Dhamēkh* is a corrupt form of Sanskrit *Dharmēśhā* 'pondering over the Law'

² *A R A S I*, (1906-07), pp 100 ff

³ The previous editors also mention six fragments, but in their transcript they have omitted the *aksharas* on one of them. Compare ll 1-5 in the two transcripts

The record consists of fourteen lines. The average size of the letters is 7". The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. They resemble, in a general way, those of the other inscriptions of the Kalachuri king Karna. As regards individual letters we may notice that *n* is written without a dot see *-sanghasya*, l 7, *-gan-ālankrit-*, l 11; *th* has no vertical or even a horizontal line at the top, see *pātha-*, l 12, the upper loop of *th* is closed in *-Manōratha-*, l 8, the left limb of *dh* is seen fully developed in two cases, see *Dhamēśva[ra]**, l.9 and *vādhakam* l.13, but in others the old form is met with, the letters *r* and *g* are not clearly distinguished, see *-pār-aika-gantāb*, l.2, so also *m* and *a* or *ā*, see *-mahā-*, l 7; and *Aśvina*, l 6, finally, the medial diphthongs are indicated by fully drawn *prishthamātrās*

The language is corrupt Sanskrit. Notice, for instance, the wrong forms *guna-rāsī* for *guna-rāśīb* and *pār-aika-gantāb* for *pār-aika-gantā*, both in l 2, *Mahājānāmyājina* for *Mahājā(ya)nāmyāj(yā)ynī*, l 10 and the incorrect sandhi in *-bhūto pītrībhīb*, l.14. Except for the opening verse in praise of the Buddha and the usual imprecation at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of *ri* for *ri* in *Triga(ka)* [*lingā**], l 4, the repetition of a consonant after *r* as in *-sarvv-āndhakārab*, l 1, the substitution of *j* for *y* in *Mahājānāmyājina* and, *bhārjā*, both in l.10 and the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b*, see *-Vuddha-*, l 11, *-nivandhanā-*, l 12 etc

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Karna**, of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**. He is mentioned here with the same titles as in the Goharwa plates, and is said to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vāmadēva** who is also named with Imperial titles. The object of the inscription is to record that a female devout worshipper named **Māmakā** who was a follower of the Mahāyāna and the wife of **Dhamēśvara**¹ (Dharmēśvara) who also was a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, caused a copy of the *Ashtasahasrikāprajñā* to be written and made some donation to the Order of Venerable Monks dwelling in the monastery called *Śrī-sad-dharma-chakra-pravartana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra*, for the recitation of the book. Two monks who were evidently heads of the institution are named in the present record. One of them was **Manōrathagupta**. The name of the other, which is partially lost, ended in **pāṭṛika**.

The inscription is dated on **Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright half of Āśvina in the year [8]10**². No era is specified, but there can be little doubt that the date is in the Kalachuri era. It is quite regular, for, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the *current*³ Kalachuri year 810 ended 15 h 50 m after mean sunrise on Sunday, the corresponding Christian date being the 4th October, 1058 A.C. This is one of the few Kalachuri dates in current years.

As pointed out by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Konow, the *Saddharmachakrapravartana-Mahābōdhi-Mahāvihāra* was the Great Monastery at Sarnāth which was erected at the place where the Buddha preached his first sermon.

¹ See below, p 278, n 1

² The first figure of the year is lost, but that it could not have been anything but 8 is shown by the known dates of Karna, which range from K 793 to K 812

³ The date would be in the expired year according to Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year was *Āśvinādi*. The dates of Nos 63 and 94 however clearly show that the year began in some month later than Āśvina. I have given elsewhere reasons which make it probable that it began on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika

(Line 3) During the [increasingly victorious and beneficent] reign of the [*Paramabhattāraka*], *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Karṇadēva**, [the lord of **Trikaṇṇa**, who by his own arm] has acquired sovereignty over the three kings, (*vṛ* ,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, [who meditates on the feet of] the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* the illustrious **Vāmadēva**, in the year [8]10, on **Sunday, the fifteenth (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvina**, today here in the **Great Monastery (called)** the famous **Saddharmachakrapravarttana-Mahābōdhi**, the monks . **pāṭṭika** and **Manōrathagupta** of the Order of Venerable Monks were caused to give their blessings

(L 8) (*There is*) **Dhamēśvara**,¹ a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, who is intent on washing off the stains of passions and so forth, by the control of sense-organs and self-restraint His wife **Māmakā**, a devout worshipper and follower of the Mahāyāna, whose self is adorned with a multitude of several [virtues], has caused (*a copy of*) the *Ashtasāhasrikā-prajñā* to be written, (*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks She has donated .. (*and*) [has made it over] to the Order of Venerable Monks for the worship of all Buddhas (*and*) for the recitation (*of the aforementioned*) *Ashtasāhasrikā-prajñā* for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth will endure.

(L 13) [He who will cause] obstruction [in the enjoyment of the gift] will become a worm in excrement (*and*) will rot (*there*) together with his ancestors

NO 53, PLATE XLIII A

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 812

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Mr R D Banerji, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who found it in the Secretary's office in Rewa town² It is not known where it was first discovered Mr Banerji first gave an account of its contents in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, for 1920-21, p 53, and subsequently published its text with a translation, but without a facsimile, in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*,³ pp 130 ff The inscription is edited here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sand-stone, the left half of which is missing⁴ There are in all twenty-three lines The lost portion must have contained twenty-three or twenty-four *akṣharas* in each of the lines 1-21 Even in the extant portion, some letters here and there, especially on the left side, have been damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet Some of the letters contain a wedge or an inverted triangle at the top as in the Makundpur stone inscription of Gāṅgēyadēva⁵ The *mātṛāś* on the letters in the first line have ornamental additions The letters are not well-formed, the record being, on the whole, carelessly written As regards

¹ This is how the name is written in the text It may correspond to Sanskrit *Dharmēśvara* Marshall and Konow read *Dhanēśvara* evidently taking the *akṣhara* which clearly appears like *mē* to be a mistake for *nē*

² P R A S W I for 1920-21, p 53

³ M A S I, No 23

⁴ *Loc cit*

⁵ Above, No 47

SARNATH STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA (KALACHURI) YEAR 810



individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of initial *r* used in *iti*, l 16 and *īśānē*, l 14, *n* without dot in *lingam*, l 13, the tailless left member of *kh* in *vikhyātā*, l 19, and *n* without a loop which is met with in several places. The letters *n*, *bh* and *r* occur each in two forms, compare *n* in *-varānām-*, l 4 and *karmmani*, l 17, *bh* in *bhavēt-*, l 17 and *bhaktiyā*, l 18 and *r* in *Vapulēśvara*, l 16 and *-vyavaharanayā*, l 20.

The language is Sanskrit. The first nineteen lines are in verse and the remaining four in prose. The *praśasti*, as the composition is called in verse 18, has been carelessly composed. Notice, for instance, the curious mixture of *Indravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres in verse 24. The name *Vappulla*, required by the metres of verses 5 and 8, is written as *Vapulla*. Verse 4 contains a clumsy metaphor describing Karna as a lion. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of the consonant after *r*, the substitution of *v* for *b* and of *s* for *ś* as well as the use of *m* for an *anusvāra* before *v* (see *-samvatsara*, l 20).

As nearly half the portion of the *praśasti* is lost, it is not possible to give a complete account of its contents. As usual, the record opens with a verse invoking the blessings of some deity, probably Śiva¹. It then refers to a king whose name is lost, but who, we are told, was born from **Kōkalla**. From him was the illustrious **Karṇadēva** who is described as an impending universal destruction and as one who had planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of eminent kings. This Karna is evidently the well-known Kalachuri Emperor of that name who was a terror to contemporary rulers. The first two princes mentioned in verse 2 were plainly his father **Gāṅgēyadēva** and grandfather **Kōkalla II**. Verse 5 introduces **Vappulla**² who is described as devoted to Karna's lotus-like feet. The following verses give his pedigree. From some distinguished person whose name is lost, was born **Vijjalarāṇaka**³. His younger brother was **Vigraharāja** who, it seems, was the father of Vappulla (v 8). The next two verses (9 and 10) are devoted to the description of the battles fought by Vappulla. Two of these are named in the extant portion *viṣṭ*, the *ghōtaka-ugraha* or **the Battle of Horses** (v 9) and **the Battle of the Yellow Mountain** in which Vappulla, having defeated the forces of **Trilōchana**, equalled in glory Arjuna, who had overcome the prowess of the three-eyed god Śiva (v 10). We are next told that Vappulla erected a temple of Śiva in the village **Kādambarī** in which he caused a *linga* under the name of Vappulēśvara to be installed by sages. Another temple dedicated to Śrīvatsa (Vishnu) was surrounded by four small shrines of other deities, the name of one of whom, **Lakshmī-Nārāyana**, occurs in the preserved portion. The temple had in front of it a large orchard of mango and other trees. The *praśasti* was composed by **Vijhūka**⁴, the son of **Hrīshikēśa** (v 18).

The scribe seems to have discovered after writing v 13 that he had omitted two verses. These he added below. The first of them is almost completely broken away, the

¹ No deity is named in the extant portion, but v 11, which speaks of a temple of Śankara erected by Vappulla, suggests that the inscription was originally put up at it. It, therefore, probably opened with a verse in praise of Śiva.

² Banerji read this name as *Vapullaka*, but in two places (vv 5 and 8) where it occurs in the extant portion, the metre requires the readings *Vappulla* and *Vappullaka* respectively. The deity named after him was called Vappulēśvara. I have, therefore, taken the name to be *Vappulla*.

³ Banerji at first mentioned this person's name as *Lakshmana*, but that was plainly due to a mislection in l 7 (*viṣṭ*, *Lakshmana* for *lakshana*³). He has given the correct reading in *H T M*, p 130.

⁴ Banerji read the name as *Virūka*. For the form of *jh* used here, see *nirjghara* in line 9 of the Kairā plates (K 380) of Dadda II (above, No 16). See also the form of the letter in the Chandēlla grants of the age, *I P*, Table V, 18, XIV.

second mentions that the wife of some person (perhaps of Vappulla himself) named Nayanāvalī¹ caused an image of Umā-Mahēśvara to be made.

The inscription is dated on Thursday, the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the year 812 which was the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karna². The tithi and the year of the date are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era and regularly corresponds, for the expired year 812, to Thursday, the 4th January 1061 A.C. The tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h 10 m after mean sunrise on that day. As the expired year 812 is here said to be the ninth regnal year, Karna seems to have been crowned in the expired Kalachuri year 804 (1052-53 A.C.).

This was evidently his second coronation. For, we have already seen from the Banaras plates that his father Gāṅgēyadēva died in the month of Phālguna in the expired Kalachuri year 792. The month of Māgha in Karna's first regnal year, therefore, fell in the expired Kalachuri year 793³. The same month in this ninth regnal year should fall in the expired Kalachuri year 801 and not in 812 as stated in the present record⁴. Even supposing that the mistake lies in the numerical figures denoting the year, we find that the tithi in the expired Kalachuri year 801 fell on Friday, the 5th January 1050 A.C., and not on Thursday as required. The date would, therefore, appear to be irregular. On the other hand, if we suppose that Karna was crowned a second time in the expired Kalachuri year 804, the date would be quite regular as shown above. This second coronation in 1052-53 A.C. must have been celebrated when he was at the height of his power after annexing the Chandēlla and Pratihāra kingdoms.

The present inscription mentions two battles fought by Vappulla. The first of these, called the Battle of Horses, cannot be definitely located. The second was fought with a prince named Trilōchana at the foot of the Yellow Mountain. Mr Banerji⁵ identified this prince with Trilōchanapāla, a descendant of Bārappa of the Chālukya dynasty who was ruling over Lāta (Central and Southern Gujarat) in 1051 A.C.⁶ I do not know, however, of any Yellow Mountain in Gujerat. Two other references to this mountain are known to occur in inscriptions found at Ajayagadh. One of them which is incised on a rock near the Tirhawan gate of the fort describes the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman as the crest-jewel of kings in the districts of the Yellow Mountain⁷. The other inscription which is also engraved on a rock near a gate of the same fort mentions the Yellow Mountain as the place of residence of Kīrtivarman⁸. As the mountain was thus situated in Bundelkhand, Trilōchana whose forces Vappulla is said to have defeated may be identified with the prince Trilōchanapāla who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty⁹. We know

¹ Banerji took *Pravarā* to be her proper name and *Nayanāvalī* as her second name. But *pravarā* is only an adjective meaning, 'distinguished' or 'excellent'.

² A similar expression '*srīmat-Karna-prakāśa-vyavahanē*' occurs in the Goharwa plates 141. In the present record in the introduction Karna appears to have been described as meditating on the feet of Vāmadēva.

³ Because, as shown also, the Kalachuri year was *Kārttikādi*.

⁴ D.R. Bhandarkar thinks that the ninth year is a mistake for the nineteenth year (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 164, n. 7). But the regnal year is given in words (not figures) where such a mistake is unlikely.

⁵ *H.T.M.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 333.

⁸ *A.R.A.S.I.* for 1935-36, p. 92.

⁹ Banerji makes the novel suggestion that Kīrtivarman may have gone to Sindh in the train of Karna! See *H.T.M.*, p. 24, n. 1.

that the Kalachuris wrested the Doab from the Pratihāras, but we do not know how long Trilōchanapāla continued to rule after 1027 A C, the date of his Jhūsī plates ¹ If the *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśahpāla who made the grant of a village in the Kauśāmba-mandala in 1037, A C ² belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, Trilōchanapāla could not have been a contemporary of Karna. It is not, however, unlikely that Yaśahpāla was a prince of the Pāla dynasty who, taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in the Pratihāra kingdom due to Muhammadan invasions, established himself for a short while in the country round Allahabad. In that case Trilōchanapāla may have continued to rule at Bārī for a few years after 1027, and may have therefore suffered a defeat at the hands of Karna's general Vappulla

The village **Kādambarī**, where the temple of Śiva was erected, I am unable to identify ³

TEXT⁴

- 1 . . . ⁵ [1*] ———— [सदाना]द्यद्दृष्ट्वापि स्ववेद्य
सु[म]तिषु मुनयोपीक्षते⁶ नोपदेष्टु (ष्टुम्) । त्रैक्षा (का) ल्यज्ञा
2 ———— [स]क[ल]सुकृतिना स्वस्तये वस्तदस्तु⁷
॥[१॥*] प्रालेयाचलसागरान्तरधरान्कृत्वा व(ब) लाद्योव(ब) लान् ॥⁸ कारागार—
3 ———— [1] ———— प्रमेय⁹ चरितात्कोकलदेवादभूत्तस्माद्वा—
रिधिवारितावनिपति श्रीकर्णदेवोभवत् ॥¹⁰[२॥*] यो मित्र[स]—
4 ———— [सु?] ॥(1) आसन्नसर्व्व[वि]ल[य]:
क्षितिभृद्वाराणामत्युच्चमस्तककृतात्मपदप्रतिष्ठ ॥¹¹[३॥*] धम्म(म्म)ज्ञेन¹²नखः पुराणचरण
5 ———— [स*]टाभासुर ॥ (1) वेदव्यात्तमुख
सुनीतिनयनो होमस्फुरत्केसरो जीया[द्व] कलिकुजरज्वरकर स्त्री(श्री) कर्ण—
6 ———— ¹³[१४॥*]¹⁴ ———— सता प्रसा(शा)—
सति मही चेदीद्र(न्द्र)चूडामणौ [1*] तत्पादावु(बु)जपूजने स्थिरमतिर्वपु(पु)ल्लनामा कृती
तपू(त्पू)र्व्वान्प्रथितानपि त्रिभुवने जित्वा
7 ———— [१५॥*] ———— वल्लक्ष्म्या लक्षितलक्षण क्षिति[त]—
ले लक्षे(क्ष्यै)कनामाभवत् ॥(1) तस्माद्विज्जलराणकोरिगहनप्रोद्दामदावान—

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, pp 34 f

² *J R A S* (1927), pp 693 ff

³ Banerji's statements (*P R A S W C* 1920-21, p 53) that line 12 mentions a village named *Tarmma* which is said to be well-known in the *Kādambarī* and that the scribe was an inhabitant of the village of *Tarmma* (l 18) are clearly due to mislections of *nurmma*[lō*] in l 12 and *tammim* (for *tasmin*) in l 18

⁴ From inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist

⁵ As the temple where the inscription was put up was dedicated to Śiva, the present record may have opened with ओ नम शिवाय

⁶ Read —पीक्षते

⁷ Metre *Sragdharā*

⁸ These *dandas* are superfluous

⁹ The sense requires a reading like अप्रमेय—

¹⁰ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹² Read —ज्ञान—

¹³ These four *aksharas* may be conjecturally restored as —सिहो नृप

¹⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

- 8 [ल*] ---००-०-०००---०---०- [॥६॥*] [त*]स्यानुजो निजगुणार्जित-
साधुस(श)ब्दो(ब्दो) वीरो व(ब)भूव भुवि विग्रहराजनामा [।*] येनाहवे निहतवैरिविला-
सिनीभि [स्मृ]-

9 -०-०००-००-०---¹[॥७॥*] ---०-०००-००-०- [जौ] विश्रामपात्रमभव-
[च्च] स वीरलक्ष्म्या । वपु(प्पु)ल्लकेति च कृत निजनाम पित्रा य पूर्ववीरसमतामनय-
10 ०--- [॥८॥*] ---००-०-०००---०---द्वय² आरुह्योरु तत सु[रे]³-
समुचितान्सन्दर्शयन्वेष्टितान⁴ । लोके घोटकविग्रहेति वि-

11 ०-----०---,-----००-०-०००---[सु[?]]चद्रे तत ॥⁵[९॥*] य पीत-
पर्वततला(ले) समरे धृतासिर्जित्वा त्त्रिलोचनव(ब)ल तुलि[ता]र्जु[न]श्री.⁶[।*] आवस्तको-
12 ०००-०००-०---,---०००००-०००-०---⁷[॥१०॥*] स क्षितिमलकरिष्णुः
ससीव⁸ गुणकिरणनिर्मम[लो*] ग्रामे । कादव(ब)र्या(र्यं)भिधाने⁹ अकारयच्छकरायतन(नम्) ॥
[११॥*]¹⁰

13 ---००-०-०००----०---०---,---प्त मुनिभिर्यथोक्तविधिना लिङ्ग प्रतिष्ठा-
पित(तम्) । यत्प्रारंभदिनादनु प्रतिदिन श्री पुत्रपौत्रानुगा जाता च--

14 ००-०-०००-००-०---०- [॥१२॥*]¹¹ ---००- [क्ष]ण. सि(शि)वकृते
श्रीवत्सनामा कृत ।¹² पार्स्वे(र्वे) देवकुलीचतुष्ट[य*]युतस्तासु क्रमाद्देवता । ईसाने¹³

15 ००-०-०००-००-०---०---,---००-०-०००-लक्ष्मीस्सनारायणा ॥[१३*]॥
तस्यानेकस(श)ताम्रा व(ब)हुविधविटपा च वाटिका पुरत । सज-

16 [ल*]¹⁴ [॥१४॥*] ---०---००-०---,
सांत(सान्त)पुरे ससुतभृत्ययुते प्रसन्न । भूयाच्च कल्पान्तमनल्पपूज[*] श्रीवपु(प्पु)लेश्वर
इति प्रथित[*] सि(शि)वो-

17 [त्र*]¹⁵ [॥१५॥*] [।*] [स]-
हिता¹⁶ [॥१६॥*] यद्यत्र कर्मणि सि(शि) वाय निवेद्यमाने लग्न भवेत्क्वचन किंचन काचन
मे [।*] पुण्येन तेन ज-

18 ०-००-०-०---,---०-०००-०००-०--- [॥१७॥*]¹⁷ ०-०-०---००-०---, ०

¹ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

² The *sandhi* is avoided here due to the exigency of the metre

³ The word सुर does not suit the metre here. Read स्वयं.

4 Read -समुचितान्सन्दर्शयश्चेष्टितान् चेष्टित, however, is neuter in gender

^a Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁶ Banerji read मुनिविज्जलश्री, but the first two *akṣharas* are clearly तुलि, the third though somewhat indistinct can be read as ता, the following *akṣhara* is evidently ज्जु which leaves little doubt about the rest. Besides, the reading given above makes the double *entendre* on त्रिलोचन possible. See below, p. 284, n. 1.

⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Read शशीव

⁹ The hiatus here is due to the exigency of the metre

¹⁰ Metre *Āryā*

¹¹ Metre of this and the following verse *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹² This *danda* is superfluous

¹³ Read ऐशान्या

¹⁴ Metre *Āryā* or *Gītī*

¹⁵ The metre seems here to be a combination of *Indravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁶ One verse is almost completely lost here, the cadence of the last three *akṣaras* which are preserved suggests that the metre was *Āryā* or *Gītī*

¹⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

[illegible]

—स्य पचायतन सि(शि)वस्य । तस्मिन्ह¹षीकेशसुतेन भक्त्या विद्वकनाम्ना रचिता प्रस(श)—
स्ति ॥² [१८॥*]

19 विप्राणां(णाम्)
[॥१९॥*]³ तस्य च पत्नी प्रवरा नाम्ना नयनावलीति विख्याता [१*] साकारयन्मनोज्ञा(ज्ञा)
सोमां माहेश्वरी प्रतिमा(माम्) ॥⁴[२०॥*]

20 [वाम ?]⁵[दे]वपादा[नु]ध्यात⁶—
सवत्सत(र) ८१२ श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकास(श)व्यवहरणया नवमसम्बत्सरे⁷ माघसुदि १० गु[रौ]

21 ⁸ लिखापिता⁹ प्रस(श)—
स्ति ॥ कल्पस्थायिनी भवत(तु) [१*] मगल¹⁰ महाश्री ॥०॥

22 ओ नमो भगवते वासु—
देवाय । ओ(ओ) नमो गणपतये ॥¹¹

23 ओ नम[१*]

TRANSLATION

[Om ! Adoration to Siva]

(Veise 1) May that [form of Śiva], which, an object of their knowledge, even the sages who know what happens in the three times (*i e*, in the past, present and future) are unable to describe, though they have seen it, to (*persons of*) good minds of all virtuous persons, lead to your well-being

(V 2) There was (*born*) from **Kōkalladēva (II)** of incomprehensible actions, [**Gāṅgēyadēva**] who, having with his might rendered powerless the lords of the earth extending from the snow-mountain to the ocean, [threw them] into prison . From him was (*born*) the illustrious **Karnadēva**, the lord of the earth surrounded by the ocean

(V 3) Who [made over] to his friends , (*who was*) the impending universal destruction , (*and*) who planted his foot on the extremely haughty heads of the foremost among kings¹²

(V 4) May the king, [a lion in the form of] the illustrious **Karṇa**, be triumphant !— (*he*) whose nails are the knowledge of the sacred law , whose legs are the Purāṇas ; who appears dreadful with his mane of . , whose open mouth is the Vēdas , whose eyes are good policy , whose shining hair is the sacrifice , (*and*) who causes fever to the elephant that is the Kali age

(V. 5) While (**Karṇa**), the foremost (*lit*, crest-jewel) of the kings of **Chēdi**, is ruling the earth, the wise (*man*) named **Vappulla**, who is firmly attached to the worship of his lotus-like feet, having subdued those who had previously attained fame in three worlds,

¹ Read तस्मिन्हृषीकेश—

² Metre *Upajāti*

³ One verse in *Āryā* or *Gīti* is almost completely lost here

⁴ Metre *Āryā*

⁵ The words in the beginning of l 20 may be conjecturally supplied as श्रीपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वरश्री—

⁶ This expression should precede श्रीमत्कर्ण—

⁷ Read —सवत्सरे

⁸ I am unable to suggest any restoration of the *akṣharas* lost in the beginning of this line

⁹ Read लेखिता

¹⁰ Read मगल

¹¹ This and the following line are incised in the right-hand corner

¹² There may be a play on the word *kṣitibhrāt* The description in that case would equally apply to the sun at the time of world-destruction

(V. 6) was born—(*he*) whose good qualities were marked by the goddess of fortune, (*and*) whose name alone was noteworthy on the surface of the earth From him (*was born*) **Vijjalarāṇaka**, the raging wild fire to the forests which were his enemies.

(V. 7) His younger brother **Vigraharāja**, a warrior, who earned praise by his excellences, was (*born*) on the earth, the wives of the enemies killed by whom, having remembered .

(V. 8) In battle he became the resting place of the goddess of heroism,—(*he*) who made his name **Vappullaka**, given to him by his father equal (*in fame*) to (*those of*) the heroes of old

(V. 9) Having mounted the two mighty.. and exhibiting deeds worthy of a god. . . [fought the battle known] as the **Battle of Horses** . . .

(V. 10) He, sword in hand, having defeated at the foot of the **Yellow Mountain**, the army of **Trilōchana** equalled the glory of Arjuna¹ (*who overpowered the might of the three-eyed god Śiva*)

(V. 11) Gracing the earth like the moon, he, being stainless with his excellences, as the moon is with her rays, caused a temple of Śankara to be constructed in the village called **Kādambarī**.

(V. 12) [Where] (*this*) *linga* was installed by sages according to the rite laid down (*in the sacred texts*), since the day of whose installation the goddess of fortune has day after day attended the sons and grandsons . . .

(V. 13) [In the temple] . . . was installed (*the image*?) named **Śrīvatsa**, being surrounded by four small shrines; in them (*were installed*) the (*following*) deities in order—on the north-eastern (*side*) . . . (*and*) Lakshmi together with Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 14) In front of it (*i.e.*, the temple) [he planted] a garden containing hundreds of mango trees and various (*other*) kinds of trees . [with a well full of] water

(V. 15) May Śiva who is known as the holy Vappulēśvara receive (*here*) abundant worship to the end of the world and be gracious to [**Vappulla**] together with (*the inmates of*) his inner apartment, his sons and servants.

(V. 16) . . together with .

(V. 17) By the religious merit [*which I may have acquired*] by what gold of mine has been spent on this work which is dedicated to Śiva

(V. 18) [He built] a five-shrined temple of Śiva In it the son of Hrishikēśa named **Vijhūka** has, with devotion, composed this *prāsaṣṭi*

(V. 19) of the Brāhmanas .

(V. 20) His distinguished wife is known by the name of **Nayanāvalī**. She caused a beautiful image of Mahēśvara together with Umā to be made.

(Line 20) (*This*) *Prāsaṣṭi* [was caused to be written] . . . on **Thursday**, the 10th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha in the year 812 in the ninth year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrations **Karṇa** who meditates on the feet of [the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious] **Vāmadēva**. May it last to the end of the world! May there be bliss and great prosperity! Ōm! Obeisance to the divine Vāsudēva! Ōm! Obeisance to Ganapati Ōm! Obeisance!

¹ There is a play on the word *Trilōchana* meaning (1) a king of that name and (2) the god Śiva For Arjuna's fight with Śiva see the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan, adhyāya 167, vv 9 ff.

No 54; PLATE XLIII B

BRITISH MUSEUM PLATE OF KARNA

THIS is a **single copper-plate** which, together with its ring and seal, was presented by Sir A. W. Franks to the British Museum, London, and is now preserved in that Museum. It seems to have been discovered somewhere in the Uttar Pradesh, but its exact find-spot is not known. It is edited here for the first time from excellent photostat copies kindly supplied by the Director of the Museum.

This is the first of the two copper-plates forming a set, which recorded the grant of some Kalachuri king of Tripuri, probably Karna, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. It measures 1' 5½" broad and 12¼" high. It has a ring and a large seal 3½" in diameter. The weight of the plate is 10 lbs and that of the ring and seal 6 lbs and 1 oz. The writing on it is in a state of excellent preservation.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It has a hole 1" in diameter at the bottom of the inscribed side for the ring which must have originally held together the two plates of the set. The plate contains twenty-one lines of writing. The average size of the letters is 4". The **seal**, though it resembles that of the Goharwa plates in the disposition of the figures, symbols and legend on it, was evidently cast from a different mould. The figures of Lakshmi and the elephants are much better executed here than on the seal of the Goharwa plates¹.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet, and generally resemble those of the Goharwa plates. Some of the individual letters like *ś* and *bh* are, however, shaped as in the Banaras plates, the upper loop of *th* is slightly open in -*pathagān*-, l 12 and the sign of *avagraha* occurs once only in l 13. The record is very carelessly written. The writer has confused *y*, *s* and *bh*, as well as *t* and *bh*. In one case he has not even incised an *akshara* completely. See *tū* 'n -*tūrya*-, l 14. In a few places the record is so corrupt, that it would have been well-nigh impossible to restore the correct text without the help of the Goharwa plates. But strange as it might appear, the present record has helped in the restoration of verse 9 which though it occurs in both the Goharwa plates and the Rewa stone inscription² is incorrectly written in the former and is partly mutilated in the latter.

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for the word *siddh* in the beginning, the extant portion is wholly in verse. There are, in all, twenty-one verses, of which the first twenty are completely written. The record breaks off after the first two *aksharas* of the second half of the twenty-first verse. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the substitution of *v* for *b* and *s* for *ś*, the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and so forth.

The record, so far as it goes, is identical with the Goharwa plates. The genealogy of the donor is traced from the moon down to Karna, the son of Gāṅgēyadēva. On the present plate the inscription ends abruptly in the middle of the description of Karna and before the commencement of the formal part of the grant. It is not, therefore, possible to say definitely who actually made the grant. But, as the draft of the eulogistic portion of the Goharwa plates, which is used here, is not known to have been adopted by any successors of Karna, the present grant was probably made by Karna himself. As the second plate is not forthcoming, all details such as the object, occasion and date of the grant are lost.

¹ Above, No 50

² Above, No 51

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धि[] ॥ निर्गु(र्गु)ण व्यापक नि[त्य] सि(शि)व परमकारण(णम्) । ता(भा)वग्र(ग्रा)-
[ह्य] पर ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्रस्वणे² नस (म) ॥³[१॥*] सु(शु)द्धे हृदयक्षेत्रे वल्लीमिव -
रोव(प)यन्ति या मुनय । सो(मो)-
- 2 क्षस(म)हाफलजननी ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा ज[य]ति ॥⁴[२॥*] क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेस(य)स-
(सु)धानिधानसा(मा)विर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव भवभ(भू)षणमिन्दुरेष । अस्मा[द]जाव⁵ वु(बु)ध स
- 3 किल क्षी(क्षि)तीस(श)या(मा)द्य पुरुरवसमाप तनूजरत्नस(म्) ॥⁶[३॥*] इति [महति] सुधामयू-
खवन्से⁷ नृपतिरजायत मो(मौ)क्तिकायमान । अल[भ]त [भ]द(र)त स व(च)क-
- 4 वत्ती(र्त्ती) त्रिभुवत(न)भूषणभूयमेक एव ॥⁸[४॥*] तत्रोदितोदितकू(कु)ले जगतीपतीनासी-
(मी)स (श) क्रमादजनि हैहयचक्रवत्ता(र्त्ती) । यस(स्य) प्रचण्डभुजप[ञ्ज]रस(म)-
- 5 ध्यवत्ती(र्त्ती) कारागृहे वृ(धृ)त इव व्र(प्र)सभ दसा(शा)स्य ॥⁹[५॥*] [वै]¹⁰रे(रि)धा-
(ध्वा) [न्तभिद] सहस्रकरतो सू(भू)पालचूडाग(म)णि(णे)र्यस्माद्भुत¹¹वा(बा)हुव(ब)न्ध-
विधुरो नक्त(क्त)र(च)रग्रामी(म)णी [॥*]
- 6 हेलोल्लासितवा(बा)हुदण्डविहितश्रीक(क)ठसे(शै)लोद्धृ(द्धृ)ति[] प्रार्ग्वि(ग्वि)क्रान्तस(म)-
मता(न्य)त स्वयमपि स्वप्नेन्द्रजाला(लो)प[म*]म् ॥¹²[६॥*] स(य)ज्ञान(ग्नि)धूमै
परितोषिवेद्रा¹³-
- 7 [त्त]स्मादभूवन्व(न्व)[ह]वो नरे(रे)द्रा । राष्ट्रे न येषा चि(वि)रराम यू(वृ)ष्टिर्व्विपक्षनारा(री)-
नयनास्तु(म्बु)वाहै ॥¹⁴[७॥*] प(ब)गाल[भङ्ग]नि[पु]प (ण) परिभू[त]पाण्डयो
लाटेस(श)लुण्टनपटु-
- 8 जिजतगूज्ज(र्ज्ज)रेन्द्र । कस्मीरवीरमुकुटवर्च्चित¹⁵पाव(द)पीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि लक्ष्मणराजदे-
[व] ॥¹⁶[८॥*] आस(सी)द्यन्व(द्वि)जयप्रयाणजनितव्यायामखे¹⁷दो-
- 9 दयात्यूज्जत्सैनिकगन्धसिन्धुरसि(शि)रसिदूरपूरारुण । त्वगत्तुगतरगताडे(डि)तमहाक्षोणीभू-
दभोनिधि. पूर्णो वैरिकठोरकठदलनासू-
- 10 क्सिन्धुपूरे(रै)रिव¹⁸॥[९॥*] साहित्यविद्याललनाभुजङ्गा(ङ्गो) नि से(शे)षधात्रीधरणाय से(शे)-

¹ From photostats kindly supplied by the Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London

² Read -दब्रह्मणे.

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ Metre *Āryā*

⁵ Read -जायत

⁶ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁷ Read -वशे

⁸ Metre *Pushpitāgrā*

⁹ Metre. *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁰ The engraver first incised वे and afterwards changed it to वै

¹¹ त, which was at first omitted, is written below the line

¹² Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹³ Read परितोषितेन्द्रा-

¹⁴ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁵ Read काश्मीरवीरमुकुटवर्च्चित-

¹⁶ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁷ खि, which was first incised, is altered to खे

¹⁸ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

- ष । ततः स जज्ञे जगदेकव[द्य]ग्वे(श्चे)दा(दी)द्रचद्रो सु(यु)वराजदेव ॥¹ [१०॥*] यौव-
 11 वे(ने)न तनौ यस्य प्रता[पे]नाविमूढ(द्धं)सु । कुलाद्रिकु(कु)जेष्वा(व्व)रिति(भि)स्त्रिति-
 (भि)स्तु[ल्यं] पद दरे(धे) ॥² [११॥*] भूभारक्षमदृक्खु(क्खु)तिप्रणयिनीमालम्ब(म्ब)मा-
 नस्तनु कुब्बा(व्व)ण समरे-
 12 पि नाकपथगानाग[च्छ]तो वे(वि)द्विष । वख्यावा³ भ(भु)वि भूरिमार्गगमनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहि-
 ना(नी) य साक्षात्परम(मे)स्व(श्व)रः समत(भ)वत्सम्यक्सि(क्शि)चा(वा)राधसा(ना)-
 त(त्) ॥⁴ [१२॥*] दि-
 13 व्यद्धन्त⁵ निखातयूपनिचय क्षमापालह(चू)डामणि यस्मा⁶ दद्धु(द्धु)तद्विक्रम[*] क्रमवसा(शा)त्को-
 कल्लनामाऽभवता(त्) चक्र(क्के) यद्विजयप्रयाणपणव स्वर्गागना-
 14 सगना(मा)रभे न(म)गल[तू]⁷ र्यकार्यमहित[क्षो]णीपतीना रसन्⁸ ॥ [१३॥*] आसा(शा)-
 जये समर⁹ सिधुरगधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदाय[त]करा ककु[क](भा) क-
 15 रा(री)द्रा । तू(फू)त्कारमत्रमिव¹⁰ खेचरनायकस्य चक्रु कपे(पो)लमधुपध्वनिभिर्निरासा (शा)
 ॥¹¹ [१४॥*] यस्म(स्मि)न्सुखैकप्रसवे प्रजाना(ना) चेतोसिके¹²
 16 वसत¹³ भ(?)वर्त्तमाने । तत्त्वे(त्त्वे) परस्म(स्मि)सि(न्नि)व योगसा(भा)जा(जा) नि¹⁴ तन्तम-
 स्तप्तससा मूलीच[म्] ॥¹⁵ [१५॥*] आ[क्राम]दूद्ध(द्ध्व) वा(व्र)हा(ह्वा)ण्ड[स]सट्टसातेत
 यग¹⁶
 17 या(म)न्ये यस्य(स्ये) दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकरिता गतम¹⁷ ॥¹⁸ [१६॥*] हा(का)रापजरुद्धकीरनृप-
 सेदीराङ्गलक्ष्मीवारे¹⁹ स्तस्मात्कुम्त(न्त)लभ(भ)गभगिर[सि]का(को) मा(गा)-
 18 गेयदेवोभव[त्] ॥ (।) येनाकारि करोद्रकु(कु)भदलनव्यापार(र)सारात्मना निज्ज(ज्जि)-
 त्योत्कलमन्धि(न्धि)सीम्नि विजयस्तम्भ. स्वकीयो भुज ॥²⁰ [१७॥*] अगुण-
 19 ज्ञेति लोलेति ख्यात यदिह दुज्ज(ज्ज्य)स(श) । लक्ष्मा(क्ष्म्या)स्तधुना धो(धौ)त द(दि)[व्य]मादाय
 तद्वपु ॥²¹ [१८॥*] अति[म]नोर[ध](थ)मर्थिजने धन दिस(श)ति यत्र स कल्पत-
 20 [रु]स्तर । रिमु(पु)यस(श)कुसु(मु)दाकरता(भा)स्कर. सुतमसूत स क[र्ण] [न]रा-
 धिप[म्] ॥²² [१९॥*] आक्र(क्रा)न्तदृत्सात(म)न्तप्रतापप्रसराद(दि)व । [चर*]-

¹ Metre *Upajāti*² Metre *Anushtubh*³ Read विख्याता⁴ Metre of this and the following verse *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*⁵ Read दिक्पर्यन्त-⁶ Read चूडामणेर्यस्मा-⁷ The curve on the left of the vertical of this *akṣhara* has not been incised⁸ The Goharwa plates read भूस(शम्) here The Rewa stone inscription has the same reading as here⁹ The Goharwa plates read समद-¹⁰ Read -मार्त्त-¹¹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*¹² Read तेजोनिधौ¹³ Read चेतसि¹⁴ Read नितान्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम्¹⁵ Metre *Upajāti*¹⁶ Read -सघट्टस्फुटित यश¹⁷ Read -ताराद्याकारता गतम्.¹⁸ Metre *Anushtubh*¹⁹ Read -कीरनृपतिर्दीप्तोङ्गलक्ष्मीचयै- as in the Goharwa plates.²⁰ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.²¹ Metre. *Anushtubh*.²² Metre *Drutavilambita*.

21 णे(णौ) रणसे(शौ) षडस(स्य) सोष्माणा(णौ) यस्य रेजतुः ॥¹ [२०॥*] [स्फु]र[द्ध्यां]
[वज्रचक्राभ्या]² सङ्ग³व्याजेन हस्तयोः । व(व)सा(भा)[र] य. ॥⁴ सय⁵

(The second plate is not forthcoming.)

Seal

श्रीमत्कर्णदेव ॥

TRANSLATION

(For a translation of vv 1-21, see above, pp 259-61)

Seal

The illustrious **Karṇadēva**.

No 55, PLATE XLIV

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

THE stone bearing this inscription is fixed upside down into the plinth of a pavilion at **Simrā**, a village about 10 miles north-west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh. It was first referred to by Rāi Bahadur Hiralal in the *Jubbulpore District Gazetteer*, p 185, and subsequently in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*⁶. It is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription which is in a state of good preservation, contains four lines. The writing covers a space measuring 3' 5" broad by 11" high. The average size of the letters is 1 8". The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 11th century A C. The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is very carelessly written. As regards orthography the vowel *i* is used for *yī* in *vijai*, 1 1, *naya* is written several times for the conjunct *nya*, *rī* for the vowel *ri* in *krītam*, 1 4, and *l* for *r* in *Lāutī* in 1 3.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign⁷ of the *Bhattārakaprabha*, the illustrious **Karṇa**, who, judging by the characters and provenance of the present inscription, seems to be identical with the well-known Kalachuri king of that name. The object of the inscription appears to be to record the death of some persons who are said to have gone to the holy world. It is not stated on what occasion they lost their lives.⁸ The record ends with the statement that the commemorative stone was put up by **Janāda** (Janārdana?).

As stated above, the stone is built upside down into the plinth of a pavilion, which shows that it is not in its original position.

¹ Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

² The letters in the brackets are not clear

³ Perhaps —लिङ्गव्याजेन is intended. The Goharwa plates have एकव्याजेन which is not quite satisfactory

⁴ This *danda* is superfluous

⁵ Read य त्रिय. The Goharwa plates complete the verse as—साक्षादिन्द्रोपेन्द्रविज्र (जृ) भिनी (नीम्) ॥

⁶ First ed, p 40, second ed p 43. Cunningham, who visited Simrā in 1883-84, does not appear to have noticed this inscription

⁷ Instead of the usual expression *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājyē*, we have here *vijai(yī)bhava[ti*]*

⁸ Since the name of Karna is mentioned in the beginning, it may be conjectured that they met with death in some battle of that king

SIMRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNA

Left Half



Right Half



TEXT¹

- 1 स्वस्त(स्ति) [1*] श्रीभटा(ट्टा) रकप(प्र) भस्त्रि²श्रि(श्री) मत्[क] ण्णदेव दीजइ भव³
 2 हेमदोपली गोपी पुनयलोके⁴ । मलोरा[ग्रा]जा[ज ?] पुनयलोके⁴।
 3 तइपलाउती⁵ शु(?)विष्ठला(ल) [पु]नयलोके⁴। [कै]देही पुनयलो-
 4 की⁴ [1*][त्री]त⁶ जनादेन⁷ ।

TRANSLATION

Hail! During the victorious reign of the *Bhattāarakaprabha*, the illustrious *Karna*, *Hēmadōpalī Gōpī* (*has gone*) to the holy world, *Malōrāgrāja* (*has gone*) to the holy world, the *Rāut* *Taipa Suvashthala* (*has gone*) to the holy world, (*and*) *Kaidēhī* (*has gone*) to the holy world (*This record*) was put up by *Janāda* (*Janārdana*?)

No 56, PLATE XLV

KHAIRHA PLATES OF YASAHKARNA · (KALACHURI) YEAR 823

THESE plates were found enclosed in a large stone chest at *Khairhā*,⁸ a village in *Vindhya Pradesh*, about eight miles south-west of the *Burhar* railway station on the *Katni-Bilaspur Branch* of the *Bengal Nagpur Railway*. They were published, with a lithograph and a translation, by *Rai Bahadur Hiralal* in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp 205 ff. They are edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

They are **two copper-plates**, each measuring 1' 6 8" in breadth and 1' 1 5" in height. They were held together by a stout ring, passing through a hole about 8" in diameter at the top of each plate. Its ends were not originally soldered. To the ring is attached a bell-shaped seal, on the counter-sunk circular surface of which appears in relief a rudely executed figure of *Lakshmi* attended by an elephant on either side, pouring water on her head. Below this is the legend *Śrīmad-Yasahkarnnadēvab* in a single line across the diameter. At the bottom of all is the figure of the couchant *Nandī* facing proper right, with an incense-pot on either side. The total weight of the plates and the seal is 14 seers and 25 tolas.

The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. There are forty-four lines in all, of which twenty-one are written on the inner side of the first plate, and the remaining twenty-three on that of the second. The average size of the letters is 5". The **characters** are of the *Nāgarī* alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of the initial *z*—the older one in *Chhitapai*, l 30 and the later one in *va*, l 6, the sign of the rare *h* which appears as a subscript letter in *-kḥipta*, l 16, and the medial *u* which is added to the left limb of *j* in *jugupsatē*, l 8 and to the right side of the vertical of *y* in *-nāmany=udgamam*, l. 16. The sign of *avagraha* occurs in ll 11, 15 and 39, and a vertical dash at the end of l 27. In other respects the characters resemble those of the *Goharwa* plates of *Karna*.

¹ From inked estampages

² This *akshara* is superfluous

³ Read कर्णदेवे विजयीभवति

⁴ Read पुण्यलोके

⁵ Perhaps तइप राउत was intended

⁶ Read कृत

⁷ Perhaps जनार्दनेन was intended.

⁸ The place is named *Khairā* in the Degree Map 64 E.

The language is Sanskrit. The first twenty-two lines contain twenty-four verses composed in the *kāvya* style, eulogising the donor and his ancestors. They are followed by a prose portion (ll 22-31), containing the formal part of the grant and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses (ll 31-44). The record ends with the mention of the writer's name and the customary blessing, *mangalam mahā-śrīḥ*. The following orthographical peculiarities may also be noticed—the palatal *ś* is generally written as the dental *s* (see, e.g., *-rāsī-* and *-sat-ōpabhōgyā-*, both in l 3), while the reverse also occurs in two places, *-bhāśī-*, l 19 and *śalīla-*, l 38; the sign for *v* is everywhere employed to denote *b*, see *Vrahmanē*, l 1 and *-avdhī-*, l 2, the consonant following *r* is often reduplicated, see *chandr-ārkeka-*, l 14, *svarggē*, l 36, finally, the *anusvāra* before the dental *s* is wrongly changed to *n* in *-vansa-*, l 6.

The plates were issued by Yaśahkarna of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty. His pedigree is traced to Viṣṇu. After the mythological and legendary ancestors Brahmā, Atri, the moon, Purūras, Bharata and Kārtavīrya, the first historical personage mentioned here is Yuvarājadēva, who is identical with the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Banaras plates of Karna. His son Kōkalla (II) is said to have been placed on the throne by the chief ministers of the realm. Kōkalla's son was Gāṅgēyadēva who became famous as Vikramāditya. In the course of his description we are told that wishing to run away from him the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear¹. Gāṅgēya died with his hundred wives at the foot of the banyan tree at Prayāga. His son and successor was Karnadēva who constructed at Banaras a high temple which he named *Karnamēru*² after himself. He also established a settlement of the Brāhmanas called *Karṇāvatī*. He married a Hūṇa princess named Āvalladēvī. From her he had a son named Yaśahkarna whom he himself crowned king. Yaśahkarna routed the Andhra king and worshipped the god Bhīmēśvara near the Gōdāvarī.

The present plates were granted at Banaras³ by Yaśahkarna who is described in the formal portion exactly like his father Karna in the Goharwa plates. They record the royal donation of the village Deulā-Pañchēla situated in the *pattalā* of Dēvagrāma in the *uddēśa* (district?) of Vāsudēva. The donee was a Brāhmana named Gaṅgādhara, the son of Chhītaparī and grandson of Sīā, who belonged to the Kāṇva *gōtra* with three *pravaras*,⁴ and was a student of the Rīgvēda. The grant was made on the occasion of a *saṅkrānti* on Sunday, the fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era. The record was written by Vāchchhūka, the writer of religious documents.

The date of the present grant must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out correctly. The fourteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Kalachuri year 823, if we take it to be expired as usual, fell on the 6th March 1072 A.C., when the week-day was Tuesday, not Sunday as required. Besides, the Mīna-saṅkrānti did not fall on that day but had taken place on the 22nd of February of that year, which was a Wednesday. Taking the year as current, we find that the aforementioned tithi fell on Wednesday (the 16th February 1071 A.C.), and not on Sunday,

¹ Hiralal took the sentence *yasmād . va(ḥ)bbhāra* to mean that Gāṅgēyadēva restored Kuntala to its king (*Ep Ind*, Vol XII, p 207). But this interpretation is wrong, see below p 297, n 4. The king of Kuntala defeated by Gāṅgēyadēva was probably Jayasimha-Jagadēkamalla, who ruled from about 1015 to 1042 A.C. and was thus a contemporary of Gāṅgēyadēva.

² See below, p 297, n 5.

³ See the words 'here in Kāśī' in verse 13 of the text.

⁴ Only two of these are named in ll 29-30, *vr̥*, Āpla(na)va(vā)na and Jāmadagni(gnya). The third was probably Aurva. See below, p 295, n 6.

while the Mīna-sankrānti took place five days later on Monday, the 21st February. In 1073 A C, though it would not suit the epoch of the era (*viç*, 247-48 A C) as finally determined by Dr Kielhorn, the *tithi* according to Mr Sewell's calculations¹ fell on Sunday (the 24th February 1073 A C), but the Mīna-sankrānti had taken place three days earlier, on the 21st February. None of these dates would, therefore, suit, but Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who first edited the present plates, preferred the last of them on the ground that in that case, the *tithi* at least is found to agree with the week-day. As for the discrepancy of the sankrānti he conjectured that 'the record was possibly dated on the day on which it was actually handed over to the donee, though the grant was made on the auspicious sankrānti day'². The statement in the original plates is, however, quite clear. It couples the sankrānti with the *tithi* and the week-day. Besides, the date in 1073 A C would not, as already remarked, suit Kielhorn's epoch of the Kalachuri era, the reliability of which in regard to the later dates of the era is now beyond question. The mistake, therefore, must lie somewhere else.

The only year in the period from 1060 A C to 1100 A C, in which the Mīna-sankrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day came close together is 1076 A C. In that year the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguna ended 17 h 20 m after mean sunrise on Sunday, the 21st February and, therefore, gave its number to that day. The Mīna-sankrānti also took place 1 h 15 m after sunrise on the following day³. The year 1076 A C would not, however, correspond to the Kalachuri year 823. There appears to be some mistake in the last numeral of the date. The Kalachuri year, if expired, must have been 827. The date of the Christian era, corresponding to the sankrānti, is, therefore, Monday, the 22nd February 1076 A C.

The present grant refers to Yaśahkaraṇa's victory over an Andhra king. The latter was probably Vijayāditya VII who ruled from *circa* 1061 to 1076 A C⁴. After vanquishing him, Yaśahkarna is said to have worshipped Bhīmēśvara with jewellery. From the description given here, this temple of Bhīmēśvara seems to have been situated near the Gōdāvarī. There are several temples of Bhīmēśvara in the Gōdāvarī District, but from the description given here, the temple at Drākshārām in the Rāmchandrapuram *tālukā* seems to be intended. 'The real centre of religious interest at Drākshārām is the temple of Bhīmēśvarasvāmī. It contains a particularly big *lingam*, some fourteen or fifteen feet high. This is supposed to be a part of a *lingam*, which broke into five pieces and fell at five holy places, namely at Bhīmavaram or Bhīmarāma in Cocanada, Pālakollu or Kshīrarāma in Krishna, Amaravatī or Amararāma in the Guntur District, and Kumārārāma which is not identified. It is supposed to have been erected by the sun and worshipped by the seven sages who made the seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī. The seven sages are supposed to have each brought water from their respective rivers under-ground to the tank at Drākshārāmam which is called the *Sapta-Gōdāvarī*, seven Gōdāvarīs. There is a sacred bathing ghat, which confers in a condensed form all the sanctity which is to be obtained by separate baths in each of the seven rivers. The temple is a rather handsome two-storeyed building. Its erection is ascribed by popular tradition to an unknown Chōla

¹ According to S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* current at sunrise on Sunday was the *purnimā*.

² *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, p 206.

³ There is thus a discrepancy of one day. For a somewhat analogous case, see the date of the Basāhi plates of Govindachandradēva, *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 363. The sankrānti, the *tithi* and the week-day occurred together on the 22nd February 1103 A C, but it is very doubtful if Yaśahkarna had retained his hold over Banaras at that time, as implied in verse 13 of the present inscription.

⁴ Several inscriptions of the reign of this prince are found at Drākshārāma. See *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol II, p 724.

king¹ The earliest inscription at Drākshārām is that of the time of Rājarāja, dated 1055 A C The foregoing account will show that the temple is not on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as intimated in the present inscription, for the river flows about fourteen miles away from it, but the description given here can be understood, as has already been suggested by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, to refer to the tank at Drākshārām, which is popularly believed to contain the seven streams of the Gōdāvarī

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, **Tripurī** has already been shown to be Tewar, a village about 6 miles from Jabalpur **Karṇāvatī** has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with the deserted village Karanbēl which lies about a mile from Tripurī² The name has 'a double signification, retaining the memory of the founder in the first half and giving the distinguishing mark of the site in the second, there being a jungle of *bēl* trees to supply leaves to the numerous Śiva *lingas* once enshrined there'³. **Kuntala** has been already shown to be the country under the rule of the Late Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi As regards **Deulā-Pañchēla** it appears to be a joint place-name. The first part of it is probably represented by Deori, now a deserted village 10 miles north by west of Khairhā, and the second by Pāchri which lies only two miles to the north of Deori. **Dēvagrāma**, the headquarters of the sub-division (*pattalā*) in which the donated village was situated, was identified by R B Hiralal with Deogavān close to Khairhā 'where there are a number of very old wells and water-reservoirs together with the remains of old buildings'⁴. The word *Vāsudēv-ōddēśē*, which precedes *Dēvagrāma-pattalāyām* in lines 27-28 of the present grant was taken by R B Hiralal to mean 'in honour of Vāsudēva' From the context, however, it seems to denote a territorial division Besides Yaśaḥkarṇa was a devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva), not of Vāsudēva If the grant was made in honour of any deity it must have been Śiva I am, therefore, inclined to take *Vāsudēv-ōddēśē* of the text to mean 'in the district of Vāsudēva' An analogous expression *Vāsudēva-khanda-vishayē*, which undoubtedly denotes a territorial division, occurs in the Ganjām plates of Ranabhañjadēva,⁵ edited by R.B. Hiralal himself There are several places⁶ named after Vishnu in the surrounding territory of Vindhya Pradesh

TEXT 7

- 1 ओ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे⁸ ॥ जयति जलजभा(ना)भस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जा-
तवानज्ज(ब्ज)सूति । अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमन्त्रिस्तदक्षणप्त(स्त)दनु जयति जन्म प्रा-
2 प्तवानब्धि(ब्धि)व(ब)न्धु ॥⁹[१॥*] अथ वो(वो)धनमादिराजपुत्र गृहजामातरमज्ज(ब्ज)-
वा(बा)[ब्ध]वस्य । तनय(य) जनयावभूव¹⁰ राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहस ।¹¹[१२॥*] पुत्रं
पुरु(रु)रवस-

¹ The *Godavari District Gazetteer*, pp 250 ff

² It may be noted in this connection that *Karnapura* is also the name of a ridge near Kārītālāi

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, p 209 The expression 'the crown of the heavenly river' used in describing the settlement in v 14 seems, however to suggest that the settlement was on the bank of the Gangā. Hall supposed that the epithet, though usually appropriated to the Gangā was here applied to the Narmadā, *J A S B*, Vol XXXI, p 115, n 4

⁴ *Loc cit*

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, p 293.

⁶ One place named *Rāmpur*, for instance, lies only about 16 miles north by east of Khairhā

⁷ From ink impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist

⁸ This *visarga* is superfluous

⁹ Metre *Mālinī*.

¹⁰ Read जनयाम्बभूव.

¹¹ Metre *Anpachchhandasika*

- 3 मौरसमाप सन्तुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसमभागा(ग्य)स(श)तोप-
भोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्च(र्व)रा च ॥¹[३॥*] अत्र(त्रा)न्वये
- 4 किल स(श)ताधिकसप्तिते(मे)धयूपोप[रु]द्धयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्त्तिः । सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नर-
स(श)नाभरण(णा)भिरामविस्व(स्व)भरासु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥²[४॥*] हेलागृही-
- 5 [त]²पुनरुक्तसमस्तसत्रो³ गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कार्ल(र्त्त)वीर्य । अत्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्व-
पुसि राजेति नाम [श]शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे य ।⁴[५॥*] स हिमाच-
- 6 ल इव रु(क)लचू(चु)रिवन्स⁴मसूत क्षमान्द(भृ)ता भर्त्ता । मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तं पूतं
महीपतिभिः ॥⁵[६॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवता(ता) प्रवरो न(नृ)पेन्द्र[.] [पौ]रदरीणि(मि)व
पुरी
- 7 त्रिपुरा(री)पुनान ॥(१) आसीन्नातन्ध⁶नृपगन्धगज(जा)धिराजनिमा(र्मा)थ(थि)केसरियुवा युव-
राजदेवः ॥⁷[७॥*] सिंहासने नृपतिसिंहममुष्य सूनुमारुरूपन्नवनिभर्तुर[मा]त्यमुख्या ॥(१)
- 8 कोकल्लमर्णवचनु(तु)ष्टयवीचिरा(स)घस(स)घट्टरुद्धचतुरगचमूप्रचारम् ॥⁸[८॥*] इदुप्रभा नि-
दति हारगुच्छ जुगुप्सते चदनमाक्षिपन्ती । र(य)त्र प्रभौ दूरतर प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रति-
- 9 भाति कीर्त्ति ॥⁹[९॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षा स्मिताक्षो नगरपरिधर्दधीं (घ्य) लघयन्दोर्द्ध-
येन ॥(१) शिरसि कुलि[स](श)पातो वैरिणा वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्य यस्य गाङ्गे-
- 10 यदेव ॥¹⁰[१०॥*] स वीरसिंहासनमौलिरत्न स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्ध । यस्मादकस्माद-
पयानमिच्च(च्छ)न्न कुन्तल¹⁰ कुन्तलता व(व)भार ॥¹¹[११॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवट्ट(ट)मूलनि-
वेस(श)वन्धो¹²
- 11 सार्द्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) ॥(१) पुत्रे(त्रो)ऽस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द(न्द्र)-
कुम्भमुक्ताफते (लै) स्म ककुभोर्च्चति [क]र्णदेव ॥¹³[१२॥*] कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्लद्वैजय-
न्तीसमीर-
- 12 ग्लपितगगनखेलन्खे(त्खे)चरीचक्रखेद ॥(१) किमपरमिह कास्यां(श्या) यस्य दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)-
वीचीवलयव(व)हलकीर्त्ते कीर्त्तन क[र्ण]¹⁴मेरु[*] ॥¹⁵[१३॥*] अग्य धाम श्रेयसो वेद-
विद्याव-
- 13 ल्लीकन्द स्व स्रवन्त्या किरीट(टम्) [१*] ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तभो¹⁶ येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्यष्टापि क्षमा-
तलव्र(ब्र)ह्मला(लो)क. ॥¹⁷[१४॥*] चा(अ)जनि कलचुरीणा स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजल-
निधि[ल]क्ष्मा(क्ष्म्या) श्रीमदा-

¹ Metre of this and the following two verses *Vasantatilakā*

² The engraver first incised ता, but later on cancelled the second vertical stroke

³ Read -शस्त्रो

⁴ Read -वश-

⁵ Metre *Āryā*

⁶ Read आसीन्मदान्ध-

⁷ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

⁸ Metre *Upajāti*

⁹ Metre *Mālinī*

¹⁰ Hiralal read -न्नकुन्तल

¹¹ Metre *Upajāti*

¹² Read -बन्धो

¹³ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁴ The superscript *n* is not completely incised

¹⁵ Metre *Mālinī*

¹⁶ Read -स्तवो Compare ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तव(व)स्थान in 12. of the Bargaon temple inscription of Śabara (No 43, above)

¹⁷ Metre *Śālinī*

- 14 वण्ण(ल्ल)देव्या(व्याम्) । शशभृदुदयस(श)ङ्कावकु(क्षु)ब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरित-
यशश्रीः श्रीयद्य(श)कर्णदेव ¹[11511*] चद्रार्कदीपवति पर्वतराजपूर्णकुभावभासिनि
महाब्धि(ब्धि)चतुष्कमध्ये [1*]
- 15 चके(के) पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिप्ल(पू)तकम्मि धर्मान्मि(त्तम)नोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेक(कम्) ²
[11611*] न खलशलभगो[ष्ठी]पक्षपातस्य पात्र न खलु कलुषचर्याकज्जलाद्गारकार ³
- 16 कलयनि(ति) कलिनामन्युद्गम यस्त्रियामातमसि जयति जस्वू(म्बू)दी(द्वी)परत्र(त्तन)प्रदीप ⁴
[11711*] चिन्तामणिक्लृप्तशक्तियुग्मक्रोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्ध(ग्धम्) । दृश्ये दृशोस्तस्य ⁵ दा-
- 17 नु(तु) मो(सा)दृश्य(श्य) धवलारुणक्षणस्य ⁶ [11811*] य ककुप्कुञ्जरो(रा)लानस्तमु-
(म्भ)सत्र(त्र)ह्यचारिण । क्षोपात्तेषु जयस्त[भा]नुदस्तभयदुच्चकै ⁷[11911*] [यो] व्र(व्र)-
ह्यणा पाणिपु(षु) पचषाणि दा-
- 18 ता निधत्ते पयसा पृषन्ति [1*] तैरेव तृप्ता(ष्णा)मवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रव(थ)यन्त्यव-
जा(ज्ञाम्) ⁸[12011*] महीभर्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभि । गरिम्णा मे⁹रुत्यर्थं कृ-
- 19 तार्थयति योर्थिन ¹⁰[12111*] स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(श)खसु(शु)-
चीनि ॥ (1) सा(शा)ङ्गितल्पफणिकंचुकभाशि¹¹ स्फीतता दधति यस्य य-
- 20 सां(शां)सि ॥¹²[12211*] अन्ध्राधीशमरन्ध्रदोर्व्विलसित स्वच्छन्¹³मु[च्छि]न्दता येनाभ्यर्च्यत
भूरिभिः स भग[वा*]न्भीमेस(श्व)रो भूप(ष)णे(णै) । यस्याभ्यर्णंगता प्र-
- 21 नृत्य¹⁴लहरीभ्रूवल्लिगोदावरी ¹⁵ गायत्युन्मदहसनादमधुरै सो(स्रो)त[स्वरैः सप्तभिः ¹⁶
[12311*] कुर्वन्मही ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसादरिक्षत्रनिव(व)-

Second Plate

- 22 हृण. । सार्द्ध परसु(शु)भा(रा)मेण य स्पर्धामधिरोहति ¹⁷[12411*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवा-
- 23 मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमक(भ)ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रत्रिकलिगा-
धिपतिनिजभु-
- 24 जोपार्ज्जितास्व(श्व)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्य) श्रीमद्यस(श)कर्णदेवः ॥¹⁸
श्रीग(म)हादेवी । महाराजपुत्र

¹ Metre *Māhni*

² Metre *Vasantatilakā*

³ Read -कज्जलोद्गारकार

⁴ Metre *Māhni*

⁵ Read दृश्येत दृशोस्तदास्य

⁶ Metre *Bhadravirāj*

⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*.

⁸ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁹ The engraver first incised मे, but afterwards altered it to मे

¹⁰ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹¹ Read -भासि

¹² Metre *Svāgatā*.

¹³ Read अन्ध्राधीशमरन्ध्रदोर्व्विलसित स्वच्छन्द-

¹⁴ This *akshara* is quite clear in the impressions.

¹⁵ This *danda* is superfluous

¹⁶ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁸ These and the following *dandas* in ll 24-26 are superfluous

First Plate

[illegible]

- 25 महाम(म)त्री । महामात्य[*] । महासाव(म)न्त[*] । महापुरोहितः । महाप्रतीहार । म-
हाक्षपटलिक । महाप्रमात्र¹ म-
- 26 हास्व(श्च)साधनिक । महाभाडागारिक² । महाध्यक्ष । एतानन्याश्च प्रदास्यमानग्रामनिवा-
सिजनपदाश्चाहूय यथार्हं सस्मा(म्मा)नयति वो(बो)-
- 27 धयति समाज्ञापा(प)यति [*] विदित(त)मेतदस्तु भवता यथा सवत् ८२३ फाल्गुनमासि सु(शु)-
क्लपक्षे चतुर्द(र्द)स्यां(श्या) रवौ सक्रात्तौ(तौ) वासुदेवो-
- 28 दे(हे)से(शे) देवग्रामपत्तलाया देउलापचेलग्रामा (म) स(स्व)सीमापर्यन्त. चतुरावाटविसु(शु)
द्ध ।³ सजलस्थल साम(म्)मधूक । सगर्तोषर । स-
- 29 निर्गमप्रवेस (श) । सलवणाकर । सगोप्रचार । सजाङ्गलानूप । वृक्षारा[मो*]द्धे⁴दोद्यान-
तृणादिसहित । कान्वस्यगोत्राय⁵ आप्लवन-
- 30 जामदग्नित्रीप्रवराय⁶ व(व)ह्वृ[च*]सा(शा)खिने सीआपौत्राय च्छीतपइपुत्राय गंगाधरस(श)-
र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय मातापित्रोरात्म[न*]श्च पुण्य-
- 31 यशोभिवृद्धये ग्रामोयमस्माभि सा(शा)सनत्वेन सप्रदत्त । अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति [*]
सर्वान्येन्भाविन⁷ । पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो
- 32 भूयो याचते रामभद्र । सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्नुपाणा काले काले पालनीयो भव[द्भिः] ।⁸
[१२५*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि सग-
- 33 रादिभि । यस्य यस्य य[दा] भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त[दा] फल(लम्) ।⁹ [१२६॥*] सुवर्णमेकं
गामेका भूमेरप्येकमगुल(लम्) [*] हरन्नरकमाप्नो[ति*] यावदाहू(भू)तस-
- 34 प्लव(वम्) । [१२७॥*] तडागाना सहस्रेण अस्व(श्च)मेधस(श)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन
भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति । [१२८॥*] स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता(त्तां) [वा] यो हरेत वसुध-
- 35 रा(राम्) । स विष्टाया कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभि. सह मज्जति । [१२९॥*] फालकृष्टां मही
दद्यात्सवी(बी)जा सस्यसा(शा)लिनी(नीम्) । यावत्सूर्यकृतालोकान्ताव-¹⁰
- 36 त्स्वर्गो महीयते । [१३०॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि (णि) स्वर्गो वसति भूमिद । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव नरके वसेतु(त्) । [१३१॥*] वारिहीने[ष्व]रत्ये(प्ये)षु सु(शु)[ष्क]कोटर-
- 37 वासिन [।] कृष्णसप्पस्ति जायन्ते ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदेवस्वहारिण । [१३२॥*] अन्यायेन हता भूमिरन्या-
येन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयन्त(त)श्च दहत्यासप्तम कुल(लम्) । [१३३॥*] अ-
- 38 स्मत्कुलक्रमगता समुदाहरन्ति अन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्युपमोदनीय(यम्) । लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)श्चला
श(स)लिलवु(बु)द्वु(द्वु)[द*]वद्धराया दान फल परमत प्रतिपा-

¹ Read महाप्रमात्रा

² Read महाभाडागारिक

³ This and the following *dandas* in ll 28 and 29 are superfluous

⁴ The *visarga* which was at first incised after ~~द्धे~~ has been struck out

⁵ Read काण्वसगोत्राय

⁶ Though the text refers to three *pravaras*, only two are actually mentioned here Generally the *pravaras* which include the names of आप्नवान् and जामदग्न्य are five and are given in the following order — भार्गव, च्यवन, आप्नवान्, औरव and जामदग्न्य When only three *pravaras* are mentioned, they are generally भार्गव, औरव and जामदग्न्य or भार्गव, च्यवन and आप्नवान् The donee of the present grant had perhaps the *pravaras*, आप्नवान्, औरव and जामदग्न्य Read therefore आप्नवानौर्जामदग्न्यत्रिप्रराय *Kāṇva* is not, however, mentioned in the list of *gōtras* under *Jāmadagnya*

⁷ Read सर्वानेतान्भाविन The following *danda* is superfluous.

⁸ Metre *Śālnī*

⁹ Metre of this and the following seven verses *Anushtubh*

¹⁰ Read यावत्सूर्यकृता लोकास्ताव-

- 39 लनीय(यम्) ¹[1३४॥*] प्रजाहितात्थं स्थितय प्रणीता धर्मेषु विद्वानु(न्) प्रतिपालयेतु(त्) ।
यो लोभमोहाद्धरते दुरात्मा सोऽन्धो ब्रजेदु(द्)र्गतिमासु(शु) कष्टा(ष्टाम्) [॥३५॥*]²
- 40 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [॥*] निर्म्मार्थव(वा)न्तिप्रमितानि तानि
को नाम साधु पुनराददीत् ³[॥३६॥*] भूमि य प्रति—
- 41 गृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमि प्रयच्छति [॥*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियत स्वर्गगामिनौ ⁴
[॥३७॥*] सं(श)खो भद्र(द्रा)सन च्छत्र⁵ वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवारणा । भूमिदानस्य चि—
- 42 ह्णानि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ⁶[॥३८॥*] अस्मिन्वसे(शे) परिक्षीणे य कश्चिन्(चू)पतिर्भवेत्(त्) ॥
(१) तस्याह हस्तलग्नोस्मि सा(शा)सन न न्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[३९॥*] वाताभ्र—
- 43 विभ्रममिद वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोग । प्राणास्तृणाग्रसमवि(वि)न्दुसमा
नराणा धर्म्म सखा परमहो
- 44 परलोकयाने ⁷[॥४०॥*] धर्म्मलेखिश्रीवाच्छूकेन लिखितमिति⁸ ॥ मगल महाश्री[*] ॥⁹

TRANSLATION

Om ! Adoration to Brahman !

(Verse 1) Glorious is the lotus-navelled (*god*), glorious is the lotus which sprang from his navel and glorious is the (*god*) *Brahmā* born from (*that*) lotus ! Glorious again is his offspring *Atri*, and glorious is the friend of the ocean¹⁰ who had his birth from his (*i e*, *Atri's*) eye

(V 2) Now the king,¹¹ who is the swan in the expanse of heaven, begat *Bōdhana* (*i e*, *Budha*), the son of (*that*) primeval king, (*who became*) a son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses ¹²

(V 3) The son of the god (moon), who is the elixir of the seven oceans, obtained as a legitimate son *Purūravas*, who had here as his faithful wife *Urvaśī* to be enjoyed (*only*) by hundreds of matchless blessings, and also the earth.

(V 4) In this family verily was born *Bharata*, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the *Yamunā*, hemmed in by the posts of more than a hundred horse-sacrifices (*performed by him*) ; who was devoted to securing the well-being of the earth made beautiful by the jewelled girdle by the seven oceans

(V 5) Exceedingly glorious in his family is that *Kārtavīrya* who wielded with ease all weapons, superfluous (*though they were in his case*), and who allowed the title of king only to the Moon,¹³ the progenitor of the family of these *Haihaya* princes

(V 6) As the *Himālaya*, the lord of mountains, produces a bamboo, which is

¹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

² Metre *Upajāti*

³ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁴ Metre of this and of the following two verses *Anushtubh*

⁵ Read छत्र

⁶ The *Sarkhō* plates (No 83, below) read फल स्वर्ग पुरंदर

⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁸ Read लिखितमिति

⁹ There is a sign here, indicating the completion of the record

¹⁰ *I e*, the moon

¹¹ *I e*, the moon, the lord of stars

¹² *I e*, the sun

¹³ For the idea, compare verse 16 of the *Deopara* inscription of *Vijayasēna*, *Ep Ind*, Vol. I, p 309.

rendered bright by stainless and round pearls,¹ so did that lord of princes beget the **Kalachuri** family, which is purified by kings of spotless conduct

(V 7) In that family was a king, the foremost among those (*who are*) eminent for political wisdom, who purified **Tripurī** as Indra does his city,—**Yuvarājadēva** (II), who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by arrogance as a young lion kills the leading scent-elephants infuriated by rut

(V 8) The chief ministers of the lord of the earth placed on the throne his son **Kōkalla** (II), a lion-like prince, the advance of whose four-membered army was checked (*only*) by (*its*) encountering the multitude of waves of the four oceans

(V 9) That lord having gone far away,² his fame appears like a woman separated from her husband, (*for*) throwing away the white sandal paste, she derides moon-light and detests pearl necklaces³

(V 10) His offspring was **Gāṅgēyadēva**, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of (*his*) enemies, the lord of the fortune of heroes, whose chest was broad like an emerald tablet, and who, having smiling eyes, surpassed with both his arms the length of a city-bolt

(V 11) He (*was*) the crest-jewel of heroic princes, he (*became*) famous by the title of **Vikramāditya**; wishing suddenly to run away from whom (*the lord of*) **Kuntala** ceased to wield his spear⁴

(V 12) When, fond of residing at the foot of the (*holy*) banyan tree at **Prayāga**, he attained salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son **Karnadēva** worshipped the quarters with (*the offerings of*) the pearls from the frontal globes of the best of enemies' elephants cleft by his sword

(V 13) What more (*need we say about him*) than that here at **Kāśī** the (*temple*) **Karnamēru**⁵ proclaims his great fame, which is like the circle of waves of the milk-ocean—

¹There is a play on the word *vṛtta* meaning (1) round and (2) conduct

²*I e*, having gone to the other world

³The intended sense is that the fame of the king was brighter than all these. A woman separated from her husband abstains from all decoration and suffers pangs of love in moon-light

⁴Hiralal translated the second half of this verse as follows 'Wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again' In a note added to this, he remarked, 'The meaning of the second line of the verse is very obscure. The writer evidently plays on the word *kuntala* and has brought about what is called *vṛddhābhāsa* when he says *akuntalah kuntalatām babhāra*, *i e*, a hairless person bore hairiness (an apparent contradiction). The eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgēyadēva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to the king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair (a second pun on the word *akuntala*)', *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, p 215, n 2. This interpretation was followed by R D Banerji in his *Haribayas of Tripurī etc*, p 16, but it is incorrect. The mistake lies in the *pada-choḥbhāda* of the last quarter of the verse. We have to take the words as *na Kuntalah* (not *a-kuntalah*) *kuntalatām va(ba)bbāra*. There is evidently a pun on the word *kuntala* here. The first word *kuntalah* means the king of the Kuntala country. *Kuntalatā* has to be explained in two ways (1) *Kuntalasya bhāvah kuntalatā* 'the position of the king of the Kuntala country' and (2) *kuntam lāti itī kuntalah, tasya bhāvah kuntalatā*, 'the state of one who wields a spear'. As regards the second explanation, see the derivation of *kusala* given by Mammata in his *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (ed by Zalkikar, 1921), p 42.

The second half of the verse apparently means 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, Kuntala ceased to be Kuntala'. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being *Vṛddhābhāsa*, for the words really mean 'Wishing to run away suddenly from whom, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear', *i e*, he gave up fighting with Gāṅgēyadēva and fled away. The verse is, therefore, intended to record a defeat of the king of Kuntala by Gāṅgēyadēva.

⁵*Mēru* denotes a particular kind of temple, *vṛj*, hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows and four entrances, *Bṛhatsamhitā*, lv1, 20. According to the *Samarāṅgasūtradhāra*, it has sixteen stories and four spires. For other details, see *Samarāṅgasūtradhāra*, ch 55, vv 5-15 and ch 63, vv 4 and 5.

(*the temple which is so high that*) it lessens the fatigue of multitudes of celestial damsels playing in the sky, with the breezes of the flags waving from its golden spires.

(V 14) He established a settlement of Brāhmanas¹ called **Karṇāvati**, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeper of Vedic scholarship, the crown of the heavenly river² (*and*) the world of Brahmā on the surface of the earth

(V 15) That lord of **Kalachuris** begot on the illustrious **Āvalladēvī**, the goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the **Hūṇa** family, the illustrious **Yaśaḥkarṇadēva**, the splendour of whose fame is the companion of the waves of the milk-ocean, that surge up mistaking it for the rise of the moon³

(V 16) Of this pious prince the father, whose actions were pure, being guided by his family priest, performed himself the great coronation ceremony in the quadrangle (*surrounded*) by the great oceans, which had the sun and the moon as lamps and which was rendered resplendent by the lord of mountains⁴ as by a full jar

(V 17) Glorious is he, who, like a jewel-lamp of the Jambūdviṇṇa⁵ shines in the Kali age, as (*the jewel-lamp shines*) in the darkness of the night, who is not influenced by partiality for the assemblies of wicked men, as a jewel-lamp is not filled by the wings of night-moths,⁶ and who does not display evil conduct as a jewel-lamp does not give out lamp-black

(V 18) If the milk of the cow of plenty were put in two shells made of the wish-fulfilling gem, then there would be seen a likeness with the white and red eyes of this liberal king

(V 19) He set up high pillars of victory near the confines of the earth, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are tied

(V 20) (*This*) liberal (*king*) pours five or six drops of water on the hands of Brāhmanas. Even with these, they satisfy their desire for wealth, and afterwards show their contempt for (*the ocean which is*) the mine of jewels⁷

(V 21) Occupying a high position like Mēru, (*this*) ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies the suppliants by his great gifts such as the *tulā-purusha*⁸

(V 22) Bright as the tusks of the elephants of the lord of heaven, white like the conches of the milky ocean, and (*resplendent*) like the slough of the serpent which forms the couch of Viṣṇu, his fame has attained abundance

(V 23) Extirpating with ease the lord of **Andhra**, the graceful movements of whose arms were flawless, he worshipped with (*the offerings of*) many ornaments the holy Bhīmēśvara, near whom the **Gōdāvarī**, with her dancing eye-brows of waves, sings his glory with the seven notes of her streams⁹ sweet with the cries of the intoxicated swans.

¹ Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal translate *Vra(Bra)hma-stambhō* by 'the pillar of piety' But the correct expression is *Brahma-stambhō* which means 'a settlement of Brāhmanas', see above, No 43, line 2

² This seems to suggest that the settlement was situated on the bank of the Gangā

³ For fame is white like moon-beams

⁴ *I e*, Himālaya. What the poet intends to convey is that Yaśaḥkarna was crowned Emperor of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans

⁵ *Jambūdviṇṇa* is the central division of the world, including India, *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 6, n 44

⁶ There is a play on the word *pakṣa-pāta* meaning (1) partiality and (2) the fall of wings

⁷ The intended sense is that the king's gifts are more precious than the treasure inside the ocean

⁸ *Tulā-purusha* means the gift of some precious metal like gold equal to a man's weight. For this and other *mahādānas* see Hēmādri's *Chaturvargachintāmani*, *Dānakhaṇḍa* (Banaras ed.) Vol I, pp 175 ff

⁹ The seven mouths of the Gōdāvarī, by which it is traditionally supposed to have reached the sea, are sacred to the seven sages. They are the Kāśyapa or the Tulyā, the Atri or the Coringā, the Gautamī,

(V 24) Extirpating the hostile Kshatriyas and bestowing the earth on Brāhmanas, he is (*as it were*) vying with Paraśurāma

(Line 22) And he, the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Yaśahkarnadēva**,—the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trika-liṅga**, who has attained by his arm sovereignty over three kings, (*viz*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**,—having called together the illustrious *Mahādēvī*, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmantrin*, the *Mahāmātya*, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahāpurōhita*, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahākshapatalika*, the *Mahāpramātri*, the *Mahāśvasādhanika*, the *Mahābhāndāgārika*, (*and*) the *Mahādhyaksha*—these and other (*officials*) and (*also*) the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted, duly honours, informs and commands them (*as follows*) :—

‘Be it known to you that on (*the occasion of*) the **saṅkrānti**, on **Sunday**, the **fourteenth (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year 823**, we have given as a grant for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and of *Ourself*, this village, **Deulā-Pañchēla**, situated in the *pattalā* of **Dēvagrāma** in the *uddēśa* (district ?) of **Vāsudēva**, to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land, together with (*the right of*) egress and ingress, together with mines of salt, together with pasture-lands, together with arid and marshy lands, together with the groves of trees, the gardens of plants, grass and so forth,—to the Brāhmaṇa **Gangādharaśarman**, the son of Chhītapai and grandson of Sīā, who belongs to the *Kānva gōtra* and the *Bahvricha* (*Rīgvēda*) *sākhā* and has the three *pravaras* *Āpnavāna*, (*Aurva*) and *Jāmadgnya*’

In this matter (*this*) is the prayer of the donor—

(*Here follow sixteen benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(*This charter*) has been written by the illustrious **Vāchchhūka**, the writer of religious documents

May there be bliss and great prosperity!

NO. 57; PLATE XLVI

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

THIS **copper-plate** belongs to a set of two plates, the exact provenance of which is not known¹ Both the plates were, after discovery, deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur, together with an incorrect transcript made by a Pandit of Sihōrā² in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh The second plate of the set was subsequently lost The first plate and the old transcript of the second are still preserved in the Museum The

the Bhāradvājā, the Viśvāmītrā or Kauśikā, the Jamadagni and the Vasishthā The Bhāradvājā, Viśvāmītrā and Jamadagni no longer exist, but pilgrims bathe in the sea at the spots where they are supposed to have been See the *Godavari District Gazetteer*, p 6

¹ Like Kielhorn I have called it the Jabalpur plate, following Sir A Cunningham (*ASIR*, Vol IX, p 87) As it records the grant of a village in the *Jāuli pattalā* it must have been found somewhere in the Jabalpur District Hiralal states that it was originally discovered by a Tahsildar of Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā *tahsīl* of the Jabalpur District See his *Inscriptions in C P and Berar*, second ed., p 25

² *Loc cit*

contents of the plates were first noticed by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol IX, pp 87 ff, but his account, based as it was on the aforementioned manuscript, was very incorrect¹ The first plate was then edited, with a translation but without a lithograph, by Dr Kielhorn from rubbings and impressions supplied to him It seems that the plate was not properly cleaned before its impressions and rubbings were taken by Dr Kielhorn, who could not, in consequence, read with certainty several *aksharas* of it. At my request Mr M A Suboor of the Nagpur Museum has kindly cleaned the plate which now yields fairly good impressions The inscription is edited here from the original plate and its ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The plate is substantial, weighing 4 seers and 31½ tolas It is the **first plate** of the set and is inscribed on one side only It measures 1' 6½" in breadth and 1' ½" in height and is about 2" in thickness Its rims are raised for the protection of the writing At the bottom of the inscribed side, there is a hole, .7" in diameter, for the ring which must have held the plates together, but both the ring and the seal which must have been soldered to it are lost The plate is in a state of good preservation, only two or three letters being slightly damaged by rust.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and closely resemble those of the Khairhā plates, the latter being probably the same as shown below The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the initial *z* is represented by the later sign throughout, see e g, *zva*, l 5, *Indu*, l 7 etc, the left limb of *kh* is devoid of a tail in some plates see e g, *-khēlat-*, l 11 and *valu*, l 15, but contrast that in *khadga-*, l 10, *gh* also appears in two forms, see *-samgha-mghatta* in l 7 and *-parigha-* in l 8 The sign of *avagraha* is used in ll 10 and 14

The **language** is Sanskrit and with the exception of *ōm namō Vrahmanē* in the beginning and a few initial words of the formal part at the end, the whole of the extant portion is metrically composed All the verses, which number twenty-four, occur in the Khairhā plates The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in those plates *ś* is used for *y* once only in *-trijāmā-*, l. 15

As stated before, the inscription is fragmentary It contains the entire eulogistic portion which is identical with that of the Khairhā grant, but it breaks off just after the formal portion begins As the genealogy in the eulogistic portion stops with Yaśahkarna, it is plain that the grant was made by him From the Nagpur Museum manuscript of the second plate, which, though inaccurate in some places, may be used with caution in the absence of the original plate, it seems that the **object** of the inscription was to record the grant, by Yaśahkarna, of the village **Karañjā** situated on the bank of the Narmadā in the **Jāulī pattalā**² on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-*īkṛānti* on **Monday, the tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 529** ie donee was the Brāhmana **Hariśarman**, the son of Bhatta Śrī-Nāgō and grandson

Bhatta Śrī-Bhavanāma(ga?) of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā* with the three *pravaras* śyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva The scribe was probably the illustrious **Vāchchhūka**, who wrote³ the Khairhā plates

¹ See the mistakes pointed out by Kielhorn, *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 1, n 2

² The transcript reads *Jāulī-pattana-pātim-Karamjā-grāmah* and so Hiralal has stated that the plates record a grant of a village named Pātinkar in the Jāulipattan, (see his *Inscriptions etc*, p 25), but the correct thing is probably *Jāulī-pattal-āntahpāti-Karamjāgrāmah* For *pattalā* meaning a territorial sub-division, l 28 of the Khairhā plates

³ The transcript has *Dharmalēkhi-śrī-Vākyakala-likhitam=iti* which is obviously a mistake for *Dharmasūtra-śrī-Vāchchhūkaena likhitam=iti* See line 44 of the Khairhā plates (above, No 56)

The numerals of the year, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, are quite **unreliable**; because Yaśahkarna for whom we have the date 823¹ (or rather 827 as shown before), could not have flourished in the year 529 of the same era. But the specification of the sankrānti, month, fortnight and week-day may be correct. Taking it to be so, Dr Kielhorn found by calculation that during the sixty years preceding 1151 A.C.,² the only year in which the Makara-sankrānti fell on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Māgha was 1122 A.C. For, in that year, the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha ended 8 h 39 m after mean sunrise, and in the same year, the Makara-sankrānti took place 15 m before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday.³ Dr Kielhorn, therefore, took Monday, the 25th December 1122 A.C., corresponding, with his epoch of the Kalachuri era, to Māgha *va. di* 10 of the Kalachuri year 874 as the true date of the grant.

In his article on the Khairhā plates, R. B. Hiralal objected to the aforementioned date on the ground that it gives an unusually long reign to Yaśahkarna, for, the Khairhā plates show that 'Yaśahkarna had defeated the king of Andhra, and crushed the power of several of his enemies before it was written. It is, therefore, likely that he had been in occupation of the throne for at least 4 or 5 years prior to this, and if we suppose that he lived for about the same period after he made the Jabalpur grant his reign would extend to about 60 years and his age to about 80 years, supposing his installation to have taken place at the age of 20'.⁴ Rai Bahadur Hiralal, therefore, relied on the numerical date of the Nagpur Museum transcript which he read as 829 and remarked that the details worked out for Monday, the 31st December 1078 A.C., for the expired Kalachuri year 829. The Makara-sankrānti had, however, taken place a week earlier. R. B. Hiralal seems to have supposed that as in the case of the Khairhā grant, the sankrānti, on which the grant was made, is wrongly coupled with the day on which the record was actually handed over to the donee.

My personal examination of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the lost plate shows that the numerals of the year as written there are 529 and not 829 as stated by R. B. Hiralal. Even if we suppose that 529 is a mistake for 829, the expired year would be expected to correspond, according to the epoch of 247-48 A.C., to 1077-78 A.C. and not 1078-1079 A.C. Now, in 1077-78 A.C., Magha *va. di* 10 fell on Thursday (the 10th January 1078 A.C.) and not on Monday as required. The Makara-sankrānti had taken place 17 days earlier. So the date would not be regular even if we read the numerals as 829. As for R. B. Hiralal's argument that if Dr Kielhorn's date is accepted, it would give an unusually long reign to Yaśahkarna, it may be noted, as has already been pointed out by Mr. R. D. Banerji⁵, that Yaśahkarna must have reigned for a long time, because, even if we accept the date of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the Jabalpur plates of this prince as read by R. B. Hiralal as correct, there is a gap of 73 years between this date 829 and the only known date of his son and successor Gayākarna, K. 902. It comes to 75 years if we calculate from the date of the Khairhā plates (*viz.*, 827 as determined before). As conjectured by R. B. Hiralal, Yaśahkarna may have come to the throne about 5 years earlier, *i.e.*, about 822,

¹ Above, No. 56, 127.

² This is the date of the Tewar inscription of Yaśahkarna's son and successor Gayākarnadēva (No 58, below) which, as Dr Kielhorn has remarked, must have been put up towards the end of his reign.

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol XII, p. 207.

⁵ *H T M*, p. 25.

and Gayākarna may have continued to rule till K. 905¹ So the reigns of the two cover a long period of 83 years It is not unlikely that Yaśahkarna had a longer reign than his son, say, of 50 or 55 years In that case, the date of the Jabalpur plates as fixed by Dr Kielhorn would not appear altogether impossible

But Dr Kielhorn's date (1122 A C) appears to be doubtful on other grounds From verse 13 of the Jabalpur plate the inscription seems to have been drafted at Banaras We find that only five months before, the Gāhadavāla king Gōvīndachandradēva issued his Kamauli plate² from Banaras on the 21st July 1122 A C Two years later we find him again at Banaras, issuing his Banaras plates³ on the 14th August 1124 A C Is it likely that Yaśahkarna ousted Gōvīndachandradēva from Banaras some time after July 1122 A C and still refrained from mentioning the glorious achievement in the plates issued only a few days after, as he has mentioned his defeat of the Andhra king? The eulogistic portion of the Jabalpur plate is almost an exact copy of that of the Khairhā plates It would be strange, indeed, if Yaśahkarna had nothing to record to his credit during the interval of nearly 50 years,—not even his successful invasion of Banaras!

In the absence of a thoroughly reliable transcript of the second plate, it is not, of course, possible to date the Jabalpur inscription definitely As in the case of numerals, there may be a mistake, due to mislection, in the specification of the month, day or fortnight in the Nagpur Museum transcript Of these, a mistake in the specification of the week-day is more possible than any other Owing to the close resemblance between the letters *s* and *bh* of that period it is not unlikely that the writer of the transcript, who was none too accurate in his decipherment, read *Sōmē* (on Monday) for *Bhaumē* (on Tuesday)⁴ Now, we find that in 1084 A C, Māgha *va dī* 10 commenced 10 h 30 m after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 24th December) The Makara-sankrānti had taken place earlier on the same day, 2 h 40 m after mean sunrise But as the auspicious time (*parva-kāla*) of the Makara-sankrānti extends to as many as 40 *ghatikās*⁵ it is not unlikely that Yaśahkarna made the grant on account of the sankrānti in the evening of that day, when the 10th *tithi* was current **Tuesday, the 24th December 1084 A. C.**, corresponding to the **expired Kalachuri year 836**, may, therefore, be the date of the Jabalpur inscription It may be noted, in this connection, that the eulogistic part of the present grant closely agrees with that of the Khairhā plates and the writer of both was probably the same⁶ This shows that the Jabalpur plates must have been issued within a few years of the Khairhā plates and before Yaśahkarna had lost Banaras to the Gāhadavālas some time before A C 1090⁶

¹ The Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of his widow Alhanadēvi (No 60) is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri era

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol IV, p 110

³ *J A S B*, Vol. LVI, Part I, pp 114 ff

⁴ He has confused *s* and *bh* in another place also See *Atra vāsārth-ārthanā* in the transcript given below for *atr-aw=abhyarthanā*

⁵ Cf मकरसङ्क्रान्ती हेभाद्रिमते परतश्चत्वारिंशद् घटिका पुण्यकाल । 'त्रिंशत्कर्कटके नाङ्को मकरे तु दशाधिका ।' इति बह्मवैवर्त्तात् । *Nirnayasindhu* (Nirnayasāgara Press), p 160

⁶ The Chandravatī (Banaras District, U P) plates of Chandradēva, which record the earliest grant of the Gāhadavālas found in the Banaras District 'are dated in V 1148 (i e, 1090 A C)

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धि² [1*] ओ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोज जयति जयति तस्मा-
ज्जातवानब्ज(ब्ज)सूति ॥(1) अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमत्रिस्तदक्षणस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-
- 2 नब्धिवन्धु³ ॥⁴[१॥*] अथ वो(बो)धनमादिराजपुत्र गृहजामातरमब्ज(ब्ज)वा(बा)न्धवस्य ।
तनय जनयाव(ब)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहस ॥⁵[२॥*] पुत्र पुरुरवसमौरसमाप सू-
- 3 नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्ध्वसी(शी) च
सुकलत्रमिहोर्ध्वरा च ॥⁶[३॥*] अत्रान्वये किल शताधिकसप्तमेधयूपोरुद्धयमुनो-
- 4 क्तविक्त्वर्त्तकीर्त्ति ॥(1) सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरस(श)नाभर[णा]भिरामविस्व(श्व)भर(रा)-
सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥⁷[४॥*] हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिक-
मस्य स कार्त्तवीर्यं ॥(1) अ-
- 5 त्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्वपुसि राजेति नाम [श]शलक्ष्मणि चक्षमे य ॥⁸[५॥*] स हिमाचल इव
कलचुरिवस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृता भर्त्ता [1*] मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तै पूत महीप-
- 6 तिभि ॥⁹[६॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवता प्रवरो नरेन्द्र पौरन्दरीमिव पुरी त्रिपुरी पुनान ॥(1)
आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधिराज¹⁰निर्माथि¹¹केसरियुवा युवराजदेव ॥¹²[७॥*] सिंहासने नृप-
- 7 तिसिंहममुष्य सूनुमारूपन्नवनिभर्त्तुस्मात्यमुष्या ॥(1)कोकलमर्णवचतुष्टयवीचिसघसघट्टरुद्धच-
तुरङ्गचमूपचारं(रम्) ॥¹³[८॥*] इन्दुप्रभा निदति हारगुच्छ जुगुप्सते
- 8 चदनमाक्षिपन्ती [1*] यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्त्ति ॥¹⁴[९॥*] मरकत-
मणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षा स्मिताक्षो नगरपरिघदैर्घी(र्घ्यं) ल¹⁵(लं)घयन्दोर्ध्वेन [1*] [शि]रसि
- 9 कलिस(श)पातो वैरिणा वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्य यस्य गाङ्गेयदेव ॥¹⁶[१०॥*] स वीरसिंहा-
सनमौलिरत्न स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्ध ॥(1) यस्मादकस्मादपयान-¹⁷
- 10 मिच्छन्न कुन्तल कृस्त(न्त)लता व(ब)भार¹⁸ ॥¹⁹[११॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेश(श)-
व(ब)न्धो सार्द्धं गतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) । पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलितारि²⁰करीन्द्रकुम्भ-
मुक्ताफलं
- 11 स्म ककुभोर्ध्वति कर्णदेव ॥²¹[१२॥*] कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्लद्वैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितगगनखेल-
त्खेचरीचक्रखेद ॥(1) किमपरमिह कास्या(श्या) यस्य दुग्धान्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवलयव(ब)-

¹ From the original plate and its ink impressions

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read -नब्धिवन्धु

⁴ Metre *Mālinī*

⁵ Metre *Aupachebbhandasika*

⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ Metre *Āryā*

⁸ These *aksharas* are quite clear on the plate.

⁹ It would be better to read निर्माथि-, as suggested by Kielhorn

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

¹¹ Metre. *Upajāti*

¹² I fail to see any *anusvāra* on ल.

¹³ Metre. *Mālinī*

¹⁴ Kielhorn doubtfully read -दपवर्ग, but the *aksharas* are quite clear here.

¹⁵ Kielhorn read -मिच्छन्न[कुच्छ]ल[] [कु स्वजि ?] ता व(ब)भार, but the *aksharas* are equally clear in this case.

¹⁶ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁷ There is no doubt about the reading here.

¹⁸ Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

- 12 हलकीर्त्तं कीर्त्तनं कर्णमेरु. ॥¹[१३॥*] अग्रच धाम स्त्रे(श्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदं स्वस्रवन्त्याः
किरीट(टम्) । ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तभो(बो) येन कर्णवितीति प्रत्यद्या(ष्टा)पि क्षमातलत्र(ब्र)ह्मालोक.
- 13 ॥²[१४॥*] अजनि कलचुरीणा स्वामिना तेन दूणान्वयजलनिधिल[क्ष्म्या] श्रीमदावल्लदेव्या—
(व्याम्) । शशभृदुदयस(श) द्वाक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयस(श)श्री श्री—
यस(श)कर्ण—
- 14 देव. ॥³[१५॥*] चन्द्रावर्कदीपवति⁴ पव्वेतराजपूर्णकुम्भावभासिति(नि) महाब्धि(ब्धि)च—
तुष्कमध्ये [१*] चक्रे पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिपूतकर्मा धर्मान्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेक(कम्) ॥⁵
[१६॥*] न
- 15 खलस(श)लभगोष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्र ।⁶ न खलु कलुपचर्याकज्जलोद्गारकार[१*]⁷ ॥(१)
कलयति कलिनामन्युद्गम यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीप ॥⁸[१७॥*]
चिन्ता—
- 16 मणिक्लृप्तशुक्तियुग्मकोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्ध(ग्धम्) । दृस्ये(श्ये)त दृशोस्त[दा*] स्य दातु
सादृश्य(श्य) च(ध)वलारुणेक्षणस्य ।¹⁰[१८॥*] य ककुप्कुञ्जरालानस्तभसत्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिण. ।
- 17 [क्षमोपा]¹¹न्तेषु [ज]यस्तम्भानुदस्तंभयदुच्चकै ॥¹²[१९॥*] यो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणा पाणिषु पचषाणि
दाता निधत्ते पयस. पृषन्ति [१*] तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां(ज्ञाम्)
॥[२०॥*]¹³
- 18 महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापुरुषादिभि [॥] गरिम्णा मेरुरत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योर्थिन ।¹⁴[२१॥*]
स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिस(श)खसु(शु)चीनि । सा(शा)र्द्धि—
- 19 त[ल्प]¹⁵फणिकचुकभासि स्फीतता दधति यस्य यसा(शा)सि ॥¹⁶[२२॥*] अन्धाधीस¹⁷मरन्ध—
दोर्व्विलसित स्वच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता येनाभ्यर्च्यत भूरिभि स भगवान्भीमेस्व(श्व)रो
- 20 भू[ष]णै. ॥(१) यस्याभ्यर्णंगता¹⁸[प्र]नृत्यलहरीभूवल्लिगोदावरी गायत्युन्मदहसनादमधुरै स्त्रो—
त.स्वरैः सप्तभि ।¹⁹[२३॥*] कुर्व्वन्मही ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसा—

¹ Metre *Mālinī* There is no uncertainty in the reading of this verse

² Metre *Sālinī*

³ Metre: *Mālinī*

⁴ The *aksharas* are quite clear here

⁵ Metre. *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ This *danda* is superfluous

⁷ Kielhorn doubtfully read कज्जलोद्गारकश्च, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above

⁸ Metre *Mālinī*

⁹ Kielhorn read with diffidence कृष्ण—, but his reading is not warranted by the original

¹⁰ Metre *Bhadravirāj*

¹¹ The *aksharas* are somewhat indistinct here, but there is no uncertainty about the reading given above
Kielhorn read [आसा(शा)न्ते]षु

¹² Metre *Anushtubh.*

¹³ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹⁴ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁵ Kielhorn was not certain about his reading वेष् The second *akshara* appears like ल्य, but the intended reading is obviously as given above See also the Khairhā plates (above, No 56), p 19

¹⁶ Metre *Svāgatā*

¹⁷ Read अन्धाधीश—

¹⁸ These six *aksharas* are quite clear on the plate.

¹⁹ Metre *Sārdūlavakrīḍita*

JABALPUR PLATE OF YASAHKARNA

[illegible]

- 21 [द]रिक्त्रनिव(व)र्हण [1*] शा(सा)द्धं परसु(शु)रामेण य स्पद्धामधिरोहति ॥¹[२४॥*]
स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवामदेवपा-²

(For a transcript of the second plate which has been lost, see Appendix, No 2, below)

TRANSLATION

Om ! Adoration to Brahman !

(For a translation of verses 1—24, see above, pp 296-99)

(Line 21) And he [meditating on] the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**

(For the subsequent portion of the grant, see Appendix, No 2, below)

No. 58, PLATE XLVII

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA ; CHEDI YEAR 902

THE slab of black stone which bears the subjoined inscription, was found at Tewar, a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur, the headquarters of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was edited, without any translation or lithograph, by Dr Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVIII, pp 209 ff. It is edited here from the original stone which is deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The record, consisting of twenty-two lines, is inscribed on the countersunk surface of the stone surrounded by a plain border. The writing covers a space measuring 12.7" in breadth and 14.7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation except in the middle of lines 9-13 where a few *aksharas* have become somewhat indistinct owing to the wearing away of the inscribed surface³. The size of the letters varies between 4" and 5". The characters are Nāgarī. T and bh are, in some places, not clearly distinguishable from n, see, e g., *sūmunā* l 5 and *Bhāvabrahma*-, l 8, ś has three different forms see, e g., *śrīyē*-, l 1, =*samyaminaś=cha*, l 16 and *śrī-Dharanīdharō*-, l 18, the left limb of dh is seen fully developed in some cases, see, e g., *bhikshā-dhanēna*, l 17, *Mahīdharah*, l 20 etc. The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening *ōm namah Svāya*, the record is metrically composed throughout. There are eighteen verses in all, none of which is numbered. As regards orthography, we may notice the doubling of the consonant following r and preceding v, see *Karṇa*-, l 3, and *Prithvīdharas*-, l. 18, the use of the sign for v to denote b except in three cases, *vr̥* -*muktir=bbhavēt*, l. 16, =*abdhv*, l 19 and -*yugal-ābda*-, ll 20-1, and the substitution of the dental s for the palatal ś in -*narēśvarō*-, ll. 3-4, *navasata*-, l 20.

After two customary verses in praise of Śiva and the moon, the mythical ancestor of the Kalachuris, the inscription mentions the king **Karṇa**, his son **Yaśaḥkarṇa** and grandson **Gayākarna**⁴, and expresses the wish that Gayākarna, together with his son, the crown-prince **Narasimha**, would rule the earth to the end of the world. The name of Gayākarna as the reigning king occurs again in connection with the date in l. 21. The object of the inscription is to record that **Bhāvabrahman**, who was a disciple of

¹ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

² For the following words, see ll. 23-24 of the Khairhā plates, above, No 56

³ The inscription was apparently in a state of better preservation when its estampages were taken for Kielhorn, for, in his transcript he does not show these letters as indistinct or doubtful.

⁴ In v 3 his name appears as *Gayakarna* owing to the exigencies of the metre

the Pāsupata ascetic **Bhāvatējas** of the *Ananta gōtra*, constructed a temple of Śiva near which the inscribed stone was originally put up. The *prasaṣṭi*, as the inscription is called in v. 15, was composed by **Prithivīdhara**, the son of the Brāhmana **Dharanīdhara**. It was incised by the architect **Mahīdhara**.

The date of the record is rather clumsily expressed in words as **Sunday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Śuchi** (or Āshādha) **while the Chēdi era was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years** during the reign of the illustrious **Gayākarna**. This is one of the few dates in which the era is specifically named. The date is quite regular, for the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āshādha in the expired Chēdi or Kalachuri year 902 ended 2 h after mean sunrise on the 17th June 1151 A.C. which was a Sunday as stated in the present inscription.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं² नमः शिवाय ॥ त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः । नित्यप्रयत्नवो(बो)घेच्छ.
सोष्टमूर्ति. श्रियेस्तु व. ॥³[१॥*]
- 2 कलधौतशुवितरिव चंद्रकला जयति स्मरान्तकशिरोविधृता । अलिकाक्षिवह्निजनितोऽग्रतृषा सुतया
गि—
- 3 रे. सुरसरित्पयसे ॥⁴[२॥*] आत्रेयगोत्रेऽखिलराजचक्रजिगीषुराजोजनि कर्णदेवः । तस्माद्यश.—
कर्णनरेस्व(स्व)—
- 4 रोभूतस्यात्मजोयं गयकर्णदेव. ॥⁵[३॥*] आकल्पं पृथिवी शास्तु श्रीगयाकर्णपार्थिवः । संगतो—
नरसिंहेन यु—
- 5 वराजेन सूनना ॥⁶[४॥*] गोत्रेऽनन्तसमाह्वयेभवदिनप्रख्यस्तपस्तेजसा दृष्टादृष्टविशुद्धकर्म—
निरतः श्रीभाव—
- 6 तेजा गुरुः ॥(१) आचार्योद्भूतकेवलार्थवचसा पाञ्चार्थिको यः सुधी. कामक्रोधजवर्गदुर्गविपिन—
प्लोष—
- 7 स्य दावानल. ॥⁷[५॥*] श्रुत्वा समस्तागमयोगशास्त्रं व्याख्याय च न्यायकणादशास्त्रं(स्वम्) ।
अभ्यस्य यः पाशुपत च योग
- 8 शिवस्य सायोज्यमवाप वो(बो)धात् ॥⁸[६॥*] प्रथमस्तस्य शिष्योयं भावन्न(न्न)ह्यतपोधनः ।
तप.कर्मरतो नित्यं कर्मसा(सा)—
- 9 न्यासिकोपि यः ॥⁹[७॥*] कौपीनमात्रवसन शुविभस्म[शायी पंचार्थ]वो(बो)धसुकृती
मितभैक्षभोजी । यो न्न(न्न)ह्यचर्य—
- 10 विधिनान्यसनत्कुमार. पातञ्जलागमनिरूपित[योगसंग] ॥¹⁰[८॥*] भिक्षोपार्जितकाञ्चनान्न—
वसनैः संप्रीणयत्य—
- 11 स्थिनः स्नेहेन प्रगुणीकरोति सुधियः संतर्पितान्सूनृतै । क्लेशो[न्मूलन]धर्म्यकर्मनिरत. साक्षात्कृत—

¹ From the original stone and inked estampages

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ Metre *Pramitāksarā*

⁵ Metre *Upajāti*

⁶ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁷ Metre *Śārdūlavakrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre *Upajāti*

⁹ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁰ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

[illegible]

- 12 त्र्यं(ब)को भाव(ब्र)ह्मसमस्तपस्विषु कलौ दृष्टो न [पाञ्चार्थिक]¹ ॥[९॥*] परिग्रह-
विमुक्तोपि गृह्णा(ह्णा)ति² हृदि य[*] शिवं(वम्)
- 13 कामक्रोधौ निगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति क्षमावानपि सद्ब्रतैः ॥³ [१०॥*] [प्राणायाम]समाधिसिद्ध-
नियमध्यानासनैरन्वह य कृत्वा
- 14 हृदयां(बु)जे स्मररिषु बु(बु)द्ध्या समभ्यस्यति । [मैत्री तस्य सुधी]भिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे
योगिन शिष्याणां करुणा
- 15 भवेच्च विषयोपेक्षा शिवज्ञानतः ॥⁴ [११॥*] रथयात्रो[त्सवाच्चा]भिर्गाहुंजगतीमिमां(माम्) ।
सोलचकार प्राकारदेवागारमठैर-
- 16 पि ॥⁵ [१२॥*] पूर्त्तेन धर्मेण निवर्त्तकेन मुक्तिर्भवेत्संयमिनश्च वो(बो)धात् । एतद्व(द्व)य
प्राप्तुमयं मुमुक्षुर्व्यधापयद्देवमिव शिवस्य ॥⁶ [१३॥*]
- 17 भिक्षाधनेन तेनेद मदिरं कामविद्विष । कारितं मुक्तये भक्त्या कीर्त्तये च कृतात्मनां(नाम्) ॥⁷
[१४॥*] श्रुतिस्मृतीहास⁸पुराणवेत्ता
- 18 विप्र सुधी श्रीधरणीधरोभूत् । व्यधादिमां तत्तनय प्रशस्तिं पृथ्वीधरस्तत्कर्कविशुद्धबु(बु)द्धिः ॥⁹
[१५॥*] यावन्मेरुः स्व-
- 19 णकुम्भ पृथिव्या यावद्गंगा वर्त्तते यावदब्धिः । यावल्लोके चन्द्रसूयौ¹⁰ चकास्तः शंभोरेतत्कीर्त्तन
तावदास्ता(स्ताम्) ॥¹⁰[१६॥*]
- 20 विश्वकर्मकृत शास्त्रं वेत्ति योर्थेन कर्मणा । उत्कीर्णवानिमा शस्ता प्रशस्तिं स महीधरः ॥¹¹
[१७॥*] नवस(श)तयुगला-
- 21 ब्दाधिक्यगे चेदिदिष्ट(ष्टे) ज[न*]पदमवतीमं श्रीगयाकर्णदेवे । प्रतिपदि शुचिमासश्चेतपक्षेर्कर्वा-
- 22 रे शिवशरणसमीपे स्थापितेय प्रशस्तिः ॥¹²[१८॥*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Śiva!

(Verse 1) May that eight-formed (Śiva) grant you fortune!—(he) who is the architect of the mansion of the three worlds (and) the noble poet of the composition of the three Vēdas, and whose effort, knowledge and will are eternal.

(V. 2) Glorious is the digit of the moon which is, as it were, the silver-shell held on the head of (Śiva), the destroyer of Smara, by (Pārvatī), the daughter of the mountain, who felt very thirsty on account of the fire of the (third) eye on (his) forehead.¹³

(V. 3) In the race of Atri's son (i.e., the moon) was born **Karṇa**, the king who strove to subdue the whole multitude of princes. From him was (born) the king **Yaśaḥ-karṇa**. His son is this king **Gayākarna**.

¹ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

² These *akṣaras* are quite distinct on the original stone and in the inked estampages.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*

⁴ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*

⁶ Metre: *Upajāti*

⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ The writer intended to say श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहास—, but has dropped the *akṣara* *ti* for the sake of the metre.

⁹ Metre: *Upajāti*

¹⁰ Metre: *Śālī*.

¹¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹² Metre: *Mālinī*

¹³ According to Kjelhorn the second half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n. 7) I fail to notice any such difficulty.

(V. 4) May the illustrious king **Gayākarna** together with his son, the crown-prince **Narasimha**, rule the earth as long as the world will endure!

(V. 5) In the *gōtra* called Ananta was born the religious preceptor, the illustrious **Bhāvatējas**, resembling the sun by the lustre of his penance, and devoutly performing extremely pure actions whether noticed or not (*by others*)—who, a wise man and a follower of the Pañchārtha,¹ expounded the marvellous teaching about the absolute and was a wild fire in burning the impenetrable forest of the multitude of evils arising from lust and anger.

(V. 6) Having listened to the entire systems of the Āgama and the Yōga, having expounded the systems of Nyāya and Kanāda² and having practised the Yōga system of Paśupati, he attained union with Śiva by his knowledge

(V. 7) This ascetic **Bhāvabrahman** is his foremost disciple, who, though he has given up all actions, is ever engaged in the performance of penance³

(V. 8) He is clad only in a loin-cloth, lies on pure ashes, is proficient in the knowledge of the Pañchārtha (*system*), lives on a limited quantity of food, is another Sanatkumāra⁴ on account of his celibacy, and is devoted to (*the practice of*) Yōga as taught in the system of Patañjali

(V. 9) (*He*) pleases supplicants with (*gifts of*) gold, food and raiment, makes intelligent men meritorious by his love, delighting them with pleasant speech, performs devoutly religious actions for the eradication of trouble, and has realized the three-eyed (god Śiva). In (*this*) Kali age there is seen no follower of the Pañchārtha system like Bhāvabrahman

(V. 10) Though devoid of all possessions he harbours Śiva in his heart, though forgiving, he curbs lust and rage through good vows

(V. 11) By means of control of breath, observances essential for meditation, contemplation and postures, he day by day practises intellectually (*meditation on*) Śiva whom he places in the lotus of his heart, (*being*) a yōgin he would cultivate benevolence towards the wise, the joy of self-realization by the study of the śāstras, compassion towards his disciples and indifference to worldly objects by (*his*) knowledge of Śiva⁵

(V. 12) He adorned this world of Gāhunda⁶ with processions of the chariot (of Śiva), festivity and the worship (of Śiva) and also with encircling walls, temples and monasteries

(V. 13) A self-controlled person secures final emancipation by a work of pious liberality which makes one desist (*from worldly affairs*) and by knowledge. To secure both these⁷ he installed this image of Śiva.

(V. 14) By means of wealth obtained by begging he caused this temple of (Śiva), the enemy of the god of love, to be constructed with devotion for the liberation and glory of the self-controlled

¹ See above, page 232, n 1

² I.e. the Vaiśeṣika system

³ There is apparent contradiction in this verse, the figure being *Vīrōdhābhāsa*

⁴ Sanatkumāra figures in the Upanishads and the Purāṇas as a great teacher (see, e.g., *Chhāndōgya Upaniṣad*, VII, 1, 1, 26, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* III, 8, 7, *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparvan, 227). According to the *Lingapurāṇa* he himself received the Śaiva doctrine from Nandin

⁵ This verse describes the cultivation of the four sentiments (*bhāvanās*) of *matrī* (benevolence), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (cheerfulness) and *upēkṣā* (indifference) mentioned in the *Yōgasūtra* of Patañjali I, 33. They are also recognized in Buddhist philosophy. See Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 54.

⁶ Kielhorn has suggested that *Gāhunda* is probably a local designation of Śiva. It may be noted in this connection that Monier-Williams gives, on the authority of the *Kāśikhaṇḍa*, *bundana* in the sense of an attendant of Śiva.

⁷ I.e., pious work and knowledge.

(V 15) There was the illustrious Dharanīdhara, a wise Brāhmaṇa, who had studied the Vēdas, Smṛitis, Itihāsas and Purānas His son **Prīthvīdhara**, whose intellect has become keen by (*the study of*) dialectics, has composed this eulogy

(V 16) As long as Mēru (*which is*) the jar of gold, the Gangā and the ocean endure on the earth, so long may this temple of Śiva last!

(V 17) That **Mahīdhara**, who understands the teaching and the practical work of the science invented by Viśvakarman¹, has incised this commendable *praśasti*

(V 18) While the **Chēdi era** was increasing to nine hundred and a couple of years and the illustrious **Gayākarna** was ruling this country, this eulogy was put up near the temple of Śiva on **Sunday, the first (lunar day) in the bright fortnight of the month Āshāḍha**.

No 59; PLATE XLVIII

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA

BAHURIBAND is now a small village situated on a plateau at a distance of about 20 miles from Sihōrā, the headquarters of the Sihōrā *tahsil* in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh Not far from Bahuriband lie the villages of Tīgōwā and Rūpnāth, the former of which is known for its Gupta temple, still in a state of perfect preservation, and the latter, for its Aśokan rock-edict Bahuriband contains some old ruins, the most conspicuous of which is a colossal standing nude statue of the Jain Tīrthankara Śāntinātha 'It is near the village and stands upon its original site, portions of the foundations of the walls of the shrine, in which it stood, being still around it It stands 12 feet and 2½ inches high from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head'² There is an attendant holding a *chavri* on either side of it The *chhattra* over it is now broken away and lies behind the image It measures 4' 4" in height and has the figure of an elephant on either side of it.

The present inscription is incised on the pedestal of the statue of Śāntinātha. It falls into three parts. Parts A and B, each consisting of three lines, are engraved on the top of the pedestal to the left and right respectively of the feet of the image³ Part C, which has seven lines, is incised on the front face of the pedestal Before it is a small *kunda* intended to receive the water of the Tīrthankara's bath The inscription was first brought to notice by General Cunningham, who gave his reading of the first two lines and a portion of the third of part C⁴ It was next noticed by Dr D R Bhandarkar who published a short abstract of its contents⁵. It is being edited here for the first time from the original stone as well as its inked estampages which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is very much weather-worn, especially in parts A and B. Besides, a few *aksharas* in the first line of part C have been broken away. The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet It may be noted that *dh* appears here to be fully developed as in the modern Nāgarī, see, *e g*, *dharmma*-, l 4 and *Sūtradhāra*, l 5; *th*, on the other hand, has not yet opened its upper loop, see *Sāntināthasya*, l 5. The **language** is Sanskrit. The **orthography** does not call for any special notice

¹ *I e*, the science of architecture Viśvakarman is the architect of gods.

² P R. A S, *W I* for 1903-4, p 35 For a photograph of the image see H. T. M., Plate LII.

³ These were not noticed by previous writers.

⁴ C A S I R, Vol IX, p 40

⁵ P R A S, *W I* for 1903-04, pp 54-55

The object of the inscription is to record that during the victorious reign of the illustrious Gayākarnadēva, while the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Gōlhanadēva of the Rāshtrakūṭa family was flourishing, one Mahābhōja (?), the son of Sādhu Sarvadhara, who had been favoured by the illustrious Māghavanandi, the foremost of logicians, erected the temple of Sāntinātha. We are further told that the white canopy over it was built by a *Sūtradhāra*.¹ The image of Sāntinātha was consecrated by the *Āchārya* Subhadra, who belonged to the line of the Dēśi *gana*² in the *Amnāya* of the Chandrakara *Āchārya*.³

Cunningham read the date in the first line, as *samvat 10 . Phālguna badī 9 sōmē*. Dr. Bhandarkar has, on the other hand, remarked that 'the date of the inscription is too indistinct to be read.' Many of the signs in the first line, where Cunningham read the date are now broken away. It is not, therefore, possible to verify his reading completely. But the extant *aksharas* seem to read [*va*] *dī* 9 *Bhaumē* (not *Sōmē*). Even in Cunningham's time all the figures of the year were not preserved. What he took to be the figure 1 appears to be the remnant of some *akshara* like *pa* or *sa*. Again, Cunningham's reading of the first two figures, if correct, would relegate the present record to the end of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century A C, for *samvat 10* would have to be referred to the Vikrama era. But from the Tewar inscription⁴ dated K 902 we know that Gayākarna flourished in the first half of the twelfth century A C. The first two figures of the date, if it was recorded in the Vikrama era, must, therefore, have been either 11 or 12.

TEXT⁵

A

On the top of the pedestal, to the left of the feet of Sāntinātha

- 1 साधुश्रीसर्वधर[ध?]
- 2 . . . [महा] . .
- 3 . . .

B

On the top of the pedestal, to the right of the feet of Sāntinātha

- 1 साधु श्री स[स्वला]
- 2
- 3

C

On the front face of the pedestal of the image of Sāntinātha

- 1 [स्वस्ति] ⁶[व]दि ९ [भौ]मे . . . ⁷श्रीमद्गयाकण्णदेवविजयरा—
- 2 ज्ये राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीमद्गोलहणदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमानस्य ॥⁸

¹ His name appears to be *Sresthi*.

² The Dēśi *gana* is a branch of the Nandi *gana* and Mūla *sangha* of the Digambara sect.

³ This may be identical with the Chandrakapāta-*gachchha* of the Digambara sect, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 73.

⁴ Above, No. 58.

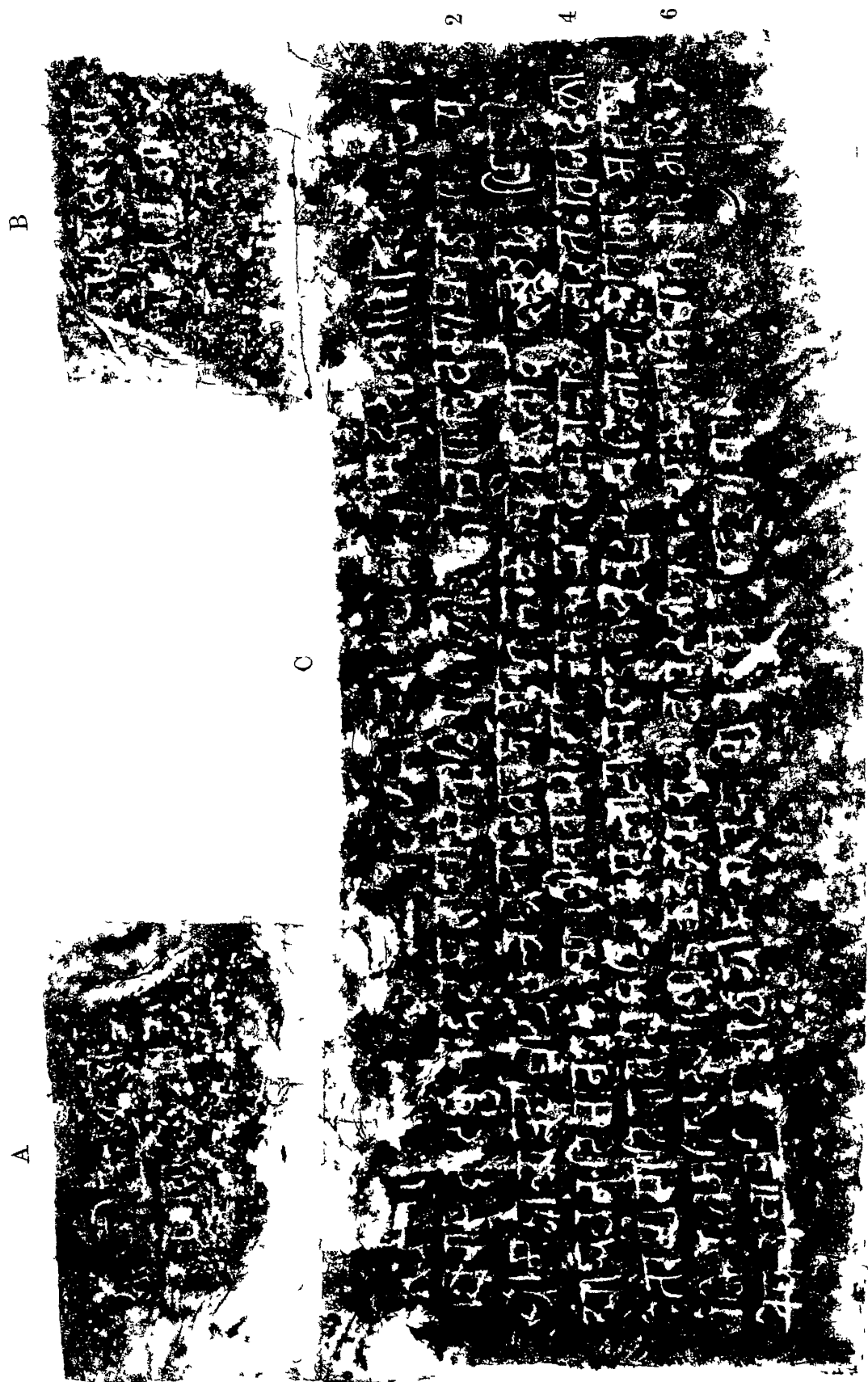
⁵ From the original stone and inked estampages.

⁶ About nine *aksharas* are lost here.

⁷ There are indistinct traces of four *aksharas* here.

⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

BAHURIBAND STATUE INSCRIPTION OF GAYAKARNA



- 3 श्रीमद्गोल्लापूर्वाम्नाये वेल्लप्रभाटिकायामुत्कृताम्नाये तर्कतार्की(कि)कच्डामणिश्रीम-
 4 बाधवनदिनानुगृहि(ही)तस्साधुश्रीस[र्व]धर[*] तस्य पुत्र[*] महा[भो]ज[*] धम्म-
 दानाध्ययनरतः [1*] तेनेद का-
 5 रित रम्य सा(शा)तिनाथस्य मदिर(रम्) ॥¹ स्वलात्यमसंज्जक²सूत्रधार[*] स्ने(श्रे)स्ति(ष्ठि)
 नामा [1*] वित्तो(ता)नं च महाश्वे-
 6 त निर्मितमत्तिसुदरं(रम्)³ ॥[१॥*] श्रीमच्चंद्रकराचार्याम्नायदेसी(शी)ग[णा]न्वये समस्त-
 विद्याविनये(या)नदित-
 7 विद्व[ज्ज]ना[*] प्रतिष्ठाचार्यश्रीमत्सुभद्राश्चिर जयतु ॥ ❀ ॥०॥

TRANSLATION

C⁴

Hail ! On Tuesday the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight⁵ during the victorious reign of the illustrious **Gayākarnadēva**, while the *Mahāsāmantādhīpati*, the illustrious **Gōlhaṇadēva**, born in the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family, is flourishing—

(There was) the pious layman, the illustrious **Sarvadhara**, (born) in the **Gōllāpūrva**⁶ **Āmnāya**, the sacred traditions (*Āmnāya*) of which were amplified at **Vēllaprabhātikā**, who was blessed by the illustrious **Māghavanandi**, the crest-jewel of logicians. His son is **Mahā[bhō]ja** (who is) devoted to (the performance of) religious duty, charity and study (of the sacred texts) By him has been caused to be erected this beautiful temple of **Sāntinātha**

The *Sajjaka Sūtradhāra* is named **Srēshṭhi**⁷ By him has been constructed (here) a very white and extremely beautiful canopy

(Line 6) May the holy **Āchārya Subhadra**, who has consecrated (this image of *Sāntinātha*), be long glorious!—(he) who belongs to the line (*anvaya*) of the **Dēśi gana**⁸ in the *Āmnāya* of the holy **Chandrakara**⁹ **Āchārya**, and who has delighted learned men by his perfect learning and humility !

¹ The verse is completed below.

² Bhandarkar read the last three *akṣharas* as *sajjana* which he took to be the name of the *Sūtradhāra* (P. R. A. S. W. I for 1903-04, p. 55), but the last *akṣhara* is certainly not *na*. It is more like *ka* than any other *akṣhara*. I therefore read the word as सज्जक. Cf सजाक prefixed to सूत्रधार in No. 105, l. 20

³ Metre *Anushtubh*.

⁴ Parts A and B, which contain only a few *akṣharas* have not been translated. Part A contains the name *Sarvadhara*.

⁵ The name of the month and the figures of the year have been broken away.

⁶ There are still several Jain families belonging to the **Gōllāpūrva Āmnāya** in Madhya Pradesh *Vēllaprabhātikā* may be a place-name

⁷ I am unable to explain स्वलात्यम prefixed to सज्जक.

⁸ See above, p. 310, n. 3

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

No. 60; PLATE XLIX

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA · (KALACHURĪ) YEAR 907

THE stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr F E. Hall in 1857 at Bhērā-Ghāt on the Narmadā in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose Cabinet at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of green stone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high. The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, pp 499 f¹, and Dr Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr Burgess' *Memoiranda, Archaeological Survey of Western India*, No 10, pp. 107-9, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX, pp 91-94.² The inscription was finally edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with an English translation but without a lithograph, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, pp 7 f. It is edited here from excellent large-size photographs which were, at the Government Epigraphist's request, kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

The inscription, consisting of 29 lines of writing, covers a space of about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 9" high. The letters are beautifully and carefully cut, the *anusvāras*, curves and *mātrās* in the first line being ornamentally treated. Except for two *akṣharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost completely broken away, and one or two others here and there which are partially damaged, the inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from 4" to .7". The **characters** are Nāgarī and resemble those of the Tewar inscription of Bhāvabrahman. The sign of the initial *z* in ll 7, 17 *etc.* has its two dots at the top joined by a curve, instead of a straight line,³ *th* and *dh* exhibit transitional forms, the former having its upper loop open in some cases (see, *e g*, *tathā*, l.25 and *-Prithu-*, l.29) and the latter appearing with a fully developed left member in *dhar-āśraya-*, l 3 = *vyadhātām*, l.25, *etc*, in other cases, these letters retain their earlier forms, *n* is still without its dot, see, *e g*, *-dinmandalī*, ll 27-28, the sign of the *jihvāmūlya* occurs in l 9 and that of the *upadhmanya* in l 10. The **language** is Sanskrit and except for *ōm namah Svāya* in the beginning and the date at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. There are thirty-seven verses in all. Though written in a good style, the inscription is not altogether free from mistakes. Thus *chakapē* in l 10 is used for the correct form *chakampē* to suit the metre, *vyadhātām*, which is intended as a form of the Imperative, is incorrect for *vidhātām*, and in *chandimatām* l 9, there is a superfluous addition of a second *taddhita* affix to form an abstract noun. Finally, rules of *sandhi* have been violated in *kim=vā* l 2, *yushmān=sarīraib*, l 3, and *sarvv-ādāyais=ssārdham*, ll 24-25. As regards **orthography**, *b* is in some cases denoted by its proper sign, see, *e g*, *babhūva* and *vibudhā-*, both in l 8, *bibhraty=*, l 10, and in others by that of *v*, see *vuddhim=* l 1, *vibhrat*, l 6 *etc*, the palatal *ś* is used for the dental *s* in *satāla*, l 14, and the dental nasal for *anusvāra* in the component *sinha* of the proper names *Vairisinha*, l 16, *Vijayasinha*, l 17, *Narasinha*, l 21, *Jayasinha*, l 22 and *Vālasinha*, l 29, and also in *-suhānsūb*, l.18, = *sansatsu*,

¹ The committee of publications corrected some of the mistakes in Hall's transcript while the paper was going through the press. It is noteworthy that the mention of the Paramāra king Udayāditya in the present inscription enabled Hall to conjecture for the first time that the dates of the present and other inscriptions of the Kalachuris refer to an era which commenced about 250 A. C.

² *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 7

³ In line 3 of the Goharwa plates of Karna (above, No 50) and line 8 of the Khairhā plates of Yaśah-karna (above, No 56), the top of the initial *z* is formed by a straight line.

15 etc., finally, the consonant following *r* is occasionally doubled, see e.g., *mrjṣṭy* =, 17, =*ūrdhwa*-, 18 etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Narasimha** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**. The object of it is to record that his mother **Alhanadēvī**, the widow of **Gayakarna**¹ constructed a temple of Śiva under the name of Vaidyanātha together with a *matha* or monastery and a hall of study which she endowed with the income from two villages, *vṛ*, **Nāmauṇḍī** in the **Jāulī pattaḷā** and **Makarapāṭaka** on the right bank of the **Narmadā** in the land near the foot of the hills, for the worship of the deity. The management of the whole establishment was entrusted to the Pāsupata ascetic **Rudrarāśī** of the **Lāṭa** lineage. The inscription, which is called *prastā* in l. 28, was composed by **Śaśidhara**, the son of Dharanīdhara who was himself the son of Mahēśvara of the **Maunya** family (*gōtra*), with the *pravara*s Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvēṭasa. It was written on the stone by Śaśidhara's elder brother **Prithvīdhara**, and engraved by **Mahīdhara**, a son of the artisan Bālasimha². Finally, we are told that the buildings were designed by the architect **Pīthē**.

After the introductory verses invoking the blessings of the moon, the Gangā, Śiva, Gaṇēśa and Sarasvatī, the inscription mentions **Arjuna** (i.e., Sahasrārjuna), from whom was descended **Kōkalla (II)**. From him was born **Gāṅgēyadēva** whose son was **Karna**. The latter held in check the **Pāṇḍya**, **Murala**, **Kuṅga**, **Vaṅga**, **Kaliṅga**, **Kīra** and **Hūṇa** princes. Karna's son was **Yaśaḥkarna** who made himself famous by devastating **Champāraṇya**. His son was **Gayakarna** who married **Alhanadēvī**. The queen's pedigree is given in verses 17-22. In the family descended from **Gōbhilaputra** was born the prince **Hamsapāla**. His son was **Vairisimha** who, again, had a son named **Vijayasimha**. The latter prince married **Śyāmaladēvī**, the beautiful daughter of **Udayāditya**, the ruler of the **Mālava-maṇḍala**. Their daughter was **Alhanadēvī** who was married to Gayakarna. By him Alhanadēvī had two sons **Narasimhadēva**, who succeeded Gayakarna, and his younger brother **Jayasimha**.

The names of Alhanadēvī's ancestors are known from some other inscriptions also³. Thus the Mount Abu inscription of Samarasimha⁴ mentions Vairisimha and his successor Vijayasimha in the list of Guhila princes of Mēdapāta. The record does not, however, name any prince of the name Hamsapāla, but makes Vairisimha the successor of the king Vairata. Dr. Hall⁵ and following him, Dr. Kielhorn⁶ supposed that Hamsapāla was another name of Vairata 'unless Vairata was his brother or some other near relative'. Hamsapāla is, however, mentioned separately from Vairata whom he is said to have succeeded in the Sādadi⁷ and Kumbhalgaḍ⁸ inscriptions.

The present inscription is **dated** at the end in the **year 907** (expressed in numerical

¹ This is the form of the name used throughout in this inscription owing evidently to the exigencies of the metre.

² Prithvīdhara the son of Mahīdhara was the author of the Tewar inscription of Gayākarna (No. 58, above). The engraver Mahīdhara also is mentioned in the same capacity in that inscription.

³ The same pedigree is given in ll. 15-16 of the Karanbēl stone inscription of Jayasimhadēva, Appendix, No. 3.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

⁵ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 519.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347.

⁷ *A. R. A. S. I.* (1907-08), pp. 214 ff. This inscription mentions Vamsapāla as a successor of Vairata and predecessor of Vairisimha. Vamsapāla is probably a mistake for Hamsapāla. The successor of Vairisimha is, however, named Vīasimha, not Vijayasimha, in that inscription.

⁸ *P. R. A. S. W. I.* (1905-6), p. 61, G. H. Ojha's *History of Udaipur* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 140, n. 2.

figures only), on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha. This date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-248 A. C., it would correspond, for the *expired* year 907, to Sunday, the 6th November 1155 A. C., when the aforementioned *tithi commenced* 2 h 10 m after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, the *tithi* must have been joined with that week-day 'on which it commenced and which was almost entirely filled by it'¹

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present inscription **Murala** is generally identified with Kērala² It is, however, doubtful if Karna led any expedition so far to the south-west. In the *Uttararāmacharita* (Act III) the river Muralā figures as a tributary of the Godavari. The country of Murala is also mentioned in the *Viddhasālabhañjaka*³ of Rājāsēkhara and seems to correspond to the northern part of the Hyderabad State. Dr. Kielhorn identified **Kuṅga** with the districts of Salem and Coimbatore,⁴ but it is more likely to be identical with Kongōda, (Kong-yu-to of Yuan Chwang), corresponding to the Rāmagiri Agency of the Godavari District. **Kaliṅga** comprised the modern districts of Ganjām and Vizagapatam and some portion of the Godavari District. **Vaṅga** is Eastern Bengal. **Kīra** has already been shown to be the name of the territory round Baijnāth in the Kāngrā District. The country under the **Hūṇas** was probably situated to the north of Malwa⁵ **Mālava-maṇḍala** is, of course, the country of Malwa. Of the villages granted by Alhanadēvi, **Nāmauṇḍī** is now untraceable, but the **Jāulī-pattalā** in which it was situated and which is also mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarna, must have comprised the country round Jabalpur. **Makara-pāṭaka** may be Magarmuha, about 4 m. to the west of Bhērā-Ghāt. It is at the foot of a hill and almost near the right bank of the Narmadā. Its situation, therefore, answers to the description of it given in the present inscription.

TEXT⁶

- 1 सिद्धि.⁷ [1*] ओ नमः शिवाय ॥ कल्याणितामविकला भवता तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ॥ (1) एकैव या प्रमथसार्थगता द्वितीयावु(बु)द्विम्प्रदोषविरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥⁸
[१॥*]
- 2 कि माला कुमुदस्य किं शशिकला. किन्धम्म्यकर्ममाकुरा किम्वा⁹ कञ्चुकिकञ्चुका. किमथवा भूत्युद्गमा भान्त्यमी । इत्यन्नाकिवित्किता. शिवशिरसञ्चारिनाकापगारिङ्गद्वलुतरङ्गमङ्गित-
तय पुण्यप्र-
- 3 पा. पान्तु व ॥¹⁰ [२॥*] भूत सद्विभु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जगत्त्रेवानन्दकर धराश्रय-

¹ A more satisfactory equivalent of the date would have been Sunday, the 25th November 1156 A. C., on which day the tithi ended 1 h 46 m. after mean sunrise. But Kielhorn was not inclined to accept it as it would have necessitated the shifting of the epoch of the era to 248-249 A. C. This would have made most of the Kalachuri dates *cite current*, not *expired*, years, which was contrary to the usage observed in the case of other eras. Kielhorn's view has been supported by some dates discovered subsequently, to which the epoch of 248-249 A. C. would be altogether unsuitable. See *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp 123 ff and the date of No 90, below.

² *H T. M.*, p 20.

³ Act IV, verse 18

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, p 215

⁵ *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, p 102

⁶ From photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol

⁸ Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Read कि वा

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

रसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुश्च यत् । यद्गन्धोद्धुरधाम यच्च यजते शीत यदेकान्ततः सस्पर्शं यदरूपमेभिरव-
ताद्युष्मान्शरीरैः¹

- 4 शिवः ॥[३॥*] शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकर्चचित्तः । ताण्डवाडं(ब)र कुर्यान्नीलकण्ठ प्रि-
याणि वः ॥² [४॥*] विघ्नौघसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्त मुक्त कलंककलया शकलं सुधाशो ।
कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाद्वा-
5 नः श्रेय परन्दिशतु वः सदयं द्विपास्य ॥³ [५॥*] रूपैरनेकैर्व्यवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सर-
स्वती वः । यल्लेशलालित्यलवादपि स्यात्सन्सत्सु⁴ पुंसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् ॥[६॥*]⁵ ॐ
गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-
6 रभूद्वि(द्वि) भ्रत्सहस्र करान्प्रत्येकन्त्रिजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिपं जागृवि । तेजोभिर्ज्जगतीभृता-
म्परिभवी नाम्नाज्जुनः सस्मृतेर्यस्याद्याप्यधिगम्यते वसु गतन्नीतं च चौरैश्चिरम् ॥⁶ [७॥*]
तस्या-
7 न्वये समभवत्प्रथित पृथिव्या नाथ कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य । कोकल्लदेव इति बिभ्रदु-
[दार]रूपन्नाम त्रिलोकसुखसजननैकधाम ॥⁷ [८॥*] निर्जित्योर्ज्जितगर्व्वपर्व्वतभृत प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-
8 भुज प्राप्तानन्तयशा बभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः । पृथ्वी येन विधाय मेरुमतुल कल्पद्रुमे[णार्थि]-
ना स्वर्गाद्दूर्ध्वमध स्थितापि विबुधाधारे[य]⁸मापादिता ॥⁹ [९॥*] पुण्यामृतेन ससिक्ता शुद्धस-
[त्त्व]प्रवर्द्धि-
9 [ता] । यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततिः सर्व्व व्याप ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म्) ॥¹⁰ [१०॥*] तेनाजनि मही-
पालः¹⁰कर्णः स्वर्णनेन कुर्व्वता । पूर्णतृष्णार्णवानर्थिसार्थनर्थितकीर्त्तिना ॥ [११॥*] पाण्ड्यश्च-
ण्डिमताम्मुमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व्व[ग्र]ह¹¹
10 [कु]¹²ङ्ग सङ्गतिमाजगाम चकपे¹³ वङ्गः कलिङ्ग सह । कीर कीरवदास पञ्जरगृहे हूणः
प्रहर्ष जहौ यस्मिन् राजनि शौर्यविभ्रमभरं बिभ्रत्यपूर्व्वप्रभे ॥¹⁴ [१२॥*] अस्मद्भूतपराभवेन
सकला-
11 भुक्ते [भुव] यामसौ तामेतान्तनवामहं तनुतराकारामितीव स्त्रियः । यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजान्नयन-
जैर्व्वर्वा(वर्वा)ष्पै पयोधीन्व्यधु स्फारान् रत्नमहोम्मिभि पुनरमी [स]¹⁵वर्द्ध[याञ्च]-

¹ Read -द्युष्मान्शरीरै

² Metre *Anushtubh*

³ Metre. *Vasantatilakā*

⁴ Read स्यात्सत्सु

⁵ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁶ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁸ The *akshara* in the brackets is mutilated Kielhorn with diffidence proposed to read [स]मापादिता, but this requires the previous word to be taken as विबुधाधारे which admits of no satisfactory construction In our reading it would be विबुधारा and would qualify पृथ्वी

⁹ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁰ Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

¹¹ I follow Kielhorn in the reading of this verse The last *akshara* is quite clear in the photographs Hall read -स्पृह which is grammatically indefensible The intended reading may have been गर्व्वग्रह as suggested by Kielhorn.

¹² The first *akshara* is partly mutilated, but it can be restored with the help of l 10 of the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadēva (Appendix, No 3) Kielhorn read the following word as सङ्गति It would be better to read सङ्गति in view of the alliteration prevailing in this verse

¹³ Read चकपे The word was altered to suit the metre

¹⁴ Metre of this and the two following verses *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁵ The *akshara* in the brackets which is somewhat damaged was read as स by Hall and तं by Kielhorn I adopt Hall's reading in view of the angular look of its left limb

- 12 क्रिरे ॥[१३॥*] चम्पारण्यविदारणोद्गतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासयन्नाशाचक्रमवक्रभावहृदयः क्षमा-
पालचूडामणि । तस्माज्जन्म समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यश कर्ण इत्यौदार्याद्वि[नदी*]¹—
- 13 चकार विबुधान्य प्रेक्ष्य सर्वानपि ॥ [१४॥*] तस्मादशेषगुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाद्भू वल्लभः समभ-
वद्गयकर्णदेव । यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां शोकार्णवोदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥²[१५॥*]
- 14 द्युतिजितहरिताल श्रीलताकल्पशाल पृथुतरगुणमाल शत्रुवर्गैककाल । विमलितरणभाल का-
न्तकीर्त्या श(स)टाल शिततरकरवाल सोभवद्भूमिपाल ॥³[१६॥*] ❀ ॥ अस्ति
- 15 प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ठ नृपति किल हसपाल । शौर्यविसृजितनिरर्गलसैन्य-
सघनम्रीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचक्रवाल ॥⁴[१७॥*] तस्याभवत्तनुभव प्र-
- 16 णमत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जिताह्नि⁵ । श्रीवैरिसिन्ह⁶वसुधाधिपतिर्विशुद्धबुद्धेर्निधिर्न
परमर्थिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥⁷[१८॥*] स वैरिसिन्हो⁸प्यनयद्रिपूणां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहागृ-
- 17 हाणि । स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥⁹[१९॥*] तस्मादजायत
समस्तजनाभिनन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभगुरिताहितश्रीः । पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिन्ह¹⁰ इति
- 18 प्रवर्द्धमान सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्शु¹¹ ॥¹²[२०॥*] तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदया-
दित्यसुता सुरुपा । शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरञ्चितश्रीः ॥¹³[२१॥*]
- 19 मेनायामिव शकरप्रणयिनी क्षोणीभूतान्नायकाद्वीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षात्प्रजानां सृजः ।
तस्मादलहणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाक्षमाद्भूपतेरेतस्यान्नजि-
- 20 दीर्घवन्श¹⁴विशदप्रेखत्पताकाकृति ॥¹⁵[२२॥*] विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकर्णनरेश्वर । चक्रे
प्रीतिम्परामस्या शिवायामिव शकर ॥¹⁶[२३॥*] शृङ्गारशाला कलशी कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-
- 21 णपण्यभूमि । असूत पुत्रज्जयकर्णभूपादसौ नरेशन्नरसिन्ह¹⁷देवम् ॥¹⁸[२४॥*] अस्य श्रीनर-
सिन्ह¹⁹देवनृपते प्रोद्यन्त्यशश्चन्द्रमा दिग्भित्तीर्विदधातु व(ब)न्धुपसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव । भूर्भर्ता-
रम-
- 22 वाप्य चैनमुचित प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुयात्पूर्वेषान्न यथा मनागपि महाक्षोणीभूता ध्यायति ॥²⁰[२५॥*]
अस्यानुजो विजयता जयसिन्हदेव²¹ सौमित्रवत्प्रथमजेद्भुतरूपसेव ॥(१) यो मेघनादव(ब)हु-

¹ Hall's suggestion to read धनिकी here was adopted by Kielhorn I fail, however, to see any trace of the medial *i* of नि which according to Kielhorn is partly visible I prefer to restore the text as above in view of the resulting *Virōdhābhāsa* सर्वान् विबुधान् धनदीचकार which must have been intended here

² Metre *Vasantatilakā*

³ Metre *Māhī*

⁴ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁵ This has not been altered to ह्येः, as supposed by Kielhorn

⁶ Read श्रीवैरिसिंह-

⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁸ Read वैरिसिंहो.

⁹ Metre *Upēndravajrā*

¹⁰ Read -र्विजयसिंह

¹¹ Read -मुधाशु

¹² Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹³ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁴ Read -वश-

¹⁵ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁶ Metre. *Anuṣṭubh*

¹⁷ Read -न्नरसिंह

¹⁸ Metre. *Upajāti*

¹⁹ Read श्रीनरसिंह-

²⁰ Metre. *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

²¹ Read जयसिंहदेव

BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASINHA (KALACHURI) YEAR 907

[illegible]

- 23 मायमहातिकायसैन्य द्विषामभिभवन्नहह प्रहस्त ॥¹[२६॥*] अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेरिदम्भ-
ठेनाद्भुतभूमिकेन । सहामुना श्रीनरसिंह²देवप्रसूरसावलहणदेव्युदारा ॥³[२७॥*] व्याख्यानशा-
24 लामुद्यानमालामविकलाममूम(म्) । अकारयत्स्वयं शम्भुप्रासादालीद्वयन्निजै ॥⁴[२८॥*] देवा-
यास्मै वैद्यनाथाभिधाय प्रादाद्देवी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् । ग्रामन्नाम्ना नामउण्डीति सर्वादायै⁵स्सा-
25 र्द्धं चारुचर्चाप्रसिद्धयै ॥⁶[२९॥*] नर्मदादक्षिणे कूले पर्वतोपत्यकाश्रये । तथा परमदाद्ग्रा-
मन्नाम्ना मकरपाटक[म्] ॥⁷[३०॥*] लाटान्वय पाशुपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्विधिवद्वधत्ता-
म्⁸ । स्थानस्य रक्षावि-
26 धिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानि शम्भु ॥⁹[३१॥*] ॥ मौन्यान्वये¹⁰ भार्गववैतहव्यसा-
वेतसेति¹¹ प्रवरत्रयाढ्ये । महेश्वराख्याद्धरणीधरोभून्नाम्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥¹²[३२॥*]
कोमल-
27 कान्तिसटालेनोच्चै स्नेहातिभारभरितेन । दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायित येन ॥¹³[३३॥*]
पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुत समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्णवपारदृश्व । प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्द्दि-
28 ङमण्डली शिष्यगणैर्विजिग्ये ॥¹⁴[३४॥*] एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्णा[तो]द्भुतनैपुणः । प्रशस्ति-
मकरोदेतान्सूरि¹⁵ शशिधराभिधः ॥¹⁶[३५॥*] आ(अ)¹⁷सूत्रयदिद सर्व विश्वकर्मविधान-
वित् । पीथेसमभिध सूत्र-
29 धार पृथ्वीम्पृथुर्यथा ॥[३६॥*] सूत्रधाराग्रणीवा(वा)लसिंह¹⁸सूनुर्महीधर । शिलान्तथाक-
रोद्ध[र्णो]र्त्तभस्तारकितं यथा ॥[३७॥*] सवत् ९०७ मार्ग सुदि ११ रवौ ॥ ॐ ॥ ॐ ॥

TRANSLATION

Success ! Ōm ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) (Śiva) grant you perfect bliss,—(*the digit*), which, though only one (*i e*, the first), makes the host of Śiva's attendants always think, even in the absence of the evening, that it is the second (*digit*)!¹⁹

¹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

² Read श्रीनरसिंह-

³ Metre. *Upēndravajrā*.

⁴ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁵ This *visarga* is superfluous.

⁶ Metre *Sāhni*

⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁸ The sense requires the reading विधिवद्विधत्ताम् here

⁹ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹⁰ Kielhorn thought that this was altered मौनान्वये, but the correction has not been made in the original. The Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha (below No 64, l 26) also mentions this family as य See below, p 333, n 3

¹¹ The last *pravara* is generally mentioned as सावेदस, see the *Gōtrapravaramibandhakadamba* (Vēṅka-
vara Press ed), pp 25 ff

¹² Metre *Upajāti*

¹³ Metre *Āryā*

¹⁴ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁵ Read -देता सूरि

¹⁶ Metre of this and the following two verses. *Anushtubh*

¹⁷ The correction has not been made in the original.

¹⁸ Read -सिंह-

¹⁹ The figure is *Virōdbābhāsa* There is a play on the word *dvitīyā* which means (1) 'the second (digit)' d (2) 'the second lunar day'. The crescent shape of the moon makes Śiva's attendants think every day be the second lunar day of the bright fortnight in the evening of which that shape of the moon is seen at the western horizon

(V 2) May those founts of religious merit, the lines of the creeping, lovely,¹ tortuous waves of the heavenly river meandering on Śiva's head protect you!—(*the waves*) about which heavenly beings have such doubts,—Are these wreaths of white lotuses, or digits of the moon, or sprouts of religious deeds, or sloughs of snakes, or ashes emerging (*from Śiva's body*)?²

(V. 3) May Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies³ (*of his*) protect you—(*viz.*) (*that body*) which, being an element, is all-pervading; (*that*) by whose revolution the world becomes manifest; (*that*) which gives delight to the eyes (*of creatures*) in the (*whole*) world, (*that*) which is the cause of the diversity of flavour and other (*qualities*) abiding in the earth, (*that*) which is a vast repository of odour; (*that*) which sacrifices; (*that*) which is exclusively cold, and (*that*) which, (*though*) devoid of colour, is felt by the touch!

(V 4) May the blue-necked (Śiva), who gives delight to such as are fond of wielding spear and missile, who is adorned with the young moon and exults in his *tāṇḍava* (*dance*), grant whatever is pleasing to you!⁴

(V 5) May the Elephant-faced (*Gaṇapati*) graciously confer on you highest bliss,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, holds a piece of the moon free from the slightest dark-spot and capable of dispelling the intense darkness of multitudes of obstacles!

(V. 6) May Sarasvatī protect you,—who by varied forms of speech conducts the intercourse (*of men*), and by obtaining the slightest portion of whose elegance even for a short time, men may attain very great honour in assemblies!

(V. 7) There was in the moon's race, a king with a thousand hands, who was, day and night, wakeful to educate individually the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the worlds, (*and*) who surpassed the rulers of the world by his lustre—(*a king*) named **Arjuna**, by the mere remembrance of whom even now is regained wealth which had been lost or taken away by thieves long since⁵

(V 8) In his lineage was born a well-known lord of the earth, of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the illustrious name **Kōkalladēva (II)**, the sole source of the happiness of the three worlds.

(V 9) From him was born **Gāṅgēyadēva** who, by over-coming the hostile rulers of the earth, possessed of huge mountains of pride, attained endless glory, who, a wish-fulfilling tree to suppliants, made this earth, an abode of learned men, though situated below, soar higher than heaven (*which is an abode of gods*), by (*constructing here*) a matchless Mēru

(V 10) The creeper of his fame, sprinkled with the water of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, has overspread the whole bower of the universe.

¹ Kielhorn remarks that *valgu* in the text is used for the participle *valgat*. But *valgu* can be taken as an adjective meaning 'beautiful' or 'lovely'.

² Kielhorn translated *bhūty-udgamāb* by '(the god's) majesty bursting into view'. But as in the case of other things mentioned in this verse, the poet refers here to a white thing worn or applied to his body by Śiva.

³ The eight forms are ether (*ākāśa*), the sun, the moon, fire, earth, the sacrificer, water and air respectively. The same eight forms of Śiva are referred to in the first verse of the *Śākuntala*.

⁴ The verse would be equally descriptive of Kārttikēya's peacock. 'May the peacock indulging in dancing, which gives great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.*, to Kārttikēya) and (*the tail of*) which is covered with (*brighr*) moon-like spots grant whatever is dear to you!'

⁵ Hall cites the following verse from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* —कार्तवीर्यार्जुनो नाम राजा बाहुसहस्रवान् । तस्य स्मरणमात्रेण गत नष्ट च लभ्यते ॥

(V 11) He, who, seeking glory, filled with gold the oceans of the desires of supplicants, begot the prince **Karṇa**.

(V 12) While that king of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism, the **Pāṇḍya** renounced violence, the king of **Murala** gave up arrogance, the ruler of **Kuṅga** sought his alliance, the prince of **Vaṅga** trembled with that of **Kaliṅga**, the lord of **Kīra** stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, and the **Hūṇa** lost all merriment

(V 13) 'Let us reduce the size of the earth, the whole of which he enjoys by defeating our husbands'—With this motive as it were, the wives of hostile kings enlarged the seas with tears flowing from their eyes These (*seas*), on the other hand, presented¹ him with large waves of precious stones!

(V 14) From him the illustrious **Yaśaḥkarṇa** took his spotless birth—(*he who was*) a crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, who had a guiltless heart, who illuminated the circle of quarters with the bright rays of his fame which sprang from his devastation of **Champāranya**, (*and*) who transformed into gods of wealth whatever learned men² met his eyes

(V 15) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all merits, was born **Gayakarna-dēva**, the favourite of the earth, in whose case, even the sun³,—the sun of his prowess,—caused the rise of the ocean—the ocean of grief—of his enemies' beautiful wives

(V 16) That king surpassed yellow orpiment by his lustre, was the wish-fulfilling tree supporting the creeper of fortune, wore a large garland of noble qualities, was the sole god of death to the host of his enemies, adorned the fore-front of the battle-field, was surrounded by a (*halo of*) charming glory, and wielded a very sharp sword—

(V 17) Famous in this world is the family of the son of **Gōbhila**. Therein was born, forsooth, the king **Hainsapāla**, who, with his valiant and irresistible armies, humbled all the combined hosts of (*his*) enemies

(V 18) He had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious **Vairisimha**, whose feet were reddened by the crest-jewels in the diadems of all feudatory princes paying homage to him, (*and who was*) a treasure, not merely of pure thoughts, but also eminently (*one*) for suppliants

(V 19) That **Vairisimha** too, drove the families of his enemies to deep cave-dwellings, while he himself occupying their cities made them far surpass (*in splendour*) the city of **Alakā**⁴

(V 20) From him was born the lord of the earth named **Vijayasimha**, whose beauty was praised by all men, who, by his great valour, made his enemies' fortune unstable, (*and*) the moon of whose fame was always waxing in the world

(V 21) His loving wife was **Śyāmaladēvī**, the beautiful daughter of **Udayāditya**, the lord of the country of Malwa, a jewel which fulfilled the desires (*of suppliants*) of noble conduct, and a devotee of fortune

(V 22) As the beloved of Sankara (*i.e.*, **Umā**) was born to **Mēnā** from the lord of mountains (*i.e.* **Himālaya**), as the wife of the Moon was born to **Vīrṇī**⁵ from **Daksha**, the creator of beings, even so was **Alhaṇadēvī** born to her from that king capable of protecting the (*whole*) world,—(*she*) who appeared like an unsullied banner fluttering from the staff of his long pedigree.

¹ Monier-Williams gives √*sam-vridh* (causal) in the sense of 'presenting'

² There is a pun on '*vibudha*' which means 'a god' also The verse apparently means that he turned all gods into Kubēra, the figure being *Vīrōdhābhāsa*

³ Ordinarily it is the moon which causes the tides of the ocean

⁴ *Alakā* is the city of Kubēra, the god of wealth

⁵ She was the wife of Daksha

(V. 23) Having performed the nuptial ceremony, the king **Gayakarṇa** bore intense love for her as Śankara did for Śivā (*ie*, Umā).

(V. 24) She, a home of amour, a pitcher (*brimful*) of accomplishments, a garland of beauty, a store-house of noble qualities, had, by the king **Gayakarṇa**, a son, the prince **Narasimha**.

(V. 25) May the rising moon of the glory of this king, the illustrious **Narasimhadēva**, saturate, as it were, the walls of the quarters with a beautiful white-wash, and may the earth, having secured in him a worthy lord, experience such delight that she would not, even slightly, think of its past great rulers !

(V. 26) May his younger brother **Jayasimhadēva**, who does marvellous service to his elder brother as (Lakshmana,) the son of Sumitrā, did to Rāma, attain victory ! —(*he*) who, behold ! being long-armed, vanquishes the gigantic forces of his enemies roaring like clouds, and practising many tricks (*even as Lakshmana defeated the hosts of Mēghanāda and the wily and stalwart Atikāya*) !¹

(V. 27) The generous **Alhaṇadēvi**, the mother of the illustrious **Narasimhadēva**, caused this temple of the moon-crested (*god*) to be built together with that monastery of wonderful storeys

(V. 28) She also caused her people to construct a lecture-hall, that continuous line of gardens, as well as two rows (*of rooms attached*) to the temple of Śambhu

(V. 29) To the god named Vaidyanātha the queen donated, for his beautiful decoration,² the village named **Nāmauṇḍī** (*situated*) in the **Jāulipattalā**, together with all income.

(V. 30) And she gave another village named **Makarapāṭaka** (*situated*) on the right bank of the Narmadā and in the land near the foot of the hills

(V. 31) May the Pāsupata ascetic, the holy **Rudrarāśi** of Lāta lineage, duly arrange for the management of this place so long as Śambhu pervades the worlds !

(V. 32) In the **Maunya** lineage which has the three *pravaras* Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvēṭasa, there was born, from one named **Mahēśvara**, (*a son*) **Dharaṇīdhara** by name, possessed of greatness, glory and fortune.

(V. 33) Who, encircled by a delightful lustre, being full of exceedingly great affection and occupying, for long, an agreeable position, acted like a lamp of the three worlds (*which is surrounded by a halo of light, is filled to over-flowing with oil, and has a long and beautiful wick*).

(V. 34) His son **Prithvīdhara**, who has seen the further shore of the deep ocean of all the *Sāstras*, and by the crowds of whose pupils the circle of regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy

(V. 35) His younger brother, a learned man named **Śaśidhara**, proficient in dialectics and wonderfully clever, composed this eulogy

(V. 36) The architect **Pīthē**, who is conversant with the science (*taught*) by Viśvakarman,³ planned all this as Prithu did the earth.

(V. 37) **Mahīdhara**, the son of Bālasimha, the foremost of artisans, incised the stone with letters so as to resemble the starry sky.

¹ *Mēghanāda* and *Atikāya* were Rāvana's sons who were defeated by Lakshmana, see the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyana*, Yuddhakāṇḍa, adhyāyas 90 and 71 respectively *Prahastā* was also the name of Rāvana's general.

² Kielhorn translates *chārṇa-charchchā-prasiddhaya* as 'to make known her good report', but *charchchā* which literally means 'smearing' or 'annointing', seems to be used here in the wider sense of 'decoration'.

³ As pointed out by Kielhorn the adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'

(Line 29) (In) the year 907, (the month) Mārgaśīrsha (and) the bright (fortnight), on the (lunar) day 11, on Sunday.

NO 61; PLATE L

LAL-PAHAD ROCK INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 909

THIS inscription was discovered in 1873-74 by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who published a transcript of it together with a photozincograph in the *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol IX, p 94 and Plate II. The record was subsequently edited, without any lithograph or translation, by Dr Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp 211-13. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archæology.

The inscription is rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called **Lāl-Pahād** near Bharhut, in the State of Vindhya Pradesh. It contains eight lines, of which the last is separated from the rest by some distance. The writing of the first seven lines covers a space 17½" in height, the first three lines are 2' 6", the next four 1' 9½" and the last 1' 4" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The size of the letters varies from 1 2" to 2 5".

The characters are Nāgarī. Attention may be drawn to the two forms of *r*, one of which shows a horizontal line and the other a loop on the left, and of *dh* in *-pād-ānudhyāt-*, *l 2*, and *-Mahārājādhirāja-*, *l 1*; *s* and *bh* appear everywhere in the modern Nāgarī forms. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we may note that *ṣ* is denoted by the sign for *v* as in *-Vallāladēvakasya*, *l. 6* and the dental *s* is used for the palatal *ś* in all cases except *Śrī*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Narasimhadēva** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**. He is described as *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by his own arm had acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, *vṛ*, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vaha* or water-channel by **Ballāladēvaka** (or *Rāuta*¹ *Ballāladēva* as he is called in the last line), the son of the illustrious **Kayavāditya**,² *Mahārājaputra* of the village **Vadyavā**. This *Kayavāditya* seems to have been a high official of the king *Narasimhadēva*, during whose reign the inscription was engraved.

The inscription is dated, in line 7, in the year 909 (expressed in numerical figures only) of an unspecified era, on the fifth tithi of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, on Wednesday. The date must of course be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to the epoch of 247-48 A. C., there were two Śrāvaṇas in the expired Kalachuri year 909. Of these the first or *adhika* Śrāvaṇa is evidently intended here, for the fifth tithi of the bright half of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the corresponding Christian date being the 2nd July 1158 A. C.³

¹ *Rāuta* (*Rājaputra*) and *Mahārājaputra* appear to be titles of officials.

² Both Cunningham and Kielhorn read this name as *Kēsa* (*śa*)*vāditya*, but there is no sign of the medial *ē* on *k*, and the following letter is not *s* which has a different shape throughout this record.

³ In the *mṛga* Śrāvaṇa the tithi ended on Friday, the 1st August 1158 A. C. Kielhorn has cited some other instances in which an *adhika* month has not been specified as such in the wording of the date. See *Ind Ant*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212. See also the date of the Tewar stone inscription of the reign of *Jayasimhadēva* (No. 66, below).

The village **Vadyavā** which was probably situated in the vicinity of **Lāl-Pahād** cannot now be traced.

TEXT¹

- 1 [सिद्धिः²] स्वस्ति श्री[1*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्च)रश्री—
- 2 वामदेवपादानुध्यात्(त)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर—
- 3 मेस्व(श्च)रपरममाहेस्व(श्च)रत्रिकलिगाधिपतिनिजभुजोपा[र्जि]तअ³—
- 4 स्व(श्च)पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रया(त्रया)धिपति(त्य)श्रीमन्नर—
- 5 सिंहदेवचरणा. ॥ वद्यवाग्रामकस्य महारा—
- 6 जपुत्रश्रीकयवादित्य⁴पुत्रव(ब)ल्लालदेवकस्य वह ।
- 7 [स]वत् १⁵ ९०९ सा(श्चा)वण सुदि ५ बुद्धे⁶ ॥ [श्री] [॥*]
- 8 राउत श्रीव(ब)ल्लालदेव[॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail! Śrī! (*There reigns*) the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious and venerable **Narasimhadēva**, the devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara**, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by his own arm has acquired the suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*,) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**. (*There has been constructed*) (*this*) channel of **Ballāladēvaka**, the son of the great prince, the illustrious **Kayavāditya**.⁷

(Line 7) (*In*) the year 909, (*the month*) **Śrāvaṇa** (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day 5, on Wednesday.

(L 8) The *Rāuta*, the illustrious **Ballāladēva**.

No 62; PLATE LI

ALHA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

“This inscription together with two others is on a block of stone, which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of the **Alha-Ghāt**, “one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the table-land of Rewa to the plain of the Ganges” It was discovered in 1883-84 by Sir A. Cunningham by whom a transcript of the text, accompanied by a photo-lithograph was published in the *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p 115 and Plate xxviii.⁸ Its date was next referred to by Dr Kielhorn in connection with the epoch of the Kalachuri era in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVII, p. 218. The record was finally edited, without any translation or facsimile, by the same scholar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

¹ From inked estampages supplied by the Director General of Archæology.

² Expressed by a faint symbol.

³ अस्वपति which was at first omitted was incised later on in ll 3 and 4. Read भुजोपाजितास्वपति—

⁴ This name was read as *Kēśavaditya* by Cunningham and Kielhorn, see above, p 321, n. 2

⁵ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ The *mātrā* on *ddb* is quite clear Read बुद्धे

⁷ See above p. 321, n. 2.

⁸ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, p 213

The inscription contains seven lines and covers a space about 2' broad by 1' high. It is in a state of good preservation. The letters are deeply engraved, but not well-formed. Their size varies from 8" to 1 4". The **characters** are Nāgarī. The only form which calls for notice is that of *r* which has a triangle instead of a loop on the left of its vertical, see, e g, *Mahārājā-*, l 1. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit. We may notice, for instance, the wrong elision of the case-affix in *-sādhana*, l 5, *jāti*, l 6, etc, and of the feminine affix in *-Āmikādēva* (for *-Āmbikādēvi*) in l 4 as well as the incorrect participial forms *udharitab* for *uddhāritā* in l 6 and *karāpitā* for *kāritā*, ll 4-5. In respect of **orthography** we find that the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in *-vamdhana-*, l 4, *Kausāmmi-*, l 5; *j* is used for *y* in *Kali-juga*, l 3, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *Kausāmmi* and the lingual *sh* for *kh* in *lshutam* l 6.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Narasimhadēva**, the *Mahārājādhirāja* of **Ḍāhāla**, who is evidently identical with the homonymous Kalachuri king who ruled at Tripurī. Its **object** is to record that the *Rānaka*, the illustrious **Chhīhula**, the son of the illustrious **Jālhaṇa**, the *Mahārānaka* of the **Pipalāma** foit caused the **Shaṭashadikā-ghāt** to be constructed and (*a temple of*) the goddess *Ambikā* to be built near the road leading to it. He is thereby said to have freed (from the bondage of worldly existence) the whole tribe of the *Rautiās* (*Rāuts*) dwelling in **Kauśāmbī**¹. This seems to suggest that he had himself originally hailed from that place. The record finally mentions the names of the writer and of the artisans who executed the work.

The inscription opens with the **date, Śaṁvat 1216, the first (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, Sunday**. As we know that *Narasimhadēva* was ruling in the Kalachuri year 909, the date of the present inscription must be referred to some other era. The only era which would suit the present case is the *Vikrama* era. As Dr. Kielhorn has shown, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* in the northern expired (or southern current) *Vikrama* year 1216 ended 1 h 25 m after mean sunrise and was, therefore, current at sunrise on Sunday as required, the corresponding Christian date being the 16th August 1159 A. C.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the present inscription **Ḍāhāla** or **Ḍāhala**, which the lexicographers give as a synonym of *Chēdi*, denoted generally the country between the *Gangā* and the *Narmadā*,² corresponding to the modern *Baghēl-khand*. **Kauśāmbī** has already been identified with the village *Kōsam*, 28 miles west by south from *Allahabad*. **Shaṭashadikā-ghāt** may have been the ancient name of the *Alha-Ghāt*. **Pipalāmadurga** cannot be identified.

TEXT³

1 सिद्धि⁴ [1*] सवत(त्) १२१६ भाद्रसुदि प्रतिपदा(दि) रवौ ॥ डहालीयमहाराजा—

2 वि(धि) राजश्रीनरसिंहदेव⁵ विजयराज्ये ॥ पिपलामदुर्गत्ये (स्थ ?)⁶ महा—

¹ The text has clearly *Kausāmmi-nikāya*. Pāṇini, III, 3, 41 gives *nikāya* in the sense of 'habitation', 'dwelling', and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* gives *Kāśī-nikāyah* as an illustration.

² See *Bhāgīratī-Narmadayōr=madhyam Ḍāhala-mandalam* in line 54 of the *Malkāpuram* stone inscription of *Rudradēva*, J A H R S, Vol IV, p. 156.

³ From inked estampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read श्रीनरसिंहदेव—.

⁶ Dr. Kielhorn read *Pipal[ḍ][au ?]durgga[sya]*. The *mātrā* on *l* is very doubtful and the following

- 3 राणकश्रीजाल्हणा¹पुत्र राणकश्रीच्छीहुलस्य² कलिजु(यु)ग-
 4 धम्मर्थि(र्थ) षट्षडिकाघाटव(व)धनमार्गतटासिकादेव करा-
 5 पिता इति³ ॥ धम्मर्थिकाममोक्षसाधन(नम्) ॥ कौसाम्बिनिकाय⁴ रौ-
 6 तिआ नाम जाति उधरित⁵ ॥ ठकुर श्रीकमलाधर⁶ लिषि(खि)तं [1*]
 7 सूत्रधार कमलसीहाः⁷ [1*] सोमे । कोकास ॥ पाल्हण [1] [ड]ल्हण ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! (In) the year 1216, on Sunday, the first (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Bhādra (re, Bhādrapada), during the victorious reign of the illustrious Narasiṃha-dēva, the Mahārājādhrāja of Dāhāla, the Rānaka, the illustrious Chhīhula, the son of the illustrious Jālhaṇa, the Mahārānaka of Pīpalāma fort, constructed the Shaṭa-shaḍikā ghāt and (the temple of) the goddess Ambikā near the road (leading to it) for (the acquisition of) religious merit in the Kali age This is a means of (acquiring) religious merit, wealth, pleasure and liberation. The tribe of Rautiā (Rauts) living in Kauśāmbī⁸ has been liberated (by this religious deed)

(L. 6) (This) has been written by the Thakeura, the illustrious Kamalādhara. (The work was executed by) the artisans, Kamalasimha, Sōmē, Kōkāsa, Pālhana (and) Dalhana.

No. 63, PLATE LII

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

THESE plates were found in a stone-box while digging for the foundation of a Kōt-wāli building at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. When first discovered, the plates were thickly covered with verdigris. Several aksharas especially in ll 10-17 of the first plate have consequently been damaged a good deal, but as the present inscription has this portion in common with some other records⁹ of the Kalachuri dynasty, the damaged letters can be easily supplied. The writing on the second plate is fortunately in a state of fair preservation. Nothing of historical importance has, therefore, been lost. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The inscription was published, with lithographs but without any translation, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXI, pp 91 ff. It is edited here from the original plates and from ink impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. K. Natarajan, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

akshara appears to be *ma*, though the horizontal stroke at the top is wanting. The last akshara again is doubtful. If the reading given above is correct, it may be explained as formed on the analogy of *atratya*, *zhatya* etc, though it is against Pāṇini, IV, 2, 104.

¹ Read जाल्हण- There is no clear indication of the vertical stroke after *ṇa* being cancelled.

² The original has *chhchīhulasya*. Read श्रीच्छीहुलेन.

³ Read बधन मार्गतटासिम्बका देवी च कारितेति.

⁴ Read कौशाम्बीनिकाया. The aksharas are perfectly clear here. So Kielhorn's suggestion that the reading may be —*nivāsi* cannot be upheld.

⁵ Read जानिरुद्धारिता.

⁶ Read कमलाधरेण.

⁷ Read सूत्रधार कमलसिंह. The case-affixes of the following words also are dropped.

⁸ See above p 323, n 1.

⁹ *Vṛ*, the Khairha and Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarna (Nos 56 and 57, above) and the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha (Appendix No. 4, below).

[illegible]

They are **two copper-plates**, each measuring 1' 2" broad and 9½" high. The first plate weighs 226½ *tolas* and the second 215½ *tolas*. Their ends are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only, and the second on both the sides. In the middle of the top of each plate there is a hole, .8" in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together, but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been attached to it, was apparently discovered¹.

The record consists of 43 lines, of which twenty are inscribed on the inner side of each plate and the remaining three on the outer side of the second. The inscription seems to have been completed at first in the last line on the inner side of the second plate, for the words *mangalam mahāśrīh*, which usually indicate the completion of a record, occur at the end of that line. It seems, therefore, plausible, as conjectured by R. B. Hiralal, that the engraver whose name was at first inadvertently omitted, induced the Head of the Department of Religion to compose one more verse about himself to serve as an excuse for engraving the second side of the second plate, before he could insert his own name.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are beautifully formed and carefully incised. The size of the letters varies from 3" to 4". The *akshara da* which was omitted in l. 2 has been written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 following it, and the place of omission is shown with an inverted *kākapada* above the line². As regards individual letters we may note that the initial *i* appears in its old form, see, e.g., *va*, l. 6, *n* is still without its dot, see *-Trikalīngā*, l. 21, while *th*, *dh* and *jñ* approximate to their modern Nāgarī forms, see, e.g., *yathā*, l. 31, *-madhūkab*, l. 28, *samājñāpayamti*, l. 25, *b* is indicated by its proper sign in a few cases where it appears as the superscript letter of a ligature, see, e.g., *=abja-*, l. 1. The **language** is Sanskrit. The eulogistic part of the grant which extends to l. 19 is in verse; it is followed by the formal part in prose in ll. 19-21. Then come the benedictive and imprecatory verses, of which as many as eleven are included here in ll. 31-39. Two more verses, one recording the name of the writer and the other in praise of the Head of the Religious Department, are next added. The record finally ends with the name of the engraver in prose. Verses 1-12 of the present grant which carry the genealogy of the donor from Brahman to Yaśahkarna occur in the same order in the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates of Yaśahkarna. The draft of the present grant is, however, shorter than the corresponding portion of the aforementioned grants of Yaśahkarna by three verses³. Again, all the verses of the eulogistic part of the present inscription are repeated in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Vijayasimhadēva, which contains seven more verses⁴ in its corresponding portion. As regards **orthography**, we find that the sign of *v* is used to denote *b* except in ligatures see, e.g., *abja-*, ll. 1 and 2, *-abdhi-*, ll. 2 and 5 etc; the palatal and dental sibilants are generally used each in its proper place, but occasional deviations from this are also noticed, see, e.g., *-rasanā* for *-rasanā* in l. 5 and *śravamtyāb* for *sravamtyāb*, l. 12, finally, *y* is used for *j* in *griha-yāmātaram*, l. 2.

The plates were issued by the king **Jayasimha** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty** of Tripurī. He is described here exactly like his elder brother Narasimha in the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription. The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Agarā** near **Akharauda**, which the king made at **Tripurī** after bathing in the

¹ The Rai brothers of Katni kindly showed me a seal of Jayasimhadēva which was previously in the collection of Hiralal (Plate LII). But there was no indication of its having been soldered to or otherwise connected with any ring.

² It does not, therefore, signify दा २ or दे २ as supposed by Hiralal and Hirananda Sastri respectively, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 93 and n. 1.

³ *Vṛ*, verses 9, 11 and 13 of the Khairhā plates (above, No. 56).

⁴ *Vṛ*, verses 9, 14, 16, 19-21 and 24.

Rēvā on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on **Saturday, the full-moon tithi of Āśvina in the year 918** (expressed in numerical figures only) The date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era The donee was the Brāhmana **Dēlhaṇa**, the son of Dāmōdara of the Agastya *gōtra* with three *pravaras*¹ Among the officials to whom the order is addressed occur the names of the *Mahārājñi* **Kēlhaṇadēvī**,² the *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**, the *Dharma**pradhāna* *Pandita* **Rāghava**, the *Sāndhu**grahika* **Purushōttama**, the *Pratīhāra* **Kamalaśimha** and the *Dushta**sādhyā* **Padmasimha** Some of these figure in other records also Thus the *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva** is mentioned in the Jabalpur stone inscription (No 64) and in the Dhurēti plates (No 72) and the *Sāndhu**grahika* **Purushōttama** in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No 4) In the enumeration of the rights, privileges and exemptions of the donee there occur some technical terms, the exact signification of which is not yet known This portion is repeated *verbatim* in the later Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha

As all the verses descriptive of Jayasimha's ancestors down to Yaśahkarna are repeated here from older records like the Khairhā plates, they furnish no additional historical information We are next told that **Yaśahkarna** was succeeded by **Gayākarna**. The latter had, from his queen **Alhaṇadēvī**, a son named **Narasimhadēva** His younger brother **Jayasimhadēva**, who succeeded him, is the donor of the present plates The verses descriptive of these princes also contain mere conventional praise and are altogether devoid of historical interest

The importance of the present inscription lies mainly in the data it furnishes for testing Dr. Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. According to Kielhorn's final view,³ the Kalachuri era commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina in 248 A C As the bright fortnight of Āśvina thus fell in the beginning of the Kalachuri year, we should get the Christian equivalent of a date in that fortnight by adding 247 or 248 to the particular Kalachuri year according as the latter is current or expired Thus the date of the present grant,—Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvina with a lunar eclipse in the (Kalachuri) year 918,—should fall in 1165 A C if the Kalachuri year 918 was current, and in 1166 A C if it was expired But neither of these would suit, for, in the former year, the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in the latter on Monday (the 10th October) Nor was there a lunar eclipse on that *tithi* in either of these years On the other hand, if we suppose that the Kalachuri year began in some month later than Āśvina, say in Kārttika, the date of the present grant would regularly correspond, for the *expired* year 918, to Saturday, the 30th September 1167 A C, on which day the *pūrṇimā* ended 13 h after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse as stated in the present grant This date, therefore, is clearly adverse to Dr Kielhorn's conclusion regarding the beginning of the Kalachuri year. It shows that the year must have commenced on some date later than the full-moon *tithi* of Āśvina⁴

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, **Trīpurī**, **Rēvā**, **Karṇāvatī** and **Kuntala** have already been identified. **Agarā**, the donated village, is

¹ The *pravaras* are not mentioned in the present inscription They are variously enumerated by the authorities on *pravaras* Some give them as Āgastya, Dārdhachyuta and Aidhmavāha, while some others substitute Sāmbhavāha in place of Aidhmavāha For other enumerations, see *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*, pp 86 ff

² The Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha mention Gōsaladēvī as the mother of Vijayasimha and consequently as the queen of Jayasimha She seems to be different from this Kēlhaṇadēvī.

³ See his article 'Die Epoche des Cedi-Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth*, pp 53 ff.

⁴ For another case of this type, see the date of the Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva (Second Set) of K. 905 (No 94, below)

probably identical with Agariā in the Sihōrā *tahsil*, about 20 miles north by east of Jabalpur. Akharaud cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धि.² [1*] ओ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरो[जं] जयति जय[ति
त]स्मा[ज्जा]तवानब्जसूति । अथ जयति स तस्या—
- 2 पत्यमत्रिस्तद[क्षण]स्तद³नु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवानब्धिव(ब)न्धु ॥⁴[१॥*] अथ वो(बो)धन—
मादि[रा]जपुत्रं [गृ]हया(जा)मातरमब्जवा(बा)न्धवस्य । तनय जनयाव(ब)—
- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराज[हस]. ॥⁵[२॥*] पुत्रं पुरुवरस[मौ]र[स]माप सूनुर्देवस्य
[सप्त]जलरा[शि]रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसम—
- 4 भाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वशी च सुक[लत्र]मिहोर्व्वरा च ॥⁶[३॥*] अत्रा[न्वये] किल
[स(श)ता]धिकसप्तिमेधयूपोपरुद्धयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्त्ति । स—
- 5 प्ताब्धिरत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविश्वंभराशुभरतो भरतो व(ब)भूव ॥[४॥*] हेलगृ[ही—
त]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तशस्त्रो [गो]त्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य
- 6 स कार्तवीर्यं । अत्रै[व है]ह्यनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपूसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्म[णि] चक्षमे य. ॥[५॥*]
[स] हि[माच]ल इव कलचुरिवशमसू—
- 7 त जगतीभृता भ[र्त्ता] । मुक्ताम[णिभि]रिवामलवृत्तैः पूत महीपतिभि. ॥⁷[६॥*] तत्रान्वये
नयवता प्रवरो [न]रे[द्र]. पौरद[री]मिव पुरी त्रि—
- 8 पुरी पुनान । आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधिराजनिर्म्माथ⁸केसरियुवा युवराजदेव. ॥⁹[७॥*] सि—
[हा]सने नृपतिसिहममुष्य सूनु—
- 9 [मारुरु]पन्नवनभित्तुर्मात्यमुख्या । कोकल्लमण्णवच[तुष्टयवीचि]संघसघट्टरुद्धचतु[रंग]चमू—
प्रचार(रम्) ॥[८॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढव—
- 10 क्षा. स्मितास्यो¹⁰ नगर[परि]घदै[र्घी] ¹¹(र्घ्यं)] लघयन्दोर्द्धयेन । [शि]र[सि] कुलिशपातो
वैरि[णा वी]रल[क्ष्मी]पतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेव ॥¹²[९॥*]
- 11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[व(ब)धौ] [सा]र्द्धं^{*} शतेन गृहि[णी]भिरमुत्र मुक्ति(क्तिम्) ।
पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द्रकुभमुक्ताफलै. [स्म] ककुभोर्च्चति
- 12 [कर्ण]दे[व] ॥¹³[१०॥*] अग्रच धाम श्रे[यसो] वे[द]विद्याव[ल्ली]कंद[.] [स्व]श्च¹⁴—

¹ From the original plates and ink-impressions

² Expressed by a symbol

³ This *akshara*, which was omitted at first, is written at the top of the first plate with the figure 2 indicating the line where it is to be supplied

⁴ Metre *Mālinī*

⁵ Metre *Aupachchandasika*

⁶ Metre of this and the two following verses *Vasantatilakā*

⁷ Metre *Āryā* The Khairhā and Jabalpur plates (Nos 50 and 51 read क्षमाभृता in place of जगतीभृता

⁸ See above, p 303, n 9

⁹ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁰ Both the Khairhā and Jabalpur plates read स्मिताक्षो, which is also Hiralal's reading here The original, however, has स्मितास्यो quite clearly

¹¹ This *akshara* is partly damaged, but the traces that remain are sufficient to show that it was र्घ्यं, not र्घ्य as read by Hiralal

¹² Metre *Mālinī*

¹³ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

¹⁴ This *akshara* is quite clear Read स्व स्ववत्या

- वत्या. किरीट(टम्) । [व(व)हस्तवो¹(वो)] येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्यष्ठा[पि] क्षमा[त]ल-
व(व)हस्तलो-
- 13 क. ॥²[११॥*] अ[जनि] कल[चु]रीणा स्वा[मि]ना [ते]न हूणान्वयजलनिधिल[क्ष्म्यां]
श्रीम]दाव[ल्ल]देव्या(व्याम्) [।*] श[शभृदुद]यशकाक्षुब्धदुग्धाब्धिवीचीस-
- 14 हच[रित]यश श्री. [श्री]यश कर्णदेव ॥³[१२॥*] [त]स्या[त्मजो]भूद[तुल]प्रता[प]
श्रीमद्गयाकर्ण इ[ति] प्रतीत । यस्याहवेषूद्धतवैरिकण्ठच्छेदा-
- 15 [स्र]पूर्णो[व घ]रानुरक्ता ॥⁴[१३॥*] [अ]साव[ल्ल]णदेव्या श्रीनरसिहनरेस्व(स्व)र(रम्) ।
[सवे]दन[मि]वेच्छाया प्रयत्न सु[षु]वे सु(शु)भ(भम्) ॥⁵[१४॥*] उच्चैर्हिरण्यकशि-
- 16 पुप्रतिपादनेन प्रीति परा विवु(बु)धसहतिषु प्रकुर्व्व[न्] । सौदर्यसार[वि]निवारितसा (मा) रगर्व्व-
श्चित्र तथा[प्य]यमहो नरसिहदेव ॥⁶[१५॥*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो वि[जय]ता जय[सि]ह[दे]व. शौर्यो[ज्व(ज्व)]लैर[पि] नृपै. क्रियमाणसे[व]. ।
यदाम(न)लुप्तयशसेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(व)लिना प्रलीन(नम्) ॥[१६॥*] नष्ट गूज्जर[भू]भुजा भुजव(व)ल मुक्तं तुरुष्केण
च त्यक्त कुंतल[नाय]केन सहसा कंदर्पकेलिक्रम. । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसि[ह]देवनृपते राज्याभिषेक नृपा सत्रासादपरेष्यपास्य जग[ती] पारे ययुर्व्वारिधे ॥⁷
[१७॥*] परमभट्टारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहे-

Second Plate : First Side

- 21 श्वरत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपाज्जिताश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्य) श्रीमज्जय-
सिहदेव एते विजयि-
- 22 न. ॥⁸ महाराज्ञी श्रीकेल्हणदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्रीमद्राजगुरुविमलशिव । महा-
पुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानार्थलेखितक्कुरश्रीदशमूलिक । साधिविग्रहिकटक्कुरश्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्र-
तीहारश्रीकमलसिह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्यश्रीपद्मसिह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार । अश्वसाधनिक । भांडागारिक ।
इत्येतानन्याश्च प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 नग्रामनिवासिजनपदाश्चाहूय यथार्हं मानयन्ति वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च । विदितमस्तु
भवताम् । सवत् ९१८ आश्वि-
- 26 न सु(शु)दि पौर्णमास्या तिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्या सोमग्रहणे रेवाया विधिवत्स्नात्वा श्रीमहा-
देवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रो-
- 27 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अखरौदसमीपे अगराग्राम. स्वसीमापर्यंतश्चतुराघाटविशुद्ध. सगोप्र-
चार. ॥⁹

¹ The lower part of this *akshara*, which is extant, shows that the word was स्नवो, not स्नभो as read by Hirālāl.

² Metre *Sālinī*

³ Metre *Mālinī*

⁴ Metre. *Indravajrā*

⁵ Metre. *Anushtubh*

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

⁷ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁸ The marks of punctuation in lines 22-24 are superfluous.

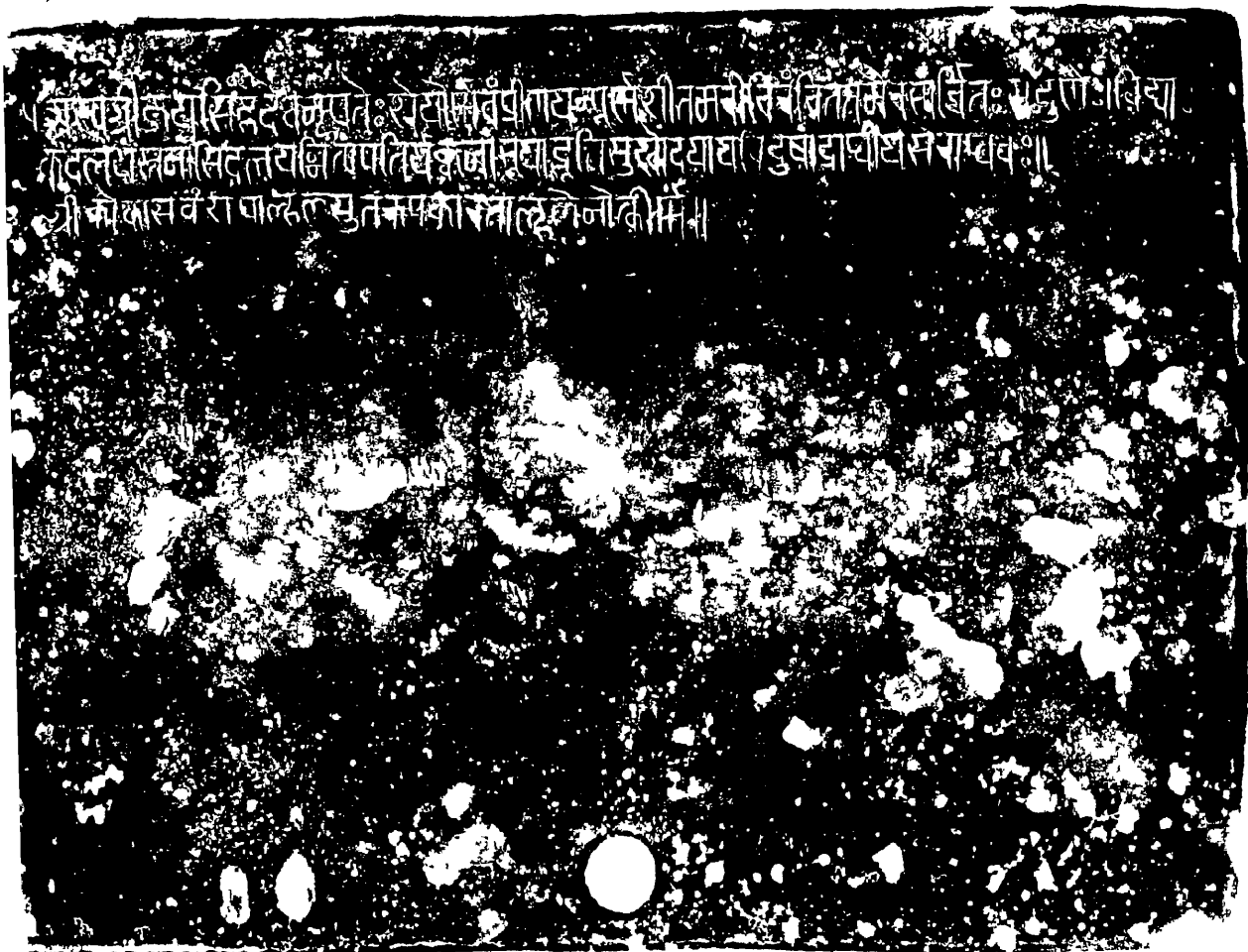
⁹ This mark of punctuation is redundant

JABALPUR PLATES OF JAYASIMHA (KALACHURI) YEAR 918

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A Seal of Jayasimha



(From a photograph)

- 28 सजलस्थल साम्रमधूक. सलवणाकर. सगर्तोषर सनिर्गमप्रवेश सजाङ्गलानूपो वृक्षारामो-
द्भिदोद्या-
- 29 नतृणादिसहित सनदीपर्वत¹ भागकरप्रवणिवाडचरीरसवतीकामतविसेणिमादायपट्टकिलादायदु -
साध्यादा-
- 30 यवि(वै)षयिकादायादिकृतकरिष्यमाणादायै सह² अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पडितश्रीदामोदर-
पुत्राय पडितश्रीदेल्हण-
- 31 शर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणायोदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा ॥
सर्वानितान्भाविन. पार्थिवे-
- 32 न्दान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र. । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भि ॥³
[१८॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा [भु]क्ता राज-
- 33 भि. सगरादिभि. । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥⁴[१९॥*] सुवर्णमेक
गामेका भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति याव-
- 34 दाभूतसंप्लव(वम्) ॥[२०॥*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवा कोटिप्रदानेन भू-
मिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥[२१॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो हरेत् व-
- 35 सुधरा(राम्) । स विष्ठाया कृमिभूत्वा पितृभि सह मज्जति ॥[२२॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे वसति भूमिद । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
- 36 व नरके वसेत् ॥[२३॥*] वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिन । कृष्णसर्पास्तु जायन्ते देव-
ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वहारिण ॥[२४॥*] अन्यायेन
- 37 हुता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतश्च⁵ दहत्यासप्तम कुल(लम्) ॥[२५॥*] भूमि
य प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमि प्रयच्छ-
- 38 ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियत स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[२६॥*] शखो भद्रासन च्छत्र वराश्वा
वरवारणा [॥*] भूमिदानस्य चिन्हा(ह्ला)-
- 39 नि फलमेतत्पुरदर ॥[२७॥*] अस्मिन्वशे परिक्षीण(णो) य कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याह हस्तल-
ग्नोस्मि शासन न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥[२८॥*]
- 40 अभ्युद्धरस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमद्धर्मस्य सूनुना । लिखित वत्सराजेन चेदीशदशमूलिना ॥[२९॥*]
मङ्गल ॥ महाश्री ॥ ❀

Second Plate : Second Side

- 41 सिद्धि⁶ [॥*] अस्य श्रीजयसिहदेवनृपते श्रेयोर्णव प्रीणयन्पूर्णं शीतमरीचिरचिततमैरभ्यर्चित
सद्गुणै । विद्या
- 42 कदलयस्तमासि दलयन्नित्य पतिर्यज्वना भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषा द्राघीयसे राघव ॥⁷
[३०॥*]
- 43 श्रीकोकासवशपालह्णसुतरूपकारतालह्णेनोत्कीर्णं (र्णम्) ॥

Seal

श्रीमज्जयसिहदेव[*] ॥

¹ Read -पर्वतो

² Read सहागस्त्य-

³ Metre *Sālinī*

⁴ Metre of verses 19-29 *Anushtubh*

⁵ The metre requires a reading like हारयन्तश्च, but it would be ungrammatical

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁷ Metre. *Sārdūlavakrīḍita*

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Adoration to Brahman!

[For a translation of verses 1-12, see that of vv. 1-8, 10, 12, 14 and 15, above, pp. 296 ff.]

(Verse 13) His (*i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarna's) son of unrivalled prowess became famous as the illustrious **Gayākarna**; in whose wars the earth, replete with blood from the cut-off necks of arrogant foes, was, as it were, in love (*with him*)

(V. 14) He begat on **Alhaṇadēvi** the illustrious prince **Narasimhadēva**, as sensation produces in will a righteous effort

(V. 15) Though he caused great joy among multitudes of learned people by his precious gifts of gold and food¹ (*unlike the man-lion god who pleased hosts of gods only by killing Hiranyakaśipu*) and did away with cupid's pride by his superb beauty (*unlike the ugly man-lion god*), he was, oh wonder! still (*called*) **Narasimhadēva**!

(V. 16) May his younger brother **Jayasimhadēva** be victorious—(*he*) who is waited upon even by princes resplendent with valour! Being deprived of their glory by his liberality, the celestial tree hastily left (*the world*) and Bali disappeared underground!

(V. 17) On hearing of the coronation of the illustrious **Jayasimhadēva** the **Gurjara** king disappeared, the **Turushka** lost the strength of (*his*) arms, the lord of **Kuntala** suddenly renounced all love-sports and other kings also, leaving the earth through apprehension, crossed the ocean

(Line 19) This victorious (*king*), the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Jayasimhadēva**, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trika-līṅga**, who has by (*the might of*) his arm, attained suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**,—having called together the *Mahārājānī*, the illustrious **Kēlhaṇadēvi**, the *Mahārājaputra*, the *Mahāmātya*, the illustrious *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**, the *Mahāpurōhita*, the *Dharmapradhāna* *Pandita*, the illustrious **Rāghava**, the *Mahāpradhāna*, *Arthalēkhin*² *Thakkura* the illustrious *Daśamūlika*,³ the *Sāndhivigrahika* *Thakkura*, the illustrious **Purushōttama**, the *Pratihāra*, the illustrious **Kamalasimha**, the *Dushtasādhya*,⁴ the illustrious **Padma-simha**, the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Akshapaṭalika*, the *Pramattavāra*, the *Aśvasāadhanika*, the *Bhāndāgārika*—these and other (*officers*) and the inhabitants of the village which is to be granted,—duly honours, informs and commands them (*as follows*).—

(L. 25) "Be it known to you that on (*the occasion of*) the lunar eclipse on Saturday, the full-moon (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the year 918, we, having bathed in the **Rēvā** and having worshipped the holy Mahādēva, have given as a grant with a libation of water for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourselves, the village **Agarā** near **Akharauda** to the extent of its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with pasture-land for cows, with land and water, with mango and *mahuā* trees, with salt mines, with its pits and barren lands, with (*the right*

¹ There is a play on the word *Hiranyakaśipu* which means (1) gold and food (*kaśipu*) and (2) the name of a demon who was killed by Vishnu in his man-lion incarnation.

² This appears to be a technical title corresponding to the modern 'Chief Secretary.'

³ This officer is called *Daśamūlin* in verse 29 below. The post was then held by Vatsarāja. He is named in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix No 4, below) also.

⁴ This corresponds to the *Daubhsādhāsāadhanika* usually mentioned in the records of the Pālas. It was a technical title probably denoting 'an officer in charge of criminals'

of) egress and ingress, with fertile¹ and marshy lands, with tree-groves, plant-gardens, grass and so forth, with rivers and hills, with the (royal) share (of produce), taxes, (the cess on) *pravanas*,² *vāda*, grazing tax, liquor tax, *kāmata*, the cess on *visēṇimā*,³ the tax levied for *Pattakulas*⁴ and *Dussādhyas*,⁵ the district rates and such other taxes levied or to be levied,—to the Brāhmana, the illustrious *Pandita Dēlhaṇaśarman*, the son of the illustrious *Pandita Dāmōdara*, of the Agastya *gōtra* and three *pravaras*”

And in this matter this is the prayer of the donor—

(Here follow eleven benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(V 29) (This charter) has been written by *Vatsarāja*, the son of the illustrious *Dharma* and son's son of *Abhyuddhara*, (who is) the *Daśamulin* of the lord of *Chēdi* May there be bliss and great prosperity !

Success !

(V. 30) May *Rāghava*, the lord of sacrificers, the full moon that delights the ocean of well-being of this illustrious king *Jayasimha*, who is honoured on account of his virtues, cause great prosperity and happiness to the learned, making the lores sprout forth, and annihilating ignorance !

(This charter) has been engraved by the sculptor *Tālhaṇa*, the son of *Pālhaṇa* of the illustrious *Kōkāsa* family.

Seal

The illustrious *Jayasimha*.

NO 64, PLATE LIII

JABALPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 926.

THE stone bearing this inscription was found at Jabalpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The record has been referred to several times, e g, by Dr F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol VI, p 533, by Dr F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p 210 and, again, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol V, Appendix I, p. 10, n. 4 and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, (second ed), p 42, but owing presumably to its very bad preservation⁶ none attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents. The record was for the first time edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXV, pp. 309

¹ Compare अरपोदकतृणो यस्तु प्रवात प्रचुरातप । स ज्ञेयो जाडगलो देशो बहुधान्यादिसयुत ॥ in Kullūka's com on *Manusmṛiti*, adhyāya VII, v 69

² Kielhorn draws attention to the similarity of the expression *vanik-pravani-pranukha* in l 6 of the Rājōr inscription of Mathanadēva and *vanik-śrēṣṭhī-purōga* (*Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 263, n 4) *Pravani* therefore, seems to mean *Śrēṣṭhī*, a banker *Pravani-kara* is mentioned in other records also, see, e g, line 28 of the Faizābād grant of Jayachandra, *Ind Ant*, Vol XV, p 12

³ *Vāda*, *kāmata* and *visēṇima*, which occur also in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha (below, Appendix, No 4), I am unable to explain

⁴ *Pattakulas* are mentioned in some records together with *jānapadas* (residents of the country) as persons living in the village to whom the royal order is addressed See, e g, line 18 of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasimha, *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 49 *Pattakula* probably represents the modern *Pāṭil* or headman of a village

⁵ These were probably criminals and other suspects living within the limits of the village

⁶ Hiralal remarks that 'this is a pretty big record, but is too much defaced to yield any useful information' *I C P B*, p 42

ff It is edited here from the original stone and its inked estampages kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 8½" high The average size of the letters is 5" The surface of the stone which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather and several letters in the middle as well as the right-hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible

The **characters** are Nāgarī The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of *b* as an independent letter in *bibhrat*=, l 25 and in its superscript form in =*bvabhūv*=, l 9, to the form of the initial *v* in *iti*, l 12, of the initial *ri* in *richām*, l. 15 and of *ś*, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8 in *Śmāya*, l 1 The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all The **orthography** does not present anything calling for special notice except that *v* and *b* as well as *ś* and *s* are confounded in some places

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Śiva) by **Vimalaśiva**, the religious preceptor of the king **Jayasimha** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty** of **Tripurī**. The god was named Kīrtiśvarā after Vimalaśiva's *guru* **Kīrtiśiva**. The inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a **solar eclipse**.¹

The record is **dated** in words as well as numerical figures in the **year 926** without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 926, to 1174-75 A. C. In this year there was only one solar eclipse, *viz*, that which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa, on Tuesday, the 26th November 1174 A. C. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up.² It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K 918³ to K 928.⁴

After three *mangala-ślōkas* in praise of Śiva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of **Vimalaśiva**⁵ and **Vāstuśiva**⁶ only are now completely legible In line 8 we read the name of **Purushaśiva** who is described as the cause of **Yaśahkarna's** prosperity Next is mentioned **Śaktiśiva** in connection with **Gayākarna**.

¹ I take *raṇēb parvanī* in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse' *Parvan* also means a *saṅkrāntī*, but in that case the name of the *saṅkrāntī* would have been specified

² There was a solar eclipse on the *amāvāsyā* of *pūrṇimānta* Āshādha (the 1st June 1174 A. C.) also So the year can be taken as current But current years are cited very rarely

³ Above, No 63

⁴ Below, No 66

⁵ This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription

⁶ I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmāśiva in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karna and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karna downwards are described as meditating (See *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol. XIV, pp 96 ff) A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāśi is also mentioned as living in Banaras in the Sārnāth inscription of Mahīpāla, dated V 1083, *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 140 The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karna, for the next legible name is that of Purushaśiva who was the *guru* of Karna's son Yaśahkarna But the second *akshara* of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like *ma* I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic, see *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp 152 ff

His desciple was **Kīrtiśiva** who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king **Narasimha**. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his description. The next eighteen verses refer to **Vimalaśiva**. He belonged to the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra and was the son of **Madhu-sūdana** and **Umā**. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at **Prabhāsa**, **Gōkarna**, **Gayā**, and other *tīrthas*, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kīrtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal, and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmanas constructed by him is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king **Jayasimha** devoutely bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kīrtiśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kīrtiśiva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages, which was named **Ṭēkabhara**, was situated in the *vishaya* (district) of **Navapattalā** and the other two named **Kaṇḍaravāḍa** and **Vaḍōha** or **Avaḍōha** in **Samudrapāṭa** which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the **Kalachuri kings** of **Tripurī** from Yaśahkarna downwards. It may, however, be noted in this connection that the Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvīndachandra¹ mention the Śaiva Āchārya **Rudraśiva**, not Puruṣaśiva, as the *Rājaguru* of **Yāśahkarna**. Perhaps Yaśahkarna had two *Rājagurus* in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the *guru* of Jayasimha occurs in his Jabalpur plates² also.

The present *praśasti* was composed by the poet **Śaśidhara**, who was a Brāhmana of the **Maunya**³ *gōtra*. He composed also the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvī, while his elder brother Pūthvidhara was the author of the Tēwar inscription of the reign of Gayākarna. The present record was incised on the stone by Nannadēva, the son of Mahidhara. His father was the sculptor of the aforementioned stone inscription of the reign of Gayākarna and that of Alhanadēvī.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, **Ṭēkabhara** may be identical with Tikhāri, 5 miles south by west of Jabalpur. The *vishaya* (district) of **Navapattalā** in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhērā which lies about 8 miles west of Tikhāri. **Samudrapāṭa** is probably Sāmand Pipāriā, 4 miles south of Jabalpur. There are several villages named Kunda or Kundan near Jabalpur, one of which may represent the ancient **Kaṇḍaravāḍa**. No place exactly corresponding to **Vaḍōha** or **Avaḍōha** can, however, be traced in the Jabalpur District. **Prabhāsa**, **Gōkarna** and **Gayā** are too well-known to need identification.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धि⁵ [I*] ओ नम शिवाय ॥ उन्मीलत्कमलावलम्बि (म्बि) तरतिर्वन्द्यद्विजेन्द्रस्थितिर्निर्दोषा
[म] हितप्रकाशवसति [कारुण्यपूर्णोद्गति] । सम्यग्वर्जित[सञ्चिता] हितकृति. [श्रीसर्व्व]-
देहोद्गतिर्भूत्वा पुण्यकृदात्मज.

¹ J A S B, Vol XXXI, pp 123 ff

² Above, No 63. Vimalaśiva is also mentioned in the Dhurētī plates, below, No 72.

³ This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Narasimha (above, No 60, l 26), but the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* spells it as *Mauna*

⁴ From the original stone and ink impressions

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

- ¹⁷ Metre of this and the two following verses: *Anushtubh*.

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ACHURI) YEAR 926

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- लतिकावष्टभाद्भुतभूरुहः । तस्य कीर्त्तिशिवः शिष्य[स्तिष्य ?] ५५ [बभूव सः] ॥२१॥*
 [येन देव ?] ५—५, ५५५५५५—५५ । नरसिंहनरेन्द्रस्य बभूवा—
- 12 भ्युदयाय सः ॥२२॥* न स्यंदन वसुमती न च चंद्रसूर्यौ चक्रे न सारथिरभूत्स च विश्वयोनिः ।
 नेषुर्हरि परपुराणि तथापि भस्म चक्रे यतः स इति कीर्त्तिशिवः स्फु— ॥१[२३॥* यशोभिर्—
 दुविशदैस्तथैवारिविकर्षितैः । अपूपुरत्स सर्वाशा विवे—
- 13 ककुसुमैरिव ॥२४॥* दृष्टौ च विप्रु(प्लु)ष्टमनोभवोपि प्रसन्नचंद्रप्रतिमाननोपि । वृषप्रति—
 ष्ठोपि शिवावसक्तोप्यभूत्स नोग्रो न च सद्विजिह्वः ॥३[२५॥* कलचुरिकुल⁴
 यन्ति प्रदीपा⁵ । स यथैव तथेन्द्रियाणि सर्वा—
- 14 ण्यपि विश्रामसुरद्वुरिदिरायाः ॥६[२६॥* विश्वामित्रजगन्मित्रगोत्रे मैत्र्याद्यलकृताः । प्रापु—
 विव्रा कियंतो न प्रतिष्ठा परमेष्ठिनः ॥७[२७॥* येषां सम्यगधीतवेदविषयज्ञानार्थमत्याद—
 रा[त्*] [येषां—५५—[रदायनमभू]—५—५—। येषां [चा]र्थसमृद्धिभिः समभव—
- 15 श्लिष्टानि पूर्त्तानि च प्राशस्त्येन महीभृतामिव सदा यायावराणामपि ॥८[२८॥* क्रमात्तत्रा—
 भवद्गोत्रे मैत्री सत्रे(वे)षु सदधत् । ऋचां पदक्रमाधीती वो(बो)द्धा च मधुसूदन ॥९[२९॥*]
 दक्षिणाशावतसस्य कुभयोनेरिवाधिकम् । व(ब)भूव यस्य विवु(बु)धोद्वो(द्वो)धाय म—
- 16 हिमोदय ॥३०॥* द्विजेन्द्रभूषणात्तस्मादुमेवोमाभिधा वधूः । अलंचक्रे तनूजेन स्कन्देनेव
 जगत्त्रयम् ॥३१॥* सोधीत्य वेदान्वेदार्थानधिगम्य व्रत वहन् । ५५५५५—५ नभस्वानिव
 दक्षिणः ॥३२॥* प्रभासगोकर्ण[ग]यादितीर्थेष्व—
- 17 नृण्यमापद्य सुरादिवर्ये । शैव व्रत कीर्त्तिशिवाद्भार समग्रमुग्रादुपमन्युवद्यः ॥१०[३३॥* कल्पा—
 युर्विमलशिवः स एष [तस्मा]द्वि(द्वि)भाण कलियुगकल्पपादपत्वम् । [यच्छा]यां विवु(बु)ध—
 गणोधिगम्य धत्ते वैधुर्यन्न खलु [महोत्स]वोदयेषु ॥११[३४॥* जा—
- 18 तिः सज्जनपूजिता रतिपतेर्व्यावर्त्तनायाकृतिर्व्यक्तिः । कातिसुहृत्प्रशातिसुतपा¹² स्फीतिर्गुणाना
 गुरु । रीतिः [प्रीति]करी सतामतितरा नीतिः सदा तद्विदा [सौनं मङ्गल]मुद्यमैकसरणेरस्यैव
 सदृश्यते ॥१३[३५॥* वाणी सद्गुणनैपुणप्रण—
- 19 यिनी व्र(ब्र)ह्मास्यपद्माश्रया श्रीः श्रीवत्सविभूषवत्स¹⁴वसतिप्रेमेति [लो]कोक्तयः । एतस्मिन्पु—
 रद्भुत द्वयमिदं सानद[मुद्यो(द्वयो)]तते तादृग्यादृगजीजन[त्सुमनसा] चेतस्सु— ५—॥३६॥*
 विद्यासमुद्रचंद्रस्य तप श्रीसरसीरुहः । सत्योत्सवाद्रेः स—
- 20 दूतमित्रस्यास्याद्भुत न किम् ॥१५[३७॥* यस्यार्थिद्विजराजदर्शनवशाद्दानाम्बु(म्बु)भिर्व्व—
 र्द्धते श्रद्धा [रात्रिदिवं] वरेण विधिना [धर्मस्य] वल्लीरिव¹⁶ । यो दर्शेष्वपि सादरं द्विजपती—

¹ Restore स्फुट स । Metre *Vasantatilakā*

² Metre: *Anushtubb*

³ Metre: *Upajāti*

⁴ About 5 *akṣaras* are missing here

⁵ About 7 *akṣaras* are gone here.

⁶ Metre *Anupachchbandasika*

⁷ Metre: *Anushtubb*

⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁹ Metre of this and the next three verses *Anushtubb*

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajāti*

¹¹ Metre *Prabharṣinī*

¹² The *visarga* is dropped here by the *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3,36.

¹³ Metre of this and the following verse *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

¹⁴ The second *vatsa* here means 'the breast'.

¹⁵ Metre *Anushtubb*

¹⁶ Properly वल्लीव, but this reading would not suit the metre.

- नक्षीणशोभाभरान्दक्षो योजयते सुवर्णविकश(स)त्सद्रोहिणीना स(श)तै. ॥¹[३८॥*]
- 21 सकलनृपतिकृत्यप्रत्यवेक्षासुदाक्ष्य समधिकमधि --- उ- जयधुर्य । द्विजपतिरपि पूर्णः कोम-
लाभिः कलाभिः कलयति वललीला योरि --- उ- ॥²[३९॥*] लक्ष्मीलीलाकटाक्षैरतिकृतु-
कतया सतत लक्ष्यमाणो-
- 22 प्यक्षाणा न क्षमी य क्वचिदपि सहते स(श)क्तिमुत्सेचयित्रीम् । पृथ्वीपालेन नित्य व(ब)हुल-
समुचिते कार्यजाते नियुक्तोप्यादत्ते नैव जाड्य [कथम्]पि विधिवन्नित्यनैमित्तिकेषु ॥³
[४०॥*] नित्य वासनया उ- उ उ उ --- उ- सज्जे न विचा-
- 23 रपूर्वकविधि[ईत्त] न यज्ञास्ति तत् । पात्र तन्न यद्विचिन्त न व(ब)हुशस्तीर्थं न तद्भूतले दान-
स्नानतपोभिरद्भुततमेर्यन्नामुना सस्कृतम् ॥⁴[४१॥*] साधीयांसि महीयांसि स्थेयांसि स्थाणु-
रूपिणः । श्रेयांसि यस्य वर्द्धन्ते महासीव यशा-
- 24 सि च ॥⁵[४२॥*] उद्यानसरसी [सत्त्र]प्रासादद्विजवेश्मभि । भूमि परिभवत्यस्य न कैर्भूषा-
भरैर्दिवम् ॥[४३॥*] यो मत्रै करवर्त्तिनः समकरोल्लेकान्परेभ्य परान् --- ज्जयसिहदेव-
नृपतिर्भक्त्यातिनम्रोपि सन् । स श्रीमान्विमलेश्वर कलिमलप्र-
- 25 क्षालनैकक्षमा कीर्त्ति देव[नदीमिव] त्रिभुवने विस्तार[येन्नदनीम्] ॥⁶[४४॥*] अचीकरच्चद्र-
मौले⁷र्मन्दिरमादरात् । गुरोः कीर्त्तिशिवस्यैतत्कीर्त्तये सुकृताय च ॥⁸[४५॥*] देवाय कीर्त्ति-
श्वरसज्जिताय प्रादादमुष्मै जयसिहदेव । बिभ्रद्भुवे भक्तिभरं गुरौ
- 26 च ग्रामान्रवे पर्वणि न[व्य]दायान् ॥⁹[४६॥*] [टेकभराख्य]स्तेषामेको नवपत्तलाविषये ।
अन्यौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडो वडोहस्व(श्च) ॥¹⁰[४७॥*] मौन्यान्वयद्विजेद्रश्रीधरणीधरनदन ।
प्रशस्तिमकरोदेताम्प्रीत्या शशिधर.¹¹ कवि ॥¹²[४८॥*] सूत्रधारशि-
- 27 [रोरत्न]महीधरतनूद्भव. शिलामलकरोदेता¹³ नामदेवोऽक्षरैर्व्वरै. ॥[४९॥*] सम्बत्षड्विंश-
त्युत्तरनवशताङ्केपि¹⁴ ९२६ ॥ यावत्सूर्याचद्रौ यातायात नभस्तले तपत । तावत्कीर्त्तनमेतत्कीर्त्यै
कर्त्तु. स्थिर भूयात् ॥¹⁵[५०॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Ōm! Obeisance to Śiva!

(Verse 1) Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds, [Śiva] who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmanas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, and is full of compassion, destroys the

¹ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

² Metre *Mālmī*

³ Metre *Sragdhar*

⁴ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

⁶ Metre *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

⁷ Some word like रस्य is omitted after चद्रमौले

⁸ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁹ Metre *Upajātī*

¹⁰ Metre *Upajātī*

¹¹ Read शशिधर.

¹² Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

¹³ अलकरोत् is grammatically incorrect Read अलचकारैता.

¹⁴ Read सबत् षड्विंशत्युत्तरनवशतेङ्केपि.

¹⁵ Metre *Āryā*

(*evil*) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, and annihilates the arrogance of demons

(V 2) Śiva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses

(V. 3) We praise the praiseworthy (Śiva), whom they see

(V 4) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Śiva revealed his doctrine

.

(V 5) Those whose direct knowledge failed

(V 6) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time

(V 7)

(V 8) Having installed his disciple, **Vimalaśiva**, in his own place, he . . .

(V 9) Whose dear fame

(V 10) (*He*) who was named **Vāstuśiva**, who caused great bliss, who . . .
in the country of the lords of **Chēdi**

(V 11)

(V 12) His disciple named —**śiva**, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth in order to oblige others (*and*) to attain the aims of human life

(V 13)

(V. 14) like multitudes of merits

(V. 15) He, though possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (*and*) was devoted to Śiva

(V 16) **Purushaśiva**, the best of men, who was conversant with
was his disciple

(V 17) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of **Yaśaḥkarna** as that of (Indra) the lord of immortals through Brihaspati

(V 18) His disciple, **Śaktiśiva**, . . (*who augmented*) the (*two*) royal powers of the illustrious king **Gayakarna**, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect

(V 19) the prowess of the king **Gayakarna**

(V. 20) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people, and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V 21) The disciple of him,—a marvellous tree supporting the wish-fulfilling creeping plant of noble fame—(*was*) **Kīrtiśiva**

(V. 22) He caused the prosperity of the king **Narasimha**

(V. 23) (*Unlike Śiva*) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Viṣṇu for his arrow¹ Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (*as Śiva did those of demons*) Hence he (*was*) [clearly] **Kīrtiśiva** (Śiva in glory)

(V. 24) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V 25) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion² and was devoted to Śiva (*even as Śiva burned the god of love by his glance, has the bright disc of the moon on his forehead*,

¹ For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see *Mahābhārata*, Drōṇa-parvan, adhyāya 202, vv 71-78 (Chitraśālā Press ed)

² There is a play on the word *vr̥sha* meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

is mounted on the bull, and is attached to Pārvatī¹) he was, (unlike Śiva who is called Ugra² and wears serpents), neither dreadful in appearance, nor attended by informers³.

(V 26) The great lights the **Kalachuri** family As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V 27) In the *gōtra* of Viśvāmītra which is a friend of the world how many Brāhmanas adorned with benevolence⁴ and other (*virtues*) have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēśthin (God)?

(V 28) Their with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings

(V 29) In course of time there was born in that *gōtra* **Madhusūdana** who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the *pada* and *krama* recensions of the Rīgvēda and understood its meaning

(V 30) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men even as the rise of the star Agastya,⁵ the ornament of the southern direction, causes the awakening of the gods (*from slumber*)

(V 31) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (*his*) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda

(V. 32) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents he, observing vows, . . . pleased all people like the southern breeze

(V 33) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at **Prabhāsa**, **Gōkarṇa**, **Gayā**, and other holy places, he received (*initiation in*) the Śaiva vow from **Kīrtiśiva** even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (*i.e.* Śiva)

(V 34) (*May*) this **Vimalaśiva**, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(*the tree*), having come under the shade of which, a multitude of Brāhmanas do not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V 35) In the case of only this (*Vimalaśiva*) who is solely devoted to exertion, are seen (*the following*), *viṣṭ*, birth of a caste (*viṣṭ*, Brāhmana) which is honoured by good people, a (*handsome*) form which can turn back the god of love (*in discomfiture*), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to politicians (*and*) blessed silence

(V 36) “The goddess of speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā’s face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (Vishnu) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa” This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused in the minds of magnanimous people.

(V. 37) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(*him*) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct?

¹ *Śivā-avasaktō* is to be interpreted in two ways, (1) *Śiva-avasaktō* meaning ‘devoted to Śiva’, and (2) *Śivā-avasaktō* meaning ‘attached to Pārvatī’

² *Ugra* is a name of Śiva

³ *Dvayitva* (two-tongued) means (1) a serpent, and (ii) an informer

⁴ *Mātrī* is one of the four *bhāvanās* which *yōgins* cultivate

⁵ The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of *Śarad* or autumn

(V. 38) At the sight of the best of Brāhmanas who approach him as supplicants, his piety increases day and night with the libations of water (*poured at the time of*) making gifts like the creeping plant of religion, in an excellent manner Vigilant as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmanas whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days¹

(V. 39) Showing exceedingly great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader . . . The foremost among Brāhmanas (*viz.*, Vimalaśiva), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies² . . .

(V. 40) Though he is ever looked at with great curiosity by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he, (*though*) of a forgiving nature, does not at all suffer the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain Though he is always employed (*by the king*) in many suitable affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (*the performance of*) obligatory and occasional religious rites

(V. 41) (*There is*) no discriminating action which he has not performed; (*there is*) no gift which he has not conferred, (*there is*) no deserving person whom he has not honoured many times, (*and*) (*there is*) generally no holy place on the earth which he has not sanctified with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities

(V. 42) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings increase like his great lustre

(V. 43) With what ornaments (*supplied*) by him does not the earth surpass heaven? —(*the earth, which has*) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmanas?

(V. 44) May that illustrious Vimalaśiva,—who, by his counsel, has made (*even*) the most distant people pay taxes,³ [to whom] the king Jayasimha [*bows*] becoming very humble through devotion,—spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45) He caused a temple of the moon-crested god (*Śiva*) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kīrtiśiva out of reverence for him

(V. 46) To this god named Kīrtiśvara, Jayasimhadēva, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (*the occasion of*) the sun's eclipse

(V. 47) Of these the village called Tēkabhara is situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Navapattalā and two others, (*viz.*), Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha⁴ in (*the district of*) Samudrapāṭa.

(V. 48) The poet Śaśidhara, the son of the illustrious Dharanīdhara who is the foremost among Brāhmanas born in the family of Maunya, has composed this *prafastī* with pleasure

(V. 49) Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures also 926.

(V. 50) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament!

¹ There is a play on the words *dakṣha*, *dvija-pati* and *rōhinī* Dakṣha gave only one Rōhinī (i.e., the star Aldebaran) to the Moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalaśiva gives hundreds of *rōhinīs* (red cows) to Brāhmanas even on the new-moon day The star Rōhinī is personified as the daughter of Dakṣha and the favourite wife of the Moon

² In this verse also, there is a pun on some words like *dvija-pati*, *kalā*, etc

³ *Karavarttin* means also 'one who is near at hand' The statement 'Vimalaśiva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above The figure is *Virōdhābhāsa*

⁴ Or, *Avadōha*

No 65 : PLATE LIV

REWA PLATE OF JAYASIMHA · (KALACHURI) YEAR 926

THIS plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. A brief and, in some respects, incorrect account of it was given by him in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp 145 ff. The inscription was subsequently edited, with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr F Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVII, pp 224 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum.

"The inscription is on a **single plate** measuring about 13" by 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " and inscribed on one side only. The surface of the plate itself is smooth; but for the protection of the writing, strips of copper about $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad are fastened by rivets along the edge of the top and the two sides; and the bottom edge was originally protected in the same way, but the strips have been torn off and lost. The preservation of the inscription is perfect, and there is hardly any letter which is not clear and distinct in the impression.—In the upper part of the plate and secured by a strong rivet passing through the plates, there is a thicker and broader strip of copper, which towards the end projecting above the plate is turned over so as to catch and hold a plain copper ring about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. There is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring¹—The weight of the plate with the ring is 164 $\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*.² The letters in lines 1-2 and 11-12 are much bigger than those in others. Their size consequently varies from .25" to .15".

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are somewhat irregularly formed and carelessly incised. Several letters have more than one form; see, *e g*, the initial *ī* in *iva*, ll. 7 and 8; *j* in *-rājādhirāja-*, l. 2 and *upāryakō*, l. 5; *dh* in *-Gayādhara-*, l. 10 and *-madhūkah*, l. 12, and *g* in *gana-nāyakah*, ll. 1-2 and *-gajapati-*, l. 3. In some places it is difficult to distinguish between *v* and *ch*, and *ś* and *s*. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening verse in praise of Hēramba and the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in verse. It is somewhat carelessly written. Rules of *sandhi* have, in some cases, not been observed. In ll. 8-15 there is a confusion of the active and passive constructions. Besides, there are some mistakes of case-inflections, *e g*, in ll. 9-10, the plural is wrongly used in referring to two donees. The wrong number of the compound *chandr-ārkeka-mēdinī* and the superfluous addition of a second affix in *utkīrṇmitam* may also be noted. As regards **orthography**, we find that the sign for *v* is throughout used to denote *b*; *s* is, in some cases, used for *ś* as in *Kausika*, l. 9 and *vice versa* in *Vatsarājaśya*, l. 14; and *kh* is employed for *sh* in *sa-gartt-ōkharah*, l. 12.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Jayasimha**, evidently of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī**. He is mentioned here with the same imperial titles as in his Jabalpur plates. He is called a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of **Trikalīṅga** and is said to have meditated on the feet of **Vāmadēva** who is also given the same imperial titles. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Ahaḍāpāḍa** situated in the **Khaṇḍagahā pattalā**. It was made at **Kar-karēḍi** by the **Mahārāṇaka Kirtivarman** on the occasion of offering oblations to his deceased father, the **Rānaka³ Vatsarāja**. The donees were two Brāhmanas, **Ṭhakuras Mahāditya** and **Silāṇa**, who belonged to the **Kauśika gōtra** and had

¹ The seal may have been sliding on the ring as in the case of the Vākātaka plates.

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII, p 224

³ Vatsarāja is, however, called *Mahārāṇaka* in the genealogical portion

the three *pravaras* Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. They were sons of *Thakura* Chaturbhuja, son's sons of *Thakura* Gayādhara and son's sons' sons of *Thakura* Trilōchana. The inscription was written with the consent of *Thakura* Ratnapāla by *Vidyādhara* the son of *Thakura* Mālhē, son's son of *Thakura* Dhārēśvara and son's son's son of *Thakura* Rājēśvara. It was engraved by the blacksmiths *Kūkē* and *Kikaka*.

Kīrtivarman, who made the present gift, was evidently a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha. He was the son of Vatsarāja who was himself the son of Jayavarman. All the three princes bore the feudatory title *Mahārānaka*. They claimed descent from the Kauravas, the legendary heroes described in the *Mahābhārata*.

The inscription is dated, in line 14, on **Thursday, the fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 926**. The year is again repeated at the end of the record. In both the places it is expressed in decimal figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era and falls in the reign of Jayasimha. Dr Kielhorn, who at first supposed that the Kalachuri era began on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in 249 A.C., found by calculation that in 1175 A.C. (corresponding to the *expired* Kalachuri year 926) the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada *commenced* 8 h 9 m after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 21st August¹. The *tithi* was not, of course, civilly connected with that day, but as it was the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī, Dr Kielhorn thought that the religious ceremonies and the gifts to Brāhmanas connected with them must have been performed after the *tithi* commenced on that day². Later on, even though he shifted the beginning of the Kalachuri era to 248 A.C., he had no difficulty in showing the date of the present grant to be regular; for he had come to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. I have shown elsewhere that the Kalachuri era probably commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika, but that also does not affect the present date. The date, therefore, corresponds, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 926, to **Thursday, the 21st August 1175 A.C.**, but the reason why the *tithi* is mentioned here as *chaturthī* though it was not current at sunrise on that day is not that the ceremonies of the Gaṇēśa-chaturthī were performed in the afternoon on that day as supposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, but that the *śrāddha* of the donor's father, in connection with which the donation was made, was performed in the afternoon when the fourth *tithi* was current. It is well known that for the performance of a *śrāddha*, the afternoon is preferred to the forenoon³.

Of the place-names mentioned in the present record, *Kakkarēḍikā* is clearly Kakrerī (long 81° 12' E, lat. 24° 55' N). *Khaṇḍagahā*, the headquarters of the *pattalā* in which the donated village was situated, is perhaps identical with Kandahli, about 6 miles west by south of Kakrerī. The village Ahadāpāda cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity.

TEXT⁴

१ सिद्धि⁵ [1*] स्वस्ति ॥ अमोदश्च प्रमोदश्च सुमुखो दुर्मुखस्तदा(था) । अविघ्नो विघ्नकर्ता
च हेल(र)म्बो(म्बो) गण-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* commenced 9 h 20 m after mean sunrise on Thursday.

² Fleet also confirmed this view, drawing attention to the opening verse which is in praise of Hēramba (Gaṇēśa).

³ See above p. 240, n. 2.

⁴ From ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 नायक ॥¹[१॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (स्व) रश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरम[भ*]—
ट्टारक—
- 3 महाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व (स्व) रपरममाहेस्व (स्व) रत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिनिजभुजोपार्जितास्व (स्व)—
पतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्र—
- 4 याधिपतिश्रीमज्जयसिंहदेवविजयराज्ये ॥ असे²(शे)षविशेषार्थ³समन्वितायां देवद्विजगुस्तपस्वि⁴—
(स्वि) निषेवितायां ।⁵ कक्करेडिकाऽभिधानाया
- 5 नगय्या⁶ कौरव[न्श]⁷सभूत उपार्जको⁸ ज्योषराजगुणालंकृतशरीर परममाहेश्वरो महाब्र(ब्र)ह्मण्यो—
ऽनेकदानोदकप्रक्षालितवा—
- 6 मेतरकरप्रकोष्ठ ।⁵ अनेकसग्रामभूमौ करिघटाकुम्भवि[श्र]वण⁹पचानन समस्तक्षत्रियगर्व—
हृद्भिः¹⁰ ।⁵ महाराणक[*] श्रीजयव—
- 7 र्म्म(र्म्मा) नाम आसीत् । एतस्य पुत्रो दुर्वारवैरिवारणसम[र्थ]।¹¹ ।⁵ कर्ण इव कुण्डलकिरीट—
धारी ।⁵ मह(हा)राणकश्रीवत्सराजोभूत् ।[*]
- 8 एतस्य पुत्रो महामाहेश्वर¹² कल्पवृक्षवत् द्विजार्थी(र्थि)ना वाञ्छितफलप्रदोज्जुन इव चापेनेक्षु(षु)—
कोटिस¹³मुत्सारितारातिकु—
- 9 लो महाराणक[श्री]कीर्त्तिवर्मा¹⁴ कौसि(शि)कगोत्रस्यौ¹⁵दलविश्वामित्रदेवरात्र(त)¹⁶त्रि प्रवरेभ्य¹⁷
यजनयाजनाध्ययन(ना)ध्या—
- 10 पनदानप्रतिग्रहषट्कर्मरतेभ्यः¹⁸ ।¹⁹ ठकुरश्रीत्रिलोचनप्रपौत्रेभ्य²⁰ । ठकुरश्रीगयाधरपौत्रेभ्यः²¹ ।
ठकुरश्रीचतुर्भु—
- 11 जपुत्राभ्या ठकुरश्रीमहादित्यसीलणव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाभ्या खड्गहापत्तलाया अहडापाडग्राम²² स्वसी—

¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

² Kielhorn read this *akshara* as शे, but the facsimile accompanying his article clearly shows it to be से

³ Kielhorn's proposal to alter this expression to विशिष्टार्थ does not appear necessary, as we find similar ones, (e.g. विशेषगुण) in Sanskrit

⁴ Kielhorn wrongly read गुस्तपस्वि and proposed to alter it to गुरुवर्य—, but the reading तपस्वि(स्वि) is quite clear and suits the context very well

⁵ This *danda* is superfluous

⁶ Read नगय्या

⁷ Read कौरववश—

⁸ Perhaps उपार्जिताशेष— is intended

⁹ The intended reading may have been विदारण as suggested by Kielhorn

¹⁰ Some words like शस्त्रैरुपेत seem to be omitted here Kielhorn proposed to read —गर्वहृत्

¹¹ Kielhorn read [सव]र्त्त, but there is no trace of an *anusvāra* on स, the second letter is probably म and the third an imperfectly incised शं

¹² The *mātrā* on र is cancelled

¹³ A superfluous स which was at first incised between स and मु is cancelled

¹⁴ There is a *kākapada* below र्मा, indicating that the *akshara* णा incised in the top margin (with the figure 9 to indicate the proper line) is to be inserted here The resulting form कीर्त्तिवर्मणा (with the shortening of र्मा into र्म) is intended to be construed with सप्रदत्त in ll 14-15 But the cases of other adjectives and words in apposition are not similarly changed

¹⁵ Read कौशिकगोत्राभ्यामौ—

¹⁶ There is no clear indication in the impression of त्र being changed to त

¹⁷ Read —त्रिप्रवराभ्या In some following expressions also the plural is used for the dual

¹⁸ Read —रताभ्या

¹⁹ This and the other *dandas* in this line are superfluous

²⁰ Read —प्रपौत्राभ्या.

²¹ Read —पौत्राभ्या

²² This *visarga*, being very faint, was probably added later on

- 12 मापयन्तश्चतुराघाटविशुद्ध. सजलस्थल साम्रमधूक सलवणाकर सगर्तोख(ष)र सनिर्गं—
 13 र्मं(म)प्रवेस(श). सगोप्रचार सनिर्धिर्नि(नि)क्षेपः कल्याणधन सकरो मातापित्रोरात्मन—
 श्चानता(त)पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये
 14 सवत् ९२६ भाद्रपदमासे शुक्लपक्षे [च]तुर्थ्यां तिथौ गुरुदिने राभकश्रीवत्सराजस्य¹(स्य) निमित्ते
 पिडार्चनस्था[ने]² सप्र—
 15 दत्त [1*] ओ स्वस्ति ॥ ये [भ]वति कुलेस्माक [शू]रा वीराश्च संगरे [1] ते पालयंतु मे
 दान यावत् चद्रावर्कमेदिनी³ ॥[२॥*] व(ब)हुभि⁴
 16 भूक्ता वसुधा राजभि सगरादिभि [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥
 [३॥*] कुशोपग्रहहस्ताभ्या चेतौ राम—
 17 लक्ष्मणौ⁵ [1*] स्वदत्त(त्ता) वा⁶ परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्(त) वसुधरा(राम्) [1*] स वि—
 [ष्ठा]⁷या कृमि भूत्वा⁸ पितृभि⁹ सह मज्जति ॥[४॥*] तडागाना श(स)ह—
 81 स्त्रेण [अ]श्वमे[ध*]शतेन च । गवा कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[५॥*] ठ¹⁰ ।
 श्रीराजस्व(श्व)रप्रपौत्रेण । ठ । धारेश्वरपौत्रेण
 19 ठ । माल्हेपुत्रेण । ठ । रत्नपालस्य संमत्या ठ । विद्याधरेणालेखि ॥ लोह[कार]कूकेकी—
 क¹¹काभ्यामुक्तीर्णतमिति [1*] सवत् ९२६¹² [11*]

TRANSLATION

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) Joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed, unimpeded and obstructing is Hēramba, the lord of Ganas

(Line 2) During the victorious reign of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Jayasimha**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (१२.) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants (and) the lord of men, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**,—

(L 4) In the city called **Kakkarēḍikā** which is furnished with all excellent things (and) which is resorted to by gods, Brāhmanas, preceptors and ascetics,—

There was the *Mahārānaka* named the illustrious **Jayavarman** who was born in the family of the **Kauravas**, whose person was adorned with all royal virtues which he had acquired, (who was) a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (and) very pious, whose right

¹ Kielhorn read this *akshara* as स्य, but there is no trace of the horizontal stroke joining the two limbs of the letter

² Originally मे, subsequently altered to ने

³ The correct reading should be चन्द्रावर्कमेदिन्य, but it would not suit the metre Metre of this and the following verses *Anushtubh*

⁴ This *visarga* is superfluous Besides, the usual expression is *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*

⁵ Kielhorn took this to be the beginning of the unfinished verse Perhaps it is meant to be connected with the following imprecation Compare तथा चोक्त रामभद्रेण which occurs in a similar connection There is one syllable less in the present *pāda* Read —हस्ताभ्यामूचतू रामलक्ष्मणौ

⁶ This word is superfluous

⁷ Here the letters appear to be actually incised as *thshā*

⁸ Read कृमिभूत्वा.

⁹ Originally पितृभि

¹⁰ ठ in this and the next line means ठकुर

¹¹ The *mātrā* of के and the *anūsvara* on स्या have been cancelled Read कूकेकीकाभ्यामुक्तीर्णमिति

¹² The figure 6, though it has not come out in Pl LIV, is quite clear in the plate facing p. 226 in *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII

fore-arm was washed by (*libations of*) water in making many gifts, who was a lion in breaking open the frontal globes of hosts of elephants on many fields of battle (*and*) (*whose arms*) had deprived all warriors of their pride

His son was the *Mahārānaka*, the illustrious **Vatsarāja**, who was able to turn back the irresistible elephants of the enemies, (*and*) who, like Karna, wore ear-ornaments and a crown

(L. 8) His son, the *Mahārānaka*, the illustrious **Kīrtivarman**, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—who, like the celestial tree, grants their desired objects to the Brāhmana supplicants, (*and*) who, like Arjuna, has routed multitudes of enemies with the tips of arrows (*discharged*) with (*his*) bow,—has granted, at the place of worshipping the balls (*of rice*) offered in honour of the *Rānaka* the illustrious **Vatsarāja**, on **Thursday**, the **fourth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada in the year 926**, for the increase of infinite religious merit and fame of (*his*) mother and father and himself, the village **Ahaḍāpāḍa** in the **Khaṇḍagahā pattaḷā** extending as far as its limits, with its four boundaries well-determined, together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with salt mines, together with pits and barren lands, together with the rights of egress and ingress, together with pasture-lands, together with treasures and deposits, with beneficial wealth and together with taxes—to the *Thakuras*, the illustrious Brāhmanas **Mahāditya** and **Silapa**, the sons of the *Thakura*, the illustrious Chaturbhuja, son's sons of the *Thakura*, the illustrious Gayādhara, son's son's sons of the *Thakura*, the illustrious Trilōchana, who belong to the Kauśika *gōtra* and have the three *pravaras* Audala, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta, who are (*always*) engaged in the six duties, (*viz.*) performance of sacrifice for themselves and for others, studying and teaching, making and receiving gifts

Om! Hail!

(Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(Line 18) (*This charter*) has been written by the *Thakura* **Vidyādhara**, the son of the *Thakura* **Mālhē**, son's son of **Dhārēśvara** and son's son's son of the *Thakura*, the illustrious **Rājēśvara**, with the consent of the *Thakura* **Ratnapāla**. It has been engraved by the blacksmiths **Kūkē** and **Kikaka**. **The year 926.**

NO 66. PLATE LV

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA: (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

THE stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr F E Hall at **Tēwar**, a village about 6 miles to the west of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society, in whose cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is said to be of like character with that of Alhanadēvī's inscription. Dr Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol VI, pp 512 f, and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription in Dr. Burgess' *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India*, p 110 and his translation in Sir A Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol IX, pp 95 f¹. The inscription was next edited by Dr. Kielhorn, with a translation, but without a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp 17-19. It is edited here from two excellent photographs kindly supplied by the authorities of the American Oriental Society.

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 17.

The inscription contains nine lines of writing of which the first eight are written breadthwise, while the last is written along the proper left margin. The writing covers a space 11" in breadth and 7" in height, and is in a state of good preservation. The letters are irregularly formed and carelessly cut. In two places in l 5 they seem to have been changed subsequently. Their size varies from .5" to .8"

The **characters** are Nāgarī. The **language** is Sanskrit and except for the last three lines, the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards **orthography**, *v* is used for *b* in *Vrahma* and *Vrahm-ādi* in l 1, the dental for the palatal sibilant in *narēsvaah* l 3, *aisvaram*, l 6 and *Kēśava* ll 6 and 8 and *n* in place of *anusvāra* in *Jayasimha*, l 4. The rule of euphony is unnecessarily applied in *Narasimhadēvō*, which occurs at the end of a hemistich in l 4, while it is neglected in *Samrāt jīyā-* in l 4.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Samrāt Jayasimhadēva*, the younger brother of the king *Narasimhadēva* who was a son of the king *Gayākarnā*, evidently of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī**. The object of it is to record the building of a temple of *Īśvara* (*Śiva*) by the *nāyaka* *Kēśava* of the *Kātyāyana gōtra*, who was the son of *Āladēva*. The latter was probably the son of the Brāhmana *Āstaka*. *Kēśava* was a resident of the village *Sikhā* in *Mā[la]vaka*.

The inscription is dated in the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th tithi of the bright fortnight of *Śrāvana* when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *Hasta*. The year and the tithi are expressed in numerical figures only. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. As Dr Kielhorn has shown, there were two *Śrāvanas* in the expired Kalachuri year 928, corresponding to 1176-77 A.C. The month *Śrāvana* of the present date, though not further particularised, was the first or *adhika* (intercalary) *Śrāvana*¹, for the 6th tithi of the bright half of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Sunday (the 3rd July 1177 A.C.) and the *nakshatra* *Hasta* also ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The 6th tithi of the *mā* *Śrāvana* on the other hand fell on Monday, the 1st August, on which day the *nakshatra* was *Chitrā*. Sunday, the 3rd July 1177 A.C., is thus the date of the present inscription.

The village *Sikhā* may be identical with *Sikhā* which lies about 4 miles north-west of Jabalpur. The territorial division *Mālavaka* in which it was situated I am unable to identify.²

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धि.⁴[*] ज्ञानानंद पर ब्र(ब्र)ह्मा ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसेवित(तम्) । वदेम—
- 2 हि महदेव देवदेव जगद्गुरुम् ॥⁵[१॥*] श्रीमद्गयाक—
- 3 ण्णनृपस्य सूनूर्नरेस्व(श्च)र श्रीनरसिंहदेवो(व) । दि(जि)ग्ये धरि—
- 4 त्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्⁶ जीयाच्चिर श्रीजयसिंहदेव.⁷ ॥⁸[२॥*]
- 5 विप्र[स्या]स्तकनाम्नो⁹ भूदालदेवस्तदात्मज ।

¹ For another instance of the same kind, see the date of the Lāl-Pahād rock inscription, No. 61, above.

² It may have been identical with *Mālā-dvādaśaka* named in l 31 of No. 42.

³ From photographs.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre *Anushtubh*.

⁶ Read सम्राट्.

⁷ Read श्रीजयसिंहदेव.

⁸ Metre *Upajāti*.

⁹ The engraver seems to have cut at first विप्रो योस्तकनामा and subsequently changed विप्रो into विप्र and नामा into नाम्नो या has not been clearly altered to स्या as required.

- 6 केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादममुमैस्व(श्च)रम् ॥¹[३॥*]
 7 सम्बत्² ९२८ श्रावण सुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥
 8 नायककेस(श)वस्ये(स्य) गोत्र कात्यायनं स्थान मा[ल?]-
 9 वके सीखाग्रामः ॥

TRANSLATION

Success !

(Verse 1) May we bow to Mahādēva, the god of gods, the father of the world, (*who is*) knowledge and bliss, the Supreme Brahman, served by Brahmā and other gods !

(V 2) The illustrious lord of men, **Narasimhadēva**, the son of the illustrious king **Gayākarna**, conquered the earth May his younger brother, the illustrious **Samrāt Jayasimhadēva**, long be victorious !

(V. 3) The Brāhmana named Āstaka had (*a son named*) Āladēva, his son **Kēśava** caused this temple of Īśvara to be built

(Line 7) (*In*) the year 928, on Sunday, the 6th (lunar day) of the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvaṇa, (*the moon being*) in (*the asterism*) Hasta.

The *Nāyaka* Kēśava's *gōtra* is Kātyāyana and (*his*) place of residence the village **Sikhā** in **Mā[la]vaka**.

No 67, PLATE LVI

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA · (KALACHURI) YEAR 944

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered 'in one of the small guard-rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure' at **Rewa**³ in Vindhya Pradesh. It is said to have been brought over to Rewa from the Kastarā tank in the Rewa *tahsīl*⁴. The record was first noticed by Mr R D Banerji in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle* for 1920-21. Subsequently he gave a transcript and a translation of it in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*⁵ and finally edited it, with a lithograph, but without a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XIX, pp 295 f. It is edited here from inked estampages kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The record is incised on an oblong plain slab of sandstone measuring 4' 3½" by 1' 8½". The writing covers a space 4' 2" broad by 1' 7" high. It contains 27 lines, of which the last measures only 2' 7" in length. The inscription is in a state of good preservation. The characters are Nāgarī. They are irregularly and carelessly cut and incised. The letters *th*, *bh*, *ś* as well as the medial *z* in some places present earlier forms, see, e.g., *Thakkeurō*, l 22, *-bhūt* and *Yasāhpāla*, both in l 4, *=yasmims=tishthē*, l 16. Attention may also be drawn to the peculiar form of the initial *z*, e.g., in *zti*, l 4, and *w-*, l 5, the subscript *li* in *prakṛiptah*, l 5, and *-pratīkṛipta-*, l 17, and *th*, of which the upper loop is open, in *yath=ēśa-*, l 21. In the ligature *nn*, the superscript letter has in most cases the same form as the dental *n*, see, e.g., *-pūrnnā-*, l 1, *-Karnna-*, l 4; but notice *=Gayākarnna*, l 4, where it appears in its usual form; *z* is looped in some places, see, e.g., *krīta-giraṁ*, l 16, *b*, as distinguished from *v*, is de-

¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

² Read सवत्

³ P R A S, W C, (1920-21), p 52

⁴ See *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 295, n 1. This place is perhaps identical with Kahrarā near Makundpur p 295, where also there is a large tank

⁵ M A S. I, No 23, pp. 133 ff.

TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA (KALACHURI) YEAR 928

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवा
 दः ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥
 द्रुपदमुनि उवाच ॥
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन्
 नाना युधमायुजाः ॥
 स्रजस्तनुभारिण्यश्वा
 र्श्वामृतघ्नान् ययौ ॥

noted by it proper sign only in the form *babhūva* in ll 7, 22, 23 etc. The sign of the *upadh-māniya* occurs, though wrongly, in *nāhpamka*-, l 7 and *vā(bā)h-paib*-, l. 12 The language is Sanskrit. Except for the customary *svasti* in the beginning, and the date and *mangalam mahā-śrīh* towards the close, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. The verses, which are 54 in all, are not numbered. The composer of the *prāśasti* (as the record is called in l 25), though he claims proficiency in the science of word and sense, had but an imperfect command over the Sanskrit language. His style is obscure, his compounds uncouth, and his meaning uncertain¹ in several places. Notice, for instance, the compounds *mtāmta-vāhub*-, l 6 and *Vāstavya-vritti-pīatham-aika-lingam*, l 21, the meaning of which is obscure. He has used verbal forms of the potential mood in the sense of the present tense in several places see, e g, *rakshēt*, l 6, *āndōlayēt*, l 9. His unsuccessful attempt to embellish his style with figures of sense will be pointed out in the notes to the text and the translation. As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* is everywhere used to denote *b* except in the form *babhūva*, the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in several places, e g, in *darsanānt*, l 2, *śasinaḥ*, l 7 and *vice versa* in *vān-āmbhaśi*, l 12, *y* is employed for *j* in *yushtaḥ*, l 22; one of the two similarly sounding consonants is wrongly elided in *uvālayē*, l 13 and *prādā=tripada*, l 10, similarly the *visarga* is omitted in some places to suit the metre,² finally, the sign of the *anumāśika* is used in place of the *anusvāra*, generally when followed by *v* or *s*, see *śrōṇīm vidhu-* and *-guām vasan*, both in l 16, *śit-āṁśu*, l 8, but see also *laṁkā* l. 10.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijayasimhadēva** (called **Vijayadēva** in line 3), evidently of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty**, who ruled at **Tripurī** on the Narmadā. The **object** of it is to record the construction of a tank by **Malayasimha** who was probably a feudatory chief of **Vijayasimha**.

The inscription opens with a verse in praise of **Mañjughōsha**, the Buddhist god of learning. There is, however, nothing peculiarly Buddhist about the present inscription. The composer was not a Buddhist, as he describes himself as always engaged in the study of the *Vēdas*. It is again doubtful if his patron **Malayasimha**, who caused the tank to be excavated, was a follower of Buddhism, for verse 27 speaks of a temple of **Rāma** built by him. Verses 5 and 6 refer to the illustrious **Vijayadēva** (evidently identical with **Vijayasimha**, the lord of **Chēdi**, mentioned in v 12) who was ruling at **Tripurī** on the Narmadā. He was born in the family of **Karṇa**. The poet then turns to the pedigree of **Malayasimha**. The first ancestor named here is **Jāta**, who was appointed the head of a *vishaya* (district), and by the might of whose arms the illustrious (Kalachuri) king **Karṇadēva** is said to have vanquished his foes. His son was **Yaśaḥpāla** who was a devoted councillor of **Gayākarna**. He had two sons **Padmasimha** and **Chandrasimha**. One of them, probably **Chandrasimha**³ who was the younger of the two, became the pre-eminent Home Minister of the **Chēdi** king **Vijayasimha**. **Padmasimha** had a son named **Kirtisimha** who was the father of **Malayasimha**. The only historical information that can be gleaned from the lengthy eulogy of **Malayasimha** is that he defeated **Salakshaṇa** and **Vikrama** (**Vikramāditya**?)⁴. The battle in which the former is said to have lost his

¹ See below, p 356, n 1

² See below, p 353, n 15

³ As it stands, the text makes **Padmasimha** the minister of **Vijayasimha**, but this seems improbable because his grandson **Malayasimha** was a contemporary and feudatory of the same Kalachuri king. Perhaps *Chandrasimb-āvarajō* in verse 11 is a mistake for *Chandrasimbhō=varajō*, and it was **Chandrasimha**, the younger brother of **Padmasimha**, who was the Home Minister. There is not much improbability in his being a contemporary of his elder brother's grandson. Verse 12 would thus contain a description of **Chandrasimha**. This would also satisfactorily explain why **Padmasimha**'s name is repeated in the next verse.

⁴ Banerji took no notice of this **Vikrama**.

arm was fought at **Karkarēḍī**. He is, therefore, identical with the homonymous prince of Karkarēḍī (modern Karkrēri, 28 m north of Rewa) whose Rewa plate is dated V. 1253 (1195 A C). His elder brother Kīrtivarman was a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha and he himself in the aforementioned Rewa plate acknowledges the suzerainty of Vijayasimha. He seems, therefore, to have revolted against his liege-lord sometime during the period 1175 A C to 1193 A C, but was defeated by Malayasimha and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kalachuri king Vikrama, the other adversary of Malayasimha, cannot be identified.

Verse 28 mentions the queen **Talhanadēvī** who was probably a wife¹ of Malayasimha and had two sons, the elder of them being named Prithvīdhara. The inscription then mentions several **officers** of Malayasimha. **Garga**, the son of Ranasimha, was his chief Record Officer, while **Harisimha**, the son of Jagatsimha, was his excellent Councillor. The latter is said to have got the tank excavated, to the description of which eight verses (34-41) are devoted. Malayasimha is said to have spent fifteen hundred *tankakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (Buddha?) on this work. No such coins have yet been discovered.²

The pedigree of **Vidyādhara**, the Superintendent of the excavation of the tank, is next given in vv 43-46. In the Vāstavya family there was a person named Uddhātana. His son was perhaps named Śrīdhara³. The son of the latter was the *Thakkura* Lakshmi-dhara, who was the father of Vidyādhara. Next is mentioned **Purushōttama**, the son of Valhana, who designed the tank. The genealogy of the poet **Purushōttama** begins in verse 48. There was a learned Brāhmana named Rāmachandra, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son was Divākara. The latter's son was Purushōttama who composed the present *prastāva*. He belonged to the Krishnātrēya *gōtra* and was a resident of Banāras. He describes himself as proficient in logic, the science of word and sense, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Yōga and as devoted to the study of the Vēdas. The mason who incised the present record was **Ananta**, the son of Galhana. After the inscription was closed with *mangalam mahā-śrīh*, one more verse was added to describe the door-keeper **Ralhana**, the valiant son of Dalhana.

From the contents summarized above, it will be seen that Malayasimha and his ancestors were hereditary ministers and feudatory chiefs of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurī. Of the latter only Karna, Gayākarna and Vijayasimha are mentioned in the present record, the names of Yaśahkarna, Narasimha and Jayasimha being passed over. As Mr. Banerji has already observed, Jāta may have flourished towards the close of Karna's reign, so that he was a contemporary of both Karna and Yaśahkarna. Jāta's son Yaśahpāla was a councillor of Gayākarna. Padmasimha and Kīrtisimha may have served Narasimha and Jayasimha. During the reign of Vijayasimha the office of the Home Minister seems to have been held by Chandrasimha, while Malayasimha was ruling over the territory round Rewa. It may, however, be noted that the name of Chandrasimha is not mentioned in the Rewa stone inscriptions of Vijayasimha, the Chief Minister (*Mahāmantrin*) mentioned therein being Haripāla.

¹ Banerji took Talhanadēvī to be the mother of Malayasimha and altogether passed over Prithvīdhara and his brother mentioned in v 28. Had Talhanadēvī been the mother of Malayasimha, she would have been introduced much earlier along with the latter's father Kīrtisimha (vv 13-14).

² As the present inscription has been composed in a slipshod manner, *Bhagavan-mudrayā* in l 20 may be a mistake for *Bhagavatī-mudrayā*. In that case the well-known coins of Gāṅgēyadēva, stamped with the effigy of Lakshmi, would be meant.

³ See below, p 357, n 6.

The inscription is dated, both in words and numerical symbols, on **Friday, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the Sāhasamallāṅka year 944**. Though the era is not specified, the date must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri reckoning. It regularly corresponds, for the *expired* Kalachuri year 944, to Friday, the 30th July 1193 A.C. On that day the *tithi* ended 22 h 20 m after mean sunrise. The importance of the date lies in the data it furnishes for determining the commencement of the Kalachuri year. If the Kalachuri era began in 248-49 A.C. as was finally concluded by Dr Kielhorn, the present date shows that the years of the era could not have commenced with the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada as was once supposed by him.

The significance of *Sāhasamallāṅkē* is not clear. Mr Banerji¹ took it to mean 'the *anka* named Sāhasamallā' and Dr Hirananda Sastri² suggested that *anka* means *abda* or year; but neither of them has explained how the year was called *Sāhasamallā*. The cyclic year corresponding to the above date was *Pīṅgala* according to the northern system and *Pramāḍan* according to the southern system. Neither of these names can be said to be a synonym of *Sāhasamallā*. According to Dr. D R Bhandarkar³ *anka* means *āḥkya*. He has suggested that the Kalachuri era was called *Sāhasamallābda* and called attention to two other dates⁴ which are called *Sāhasa* and which, though referred to the Vikrama era, work out all right for the Kalachuri era also. But *Sāhasamallā* does not mean the same as *Sāhasāṅka*. The latter, which is a synonym of *Vikramāṅka*, occurs in many places⁵ as the name of Vikramāditya, the well known patron of Kālidāsa and the reputed founder of the Vikrama Samvat. As Kielhorn has shown, both the dates qualified by *Sāhasāṅka*, which Prof. Bhandarkar proposes to refer to the Kalachuri era, appear quite regular as dates of the Vikrama era also. There is, therefore, no necessity to take them as dates of the Kalachuri era. Besides, if they are referred to that era, the first would fall towards the close of the fifteenth and the second in the first half of the sixteenth century A.C.⁶ The palæography of the inscriptions is certainly against ascribing such late dates to them. Besides, there is no evidence that the Kalachuri era was current in North India down to the sixteenth century A.C. Even in Madhya Pradesh where petty Haihaya princes continued to rule until their principalities were annexed by the Marathas, the latest date of the Chēdi era known from inscriptions is 969.⁷ Thereafter the Haihaya princes used the Vikrama and Saka eras in dating their records.⁸ There is thus not the least evidence in favour of Dr. Bhandarkar's view that *Sāhasamallā* was a name of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era.

A king named Sāhasamallā is indeed known from several coins with the legend

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 295

² *Loc cit*, n 4

³ See *I N I*, p 282, n 2

⁴ These dates are (1) V 1240—Mahōbā (Hamirpur District, U.P.) fort-wall fragmentary inscription noticed by Cunningham, *A S I R*, Vol XXI p 72 and Pl XXII L 15, *Vyōm-ārṇav-ārṅka-samkhyātē Sāhasāṅkasya vatsarē*, 117 *saṃvat* 1240, *Āśvādha va di 9 Sōmē* (Monday, the 4th June, 1184 A.C.) and (2) V 1279—Rōntāsgadh (Shahabad District, Bihar) rock inscription of the time of king Pratāpa, ed by Kielhorn, *Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 311 f L 1, *Navabhir=attha mun-īndrar=vāsārānām=adbīśaib parikalayati samkhyām vatsarē Sāhasāṅkē | madana-vijaya-yātrā-maṅgalē māsi chaitrē pratipadi sita-kāntau vāsarē Bhāskarasya ||* (Sunday, the 5th March 1223 A.C.)

⁵ *Ind His Quart*, Vol X, pp 48 ff Cf *Vikramādityah Sāhasāṅkah Sak-āntakah* in an old verse cited in Kshirasvāmin's commentary on *Amarakōśa*, II, 8, 2

⁶ The first date would correspond to Monday, the 22nd June 1489 A.C., and the second to Sunday, the 3rd March 1527 A.C.

⁷ No 102, below

⁸ See Nos 103—108, below

Srīmat-Sāhasamalla But as V Smith has shown, he was a king of Ceylon¹ and therefore could not have had anything to do with the Kalachuri era

What then does *Sāhasamallāṅkē* mean? Since no other explanation is satisfactory, the conjecture may be hazarded that the expression is intended to signify the year by the system of word-numerals. *Sāhasa* stands for four, for a verse from the *Nārada-smṛiti*² (XII, 2) cited in the *Mitākṣharā* states that *sāhasas* or violent crimes were four in number. *Malla* means 'a wrestler', 'a match for', and therefore conveys the sense of equality. Here it probably signifies an equal number, i.e., four in the present case. *Anka*, as is well-known, signifies nine³. These numerals are to be placed from right to left, i.e., as 944 by the rule *ankānām vāmatō gatib*. Thus *sāhasamallāṅkē* means 'in (the year) 944' and this we find is actually the year in which the record was put up.

The geographical names Narmadā, Tripurī and Karkaiēdī, occurring in the present record, have already been identified.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धि⁵ [1*] स्वस्ति ॥ अष्टारचक्राकृतिपूर्णचन्द्र पद्मासनस्थ हिमशैलगौरम् । सव्येतरापा-
णि⁶गखड्गपुस्तम्बक्ष्यामि⁷ नत्वा खलु मजुघोषम् ॥⁸[१॥*] मलयसिंहकुलानि गुणानथ स्वसम-
येन यथोचितशक्तिक [1] अ[व]तरति पदानि यत स्वत सुमह-
- 2 ता ननु केन न कीर्त्यते ॥¹⁰[२॥*] वाचश्चेमा [1] प्रवृत्ता मे रवेरिव मरीचय । मलयसिंह-
कुलान्ज (ब्ज) [स्य*] प्रबो (बो) धाय सहस्रश ॥¹¹[३॥*] अतिविमलजलौघै प्लावयन्ती पवि-
[त्रै]र्मुनिवरपुरलोकात्सस्तुता सिद्धगीर्भि । अप[न]यति सुवशाज्जातमात्रा कुमारी कलिजकलु-
षभार दर्श (र्श) नान्नर्मदा या ॥¹²[४॥*] तस्यास्तटेस्ति त्रिपुरी पुरीति तस्याम-
- 3 भूत्कर्णकुलप्रसूत । राज्ञा गुरुः श्रीविजयाख्यदेवो राजाधिशस्ता विदिशान्दिशाञ्च ॥¹³[५॥*]
यस्य प्रतापानलशुष्ककण्ठा रा[ज्ञा] गणा अंगुलिसन्नयापि । साशकमेव विवदन्ति चिन्त्यं¹⁴ सेवा-
फलास्तत्सदसि¹⁵ प्रपन्ना ॥¹⁶[६॥*] [तत्पू]र्वपूर्वा भुवि ये [व]भूवुस्तेषा [य]शोवर्द्धनमन्त्र-
मन्त्री ।
- 4 श्रीजाटनामा विषये नियुक्तो वाचस्पति [स]र्व[गुणै]रिवाभूत् ॥¹⁷[७॥*] धर्मध्वजानां धुरमत्र
गुर्वीश्विश्राणनेना¹⁸बहतो द्विजेभ्य । यस्यैव वा (बा) ह्वोर[पि] पौरुषे[ण] श्रीकर्णदेवो
जितवाग्निपूश्च ॥¹⁹[८॥*] तस्माद्गयाकर्णमहीशभक्तो मन्त्रस्य गोप्ता भुवि वन्दिजीव । जज्ञे
यश पाल इति प्रतीतस्तारात्मज

¹ V Smith assigns the date 1200-1202 A C to him. See *C C I M*, Vol I, p 330.

² *Manusya-mānam stēyam para-dār-ābhimarśanam | pāruṣhyam = ubhayam ch = ēti sāhasam syāch = chatur-vidham* || *Mitākṣharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, ch II, v 72.

³ *I P*, p 85.

⁴ From an inked estampage.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Properly सव्येतरापाणिः, but so changed to suit the metre.

⁷ Read पुस्त वक्ष्यामि.

⁸ Metre *Indravajrā*.

⁹ There is a superfluous ornamental *mātrā* on this *akṣhara*.

¹⁰ Metre *Druṭavilambita*.

¹¹ Metre. *Anushtubh*.

¹² Metre. *Mālinī*.

¹³ Metre of this and the following six verses *Indravajrā*.

¹⁴ Banerji read चित्य which he proposed to alter to नित्य, but the superscript *n* of *ntya* is quite clear.

¹⁵ Read सेवाफल तत्सदसि-

¹⁶ Read गुर्वी विश्राणनेना-

2 प्रसूति॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 4 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 6 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 8 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 10 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 12 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 14 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 16 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 18 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 20 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 22 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 24 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र
 26 ॥ ३ ॥ अथ रवः कृमि मूर्तं रवे प्र द्या सत सं सि म शो न गौ र म् स ये त रा धा लि म र

[illegible]

- 5 सौम्य इवेन्दुदेवात् ॥[१॥*] त[स्या]थ पुत्रोपि वि[शा]लवा(बा)हुः स्रष्टा जगद्वीक्ष्य तमोधि-
रूढ(ढम्) । तद्यो(ह्यो)तनायावयवी शुभाशु¹र्हीप प्रकलूत खलु मूर्तिमानिव² ॥[१०॥*]
[प]द्मं हि पद्मालयपद्मसिह, सत्पत्रशुभाकुरशुद्धगोत्र । क्षत्रस्य वशे स निदानवी(बी)जी श्रीच-
न्द्रसिहावरजो विजज्ञे ॥[११॥*] सर्वत्र दि-
- 6 क्षुख³विसर्पियश प्रचण्डचेदीन्द्रादि(इवि)जयसिंहगृहैकमन्त्री । यो विप्रवीर्य⁴वरदानव(ब)लेन
रक्षेद्दारिद्र्यचदन्तिपटलद्विजरुद्धदेहम् ॥⁵[१२॥*] श्रीपद्मसिहविदुषोत्र नितातवा(बा)हु श्री-
कीर्त्तिसिह इति सिंहव(ब)लो विजज्ञे । आरातिचक्रहृदि शकुरसौ विशको राम पुरा दशरथादिव
कोशलेश
- 7 ॥[१३॥*] सदसि यस्य हिता विविधा वु(बु)धा. सुरपतेरिव मन्त्रविद सुरा । शुशुभिरे
शसि(शि)न किरि(र)[णा] गिर प्रति[ग]ता जगतस्तमसश्छिदे ॥⁶[१४॥*] सामन्तमण्डल-
शिरोरुहधूननेन नि⁷पक⁷पादवनजो मलयानुसि(सि)ह । श्रीकीर्त्तिसिहतनय स बभूव वीर⁸क्षत्रस्य
वशजसमुद्धरणैकमल्ल ॥⁹[१५॥*] वि-
- 8 द्याधिकारकुमुदाकरवो(बो)धचन्द्रो रत्नाकरोत्थिमनुजेषु च रत्नदानै । सर्वे गुणा मलयसिहनर-
प्रति[ष्ठा] दोषोपि सोस्य न मृगाककुतो गुणाकै. ॥[१६॥*] आरातिमित्रकमलौघविघातवो-
(बो)धस्ताभ्या ददन्दश⁹दिगम्ब(म्ब)रमुज्व(ज्ज्व)ल य । शीता¹⁰शुर्वर्क इव तीक्ष्णसुशक्ति-
हस्त उर्व्यामभूतम(न्म)लयसिह इति प्र-
- 9 वीणः ॥[१७॥*] आन्दोलयेद्यस्य कृपाणा¹⁰वायुर्व्वीचीगत भानुमिवाम्बु(म्बु)मध्ये । आरातिसे-
नामव(ब)ला व(ब)लिष्ठ. सोभूदिषुम्कमक[रो]¹¹विशुद्ध ॥¹²[१८॥*] आवर्त्तसुक्ती हरिजे¹³
समुद्रे फेन मुखे व(मू)र्ध्नि पदेपि वीक्ष्य । मग्नारिसेना न व(ब)हिर्ज्जगाम यस्याशु सोभून्मलयस्य
सिह ॥[१९॥*] व[ब]लिर्व्वी-
- 10 र प्रादात्रि(त्ति)पदनिमित कि त्रिभुवन पद दास्यामीन्दोरवि(पि) हरहरीन्द्राज(दि)सु(बु)
नृणा(णाम्)। अह जित्वा तेभ्य. सपदि करवालेन प्रक[ट] [नृपै] साक वेति व्यवसितव(ब)लो
य स जयतु ॥¹⁴[२०॥*] यस्यारिसामन्तशिरोविसर्पिरक्ताज्यदीप्तासिशिखाकृशानु । स-
प्राप तावत्तु र[णे]त्र तृप्ति ल¹⁵का
- 11 हि दग्धा(ग्धा)पि न मारुतेर्य ॥¹⁶[२१॥*] तुरासाहं जित्वा शसि(शि)नमपि देवान्नणमुखे
महादेवीशच्या विचरति मृगाकस्त्रिभुवने । अहो तेषा [भो]गात्भु(द्भु)जगपतिशेषो विलसितुं
पृथिव्या देवोय जनपदजनैरुक्त इति य. ॥¹⁶[२२॥*] काम यथाग्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा क्रोधात्मक
शत्रुव(ब)ल ददाह । वैधव्य-

¹ Banerji read शुदाशु- and proposed to alter it to सुदाशु, but the reading given above is quite clear and appropriate in the context

² The last *pāda* of this verse has one excess *akṣhara*.

³ Read दिङ्मुख-

⁴ There is no superscript *y* in *rya* as read by Banerji

⁵ Metre of this and the following verse *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Metre *Drutavilambita*

⁷ Read निष्पक-

⁸ Metre of this and the two following verses *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Read दधद्दश-

¹⁰ The sense requires the reading कृपाणो, but it does not suit the metre Read the line as आन्दोलयत्यस्य रणे कृपाणो वायुर्गत भानुमिवाम्बुमध्ये ।

¹¹ Read -दिषो कर्मकरो

¹² Metre of this and the following verse: *Indravajrā*

¹³ Perhaps the intended reading is आवर्त्तसुक्तीर्हरिजे

¹⁴ Metre *Śikharinī*

¹⁵ Metre *Indravajrā*

¹⁶ Metre. *Śikharinī*

- 12 दु खेन्धनदीर्घवाः¹ संधुक्षितो ऽत्प्रतिकूलवधा ॥²[२३॥*] सलक्षणो निर्गतलक्षणो—
भवत्सुकर्करेड्यामपि यो रणे यदा । विलू[न]वा(बा)हुव्यसन शिलीमुखैः कराद्विमुक्तैर्मर्म—
लयस्य सिंहजात् ॥³[२४॥*] रे रे विक्रम शूर धावसि वृथा मच्चापवा(बा)णाभशि(सि)
मग्नो यास्यसि ना—
- 13 त्र कि तव कृते खड्गाग्निमुज्वा(ज्ज्वा)लये । इत्युक्त्वाभिहतो रणे नवदशस्थानेषु वा(बा)णैर्हृदि
यातोऽधः परिभूतविक्रमव(ब)लो यस्मात्स जीया[दिति] ॥⁴[२५॥*] प्रासादमाला द्विजदेवतानां
सृष्टा विचित्रा गगनं विलग्ना । येनापि याभ्यस्त्ववरोधभीत्या यातीव भानो रथ आशु तिय(यं)क्
॥⁵[२६॥*] तीव्र तपो दु खकर प्रकृ—
- 14 त्य सिद्धा व्रजन्तो दिवमूर्द्ध(ध्वं)मुच्चैः । यद्रामदेवालयवाधिता ये प्रायेण [ते] विश्वपद⁶ प्रया—
ता ॥⁷[२७॥*] योय सुतस्तल्हणदेविदेव्यास्त्रायेत [मि]त्राणि निहन्ति शत्रून् [।] भीष्मो
यथानेकसमानुवर्त्ती जीयात्स पृथ्वीधर⁸सानुजोपि ॥[२८॥*] श्रीगर्गनामा रुचिरा[शु]धामा
यस्याभवच्छीरणसिंहसूनु । धर्मस्य विद्याह्यकोशले—
- 15 स्त्री सर्वाधिकारैरिव चित्रगुप्त ॥[२९॥*] ताम्बू(म्बू)लदानाधिकृतिप्रयुक्त श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहसुतः
सुमत्री । यस्याभवच्छीहरिसिंहनामा सर्वाधिसपत्निरिपूरिताश ॥[३०॥*] प्रौढप्रचण्डारिकरि—
प्रमाथी नाराचपाशाकुशखड्गयोद्धा । वा(बा)हुप्रशक्त्यातिदृढप्रहार सेनाप्रयायीव रणे कुमार ॥
[३१॥*] ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणो
- 16 ज्ञानवादेन वेदतत्पा(त्त्वा)र्थयोगिना । निस्तीर्णानि पा⁹षण्डानि यत्र माणवकैरपि ॥¹⁰[३२॥*]
स सोमश्येनाग्नीन्नयति चयता(ना)न्तर्द्विजगणो मही कृत्वा यूपै रविकरचषालोर्ध्वकटकां(काम्)
ततो वेदिश्रोणी⁹ विधिविहितमन्त्रै कृतगिरं वसन्यस्मिस्तिष्ठेन्नृ[पु]रमिह का[स्था?]लकमिति
- 17 ॥¹¹[३३॥*] भुक्त्वापि यस्मिन्वरपाणिपात्रे चक्रास्तु नक्तं स्ववधूर्व्विहाय । अभो निरीक्षा(क्ष्या)—
हतजीवसवास्तीव्र तपो वा मुनयश्चरति ॥¹²[३४॥*] तिग्माशुतापक्लमनोददक्षैरुक्षा विचक्रु—
स्त्रिय आत्मनोगे । प्राणेशहस्तप्रतिकूलपुन्यनिर्मुक्तधार¹³पयसा कणौघैः ॥[३५॥*] पीत्वा—
लिचक्रैर्मधु—
- 18 मत्तमुग्धै पद्माकरालीढमुखै¹⁴र्नदद्भिः । आकर्ण्य मुग्धा अनुजापयन्ति गीत यशो यस्य च नाग—
कन्याः ॥[३६॥*] से(शै)वालकलहारकवारिपण्णिसालूकसघाटकरेवमावैर्भक्षैरभक्षै¹⁵युतमम्बु(म्बु)—
वी(बी)जैर्व्वप्रे ससज्जार्थिश(स)रो य ईदृक् ॥[३७॥*] क्रीडाप्रवृत्ता पतिभि श(स)रोवधौ(वधौ)
सय[म्य]

¹ Read —बाणै

² Metre *Indravajrā*

³ Metre *Vamśastha*

⁴ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁶ Perhaps विश्वपद is meant

⁷ Metre of this and the following four verses *Indravajrā*

⁸ The context requires a reading like पृथ्वीधर, but the *visarga* seems to have been dropped *metris*

causa

⁹ The metre requires the syllable to be short

¹⁰ Metre. *Anushtubh*

¹¹ Metre : *Śikharinī*

¹² Metre of this and the following four verses : *Indravajrā*.

¹³ The metre requires here a reading like —धारै. or धारा—

¹⁴ This should properly be आलीढपद्माकरमुखै—

¹⁵ Read सघाटक एवमाद्यै । भक्ष्यैरभक्ष्यै—.

- 19 चासू¹न्कथमास्थितानां (नाम्) । तासा भ्रुवोगानि कुचोरुजंघा दृष्ट्वाक्षसूत्राण्यपतन्मुनीना (नाम्) ॥
[३८॥*] यस्मिंस्तीरे मरकतशिलारत्नव(ब)द्धासनस्थैर्व्वीचीलोला²रजतस (श) फरीवंचितो-
रुप्रदेशै । विप्रैस्तृप्ता अमरपितरः सप्त दिव्या मनुष्या आशसति प्रथि[त]—
- 20 यशसं य स जीयाद्भुवीति ॥³[३९॥*] दिव्यागनाग⁴नवकुमुदपङ्क्तिगवारिप्रपूरलवचित्रितरो-
ममाला । ऋडति यत्र सुखिनो भुवि राजहसा अभोनिधानमत(तु)लं प्रश(स)रः ससज्जं ॥⁵
[४०॥*] एतदभोनिधानाय शतानि दश पञ्च च । भगवन्मुद्रया योपि टककाना व्य—
- 21 यैकरोत् ॥⁶[४१॥*] सर्वार्थ(थि)सार्थै⁷ स्तुतिजैर्व्वचोभिर्व्वदीजनै सस्तुत एव योभूत् ।
सिद्धार्थयोगी मलयानुसिहस्व(स्त)स्मै भवेयु शुभदास्त्रिदेवा ॥⁸[४२॥*] वास्तव्यवृत्तिप्रथमै-
कलिग नाम्नाप्यभूदुद्धरणो विपश्चित् । उद्धृत्य मह्या अमृत⁹गृहीतु¹⁰ लोकैकनाथोथ यथेशमूर्ति ।
[४३॥*]
- 22 तस्याथ पुत्र प्रमदाभिरामो यु(जु)ष्टः श्रिया श्रीधरमूर्तिरासीत् येनावनी सर्वगुणा गुणोवै
पुण्यैरनेकेष्व कृता पवित्रा ॥[४४॥*] तस्यापि सूनुर्भुवि ठक्कुरो यो लक्ष्मीधरो लक्षणकाव्यवेत्ता ।
विद्याधरस्तस्य बभूव पुत्र सर्वाधिकारार्थगुणप्रवीणः ॥[४५॥*] अर्थत्रयाणा¹¹—
- 23 मपि तत्त्व(त्त्व)युक्त कामस्य सारेण तु किञ्चिदेव । विद्याधरोथास्य श(स)रोधिकर्ता हेतुर्यथा-
ब्धे(ब्धे) सगरो बभूव ॥[४६॥*] श(स)रसख्यापने¹² विद्वान्वास्तव्य पुरुषोत्तम । (।)
श्रीमद्वल्हणपुत्रोभूदाचार्यश्रीधरो यथा ॥¹³[४७॥*] पञ्च ऋतूनामपि यश्च कर्ता श्रीरामचन्द्रोथ
बभूव विद्वान् । तस्याथ पु—
- 24 त्रोपि दिवाकराख्य सर्वज्ञकल्पो द्विजमुख्य एव ॥¹⁴[४८॥*] तस्याथ पुत्रो गुरुभक्तिचित्तो दैवा-
च्छ्रिया य परिहीन(ण)जात ॥¹⁵ आत्रेयगोत्रो ननु कृष्णपूर्व काशीनिवासी च परोपकारी ॥
[४९॥*] तर्क्के ज्ञानमतीव यस्य चतुर. शब्दा(ब्दा)र्थशास्त्रे तथा मीमासाधिगतो विपश्चिदभव-
द्वेदा—
- 25 तयोगाधि(दि)धी । वेदा[भ्या]सरत सदा सुविदुषां मूर्द्धनि प्रव(ब)द्धाञ्जलिर्विप्र श्रीपुरुषो-
त्तमो भुवि महान्वु(न्वु)द्ध्या च वाचस्पति ॥¹⁶[५०॥*] तेनेयमिष्टागसुवृत्तवृत्ता हारस्य यष्टि-
श्च सदर्थगुच्छा [१*] सदृशमुक्ताफलकीर्तिसूत्रा शस्ता प्रशस्ति. सुविनिर्मितेव ॥[५१॥*]
उत्कीर्णा सूत्र—

¹ Banerji read चासूक्थ— and proposed to change it to चासन्कथ—, but the second *akshara* is clearly सू. Besides असून् can be properly construed as the object of सयस्य

² Properly वीचीलोल—, but so changed to suit the metre

³ Metre *Mandākrāntā*

⁴ There is a symbol incised between ग and न.

⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁷ Banerji supplied here the *visarga*, but it is properly dropped according to the *vārttika* on Pāṇini

VIII, 3, 36

⁸ Metre of this and the following four verses : *Indravajrā*

⁹ Read मह्याममृत.

¹⁰ Read ग्रहीतु.

¹¹ This *anusvāra* is superfluous

¹² The engraver at first cut the first *akshara* of this word as श and then changed it to स. The second *akshara* is clearly ह्य and not स्था as read by Banerji

¹³ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹⁴ Metre of this and the following verse : *Indravajrā*.

¹⁵ The sense requires a reading like परिहीणो जात, but it does not suit the metre

¹⁶ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*

- 26 धारेण श्रीमद्गल्हणसूनुना । नाम्नाततेन चन्द्रेया¹ शुद्धेयं वंशपद्धति ॥²[५२॥*] चत्वारिं-
शत्यधिकेब्दे (ब्दे) चतुर्भिर्नवमे शते । शुके साहसमल्लांके नाभस्ये प्रथमे दिने ॥[५३॥*]
संवत् ९४४ भाद्रपद सु(शु)दि १ शुके श्रीमद्विजयसिंहदेवराज्ये ॥ मं—
27 गलं महाश्री ॥०॥ श्री ॥ [धौ]वर्यकार्यक्षमर[ल्हणा]ख्यो यस्याभवद्दल्ह[ण*]सूनुवीरः
द्वारीव न(नं)दी गिरिशस्य युक्तः सग्रामसू(शू)रो रिपुदर्षमर्दी ॥³[५४॥*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verses 1-2) Having bowed to Mañjughōsha, who is as white as the snow-mountain, who is (*seated*) on a lotus-seat, who is the full moon resembling a wheel of eight spokes, (*and*) who has a sword and a book in his right and left hand (*respectively*), I shall describe **Malayasimha's** family and (*his*) excellences duly (*and*) with suitable vigour, for words occur (*to my mind*) of their own accord Who, indeed ! would not describe the great ?

(V. 3) These words of mine in thousands are engaged in glorifying the family of **Malayasimha** even as the rays of the sun are in opening the lotuses.

(V 4) The **Narmadā** which flows with sacred and extremely limpid water from the world which is the abode of the best of sages (*like*) a maiden born in a noble family, and which is praised by the words of the Siddhas, removes by (*mere*) sight the weight of the sins due to the Kalī age.

(V 5) On its bank is a city named **Tripurī** where is a king named the illustrious **Vijayadēva**, the lord of princes, who is born in the family of **Karṇa** (*and*) is the ruler (*of regions*) in all directions⁴

(V 6) In whose assembly the supplicant kings, whose throats are parched by the fire of his prowess, discuss, through apprehension, the doubtful reward of their service⁵ by signalling with their fingers

(V 7) The illustrious **Jāta**, a minister whose counsel⁶ increased the fame of those who preceded him on this earth, (*and who was*) like Brihaspati in all his merits, was appointed to (*this*) *viśhaya* ;

(V 8) Who bore here the heavy yoke of pious people by making gifts to the Brāhmanas, (*and*) by the prowess of whose arms alone, the illustrious **Karṇadēva** conquered his foes.

(V 9) From him was born (*a son*) known as **Yaśaḥpāla** as Budha, the son of Tārā, was born from the moon god,—who, a venerable person on the earth, was a devotee of the king **Gayākarna** and the keeper of (*his*) counsel.

(V 10) His son also, who had large arms, was created as a light incarnate of auspicious rays, by the creator who found the world enveloped in the darkness (*of ignorance*) in order that he might illuminate it.

(V. 11) **Padmasimha**, the abode of the goddess of fortune, had a spotless and pure family as a lotus has excellent petals and white sprouts. In (*that*) Kshatriya family was born (*his*) younger brother the illustrious **Chandrasimha**,⁷ the progenitor (*of a family*).

¹ Perhaps चान्द्री या is intended

² Metre of this and the following verse *Anushtubh*

³ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁴ Lit in (*all*) directions and sub-directions

⁵ Banerji, who read *niyam* in place of *chintyam*, translated,—‘in whose assembly kings . . . always spoke by signalling with fingers, out of fear (*for him*)’.

⁶ *Mantra* means here ‘counsel’ not ‘incantation’ as rendered by Banerji

⁷ See above p 347, n 3.

(V 12) (*He*),¹ the sole home-minister of the king **Vijayasimha**, the lord of **Chēdi**, who is most powerful with his fame spreading to all cardinal points—(*he*) who by the force of the prowess, conferred by the boons of the Brāhmanas, protects² the bodies of the twice-born besieged by a host of elephants of poverty

(V 13) In this family, from the learned and illustrious **Padmasimha** was born the illustrious **Kirtisimha** of long³ arms, who had the strength of a lion, even as Rāma, the lord of Kōsala, was, in times of yore, born from Daśaratha. Himself fearless, he was a dart in the hearts of a host of (*his*) enemies

(V 14) In his court there shone various learned men who were his well-wishers, versed in policy, as gods do in the assembly of Indra. (*Their*) words flashed forth like the rays of the moon sent forth for dispelling the darkness (*ignorance*) of the world

(V 15) **Malayasimha**,⁴ the son of the illustrious **Kirtisimha**, the hero who was a peerless wrestler in rescuing those born in Kshatriya families, had the dust of his lotus-like feet swept off by the locks of (*his*) feudatory chiefs

(V 16) He is the moon that makes the night-lotuses, that are the learned men, bloom. He is the ocean (*the mine of jewels*), as he confers jewels on needy men. All excellences have become established in the personage of **Malayasimha**. On account of (*these*) excellences he has not even the deer-spot (*which is seen in the moon*)

(V 17) Causing the destruction and blooming of the lotuses which are (*his*) enemies and friends (*respectively*), he, like the moon (*and*) the sun, has made the skies of the ten quarters bright. With a sharp pike (*śakti*) in his hand, there has appeared the skilful **Malayasimha** on the earth

(V 18) He is a flawless Bowman whose sword causes the forces of the enemy (*which appeared*) weak (*before him*) to tremble even as wind tosses the reflection of the sun amidst waves of water

(V 19) The hostile soldiers being plunged into the ocean of his horses, and seeing the whirls and oysters (*in the form of*) foam (*from the horses' mouths*) on their faces, heads and feet, did not soon come out of it!—Such was the lion of Malaya (*i.e.*, **Malayasimha**)!

(V. 20) 'Did the valiant Bali give the three worlds measuring the three steps (*to Vishnu*)? I shall confer on men the rank of the moon (*or*) that among Śiva, Vishnu, Indra and others, by winning it openly (*and*) at once with my sword or with (*the help of other*) princes'—May he (*i.e.*, **Malayasimha**), who had such confidence, in his prowess be victorious!

(V 21) The fire, whose flame in the form of (*Malayasimha's*) sword burned brightly with ghee which was the blood gushing forth from the heads of his feudatories, obtained that satisfaction in battle here, which it had not obtained from Hanumān (*even*) after burning (*the city of*) Lankā⁵

(V 22) 'Having vanquished Indra, gods (*and*) also the moon, this moon (*in the form of Malayasimha*) roams about together with Sachī who is the Mahādēvī. Oh! this

¹ *I.e.*, Chandrasimha, *loc. cit.*

² *Rakṣhāt* 'should protect' is here used for *rakṣhatu* 'protects'

³ *Nītānta* seems to be used here in the sense of 'long'

⁴ The text has *Malay-ānu simhab* which literally means 'Simha following Malaya,' *i.e.*, **Malayasimha**.

⁵ Banerji's translation 'he (*i.e.*, **Malayasimha**) obtained (*such*) satisfaction as the Son of Wind (Hanumān) himself did not obtain by burning Lankā' is unacceptable as the text has clearly *Mārutār* =, not *Mārutar* =

(our) king is Śeṣha, the lord of serpents, (*created*) to enjoy their pleasures !' So is he described by the people in the country ¹

(V 23) The fire of his anger being fed by the wife of his enemy with the fuel of tears which she shed for a long time on account of her grief of widowhood, destroyed the forces of the enemy, even as that produced from Śiva's eye (*burned*) the god of love

(V 24) **Salakshana** became deformed² when in the battle of the glorious **Karkarēḍī** he had the misfortune of having his arm cut off by the arrows discharged by the **lion of Malaya** (*z e.* Malayasimha)

(V. 25) May he (*z e.* Malayasimha) be victorious !—who, addressing (*Vikrama*) in battle with the words 'O valiant **Vikrama**, thou art vainly running away ! Thou canst not escape being drowned in the flood of the arrows (*discharged*) from (*my*) bow ! Why need I kindle here the fire of (*my*) sword for thy sake ?', struck him in the heart in nine or ten places with his arrows and brought him down, overcoming his prowess and strength

(V 26) He erected a marvellous row of mansions touching the sky for gods and Brāhmanas, through fear of obstruction from which, as it were, the sun's chariot goes obliquely with speed

(V. 27) Having performed fierce and painful penance, the Siddhas go to high heaven, (*while*) those, who worship (?) at the temple of Rāma (*built*) by him, generally go to the abode of Viṣṇu ³

(V 28) May that **Prithvīdhara**⁴ together with his younger brother be victorious, living for many years like Bhīṣma—(*he*) who, being the son of the queen **Talhanadēvī**, protects friends and destroys enemies !

(V 29) The illustrious **Garga**, the son of the illustrious Rāmasimha, the repository of beautiful lustre, who (*was invested*) with all powers, was, like Chitrakṛta, his (*z e.* Malayasimha's) writer of religious documents and of education, horses and treasury.

(V 30) His excellent minister was the illustrious **Harisimha** by name, the son of the illustrious Jagatsimha, who was appointed as the distributor of betel, and fulfilled the wishes of all supplicants with (*gifts of*) wealth

(V. 31) He killed huge and fierce elephants of the enemy, fought with arrows, a noose, a goad and a sword, dealt a very firm blow with the might of his arm, and marched in the fore-front of the army like Kārttikēya

(Vv 32-3) This city of men is an ornament of the region here,—in which even students have refuted heterodox doctrines with discussions about the knowledge of Brahman together with the real import of the Vēdas, (*in which*) the multitude of Brāhmanas bring the fires of the Sōma and Śyēna sacrifices to the altars, filling the surface of the earth with the golden rings of sacrificial posts (*touched*) by the rays of the sun⁵, and in which they dwell making the sides of the altar resound with the *mantras* as laid down by (rules) (*vidhi*).

(V 34) Where⁶ the Chakravāka birds, having been fed from the vessels in beautiful hands, and having left their mates at night, practise severe austerities like sages, fixing

¹ This verse does not yield a satisfactory and coherent sense

² *Lit* devoid of auspicious marks As the word *bāhu* occurs in a compound, the sense may be that Salakshana lost both his arms.

³ See above p 352, n 6 Banerji, who took *viśva-padam* as the correct reading, translated, 'They mostly obtain the feet of God (*without endeavour*)'

⁴ Banerji takes *Prithvīdhara* as a common noun in the sense of 'a king' and refers it to Malayasimha. The context shows that *Prithvīdhara* was the name of Malayasimha's son.

⁵ The significance of this expression is not quite clear to me

⁶ This and the following two verses describe the tank which is mentioned in v 37

their gaze on water and doing no harm to the multitudes of (*aquatic*) creatures;

(V. 35) (*Where*) women (*had*) their bodies sprinkled with sprays of water, discharged from the syringes held in the hands of their husbands, which (*sprays*) were efficacious in removing the fatigue caused by the rays of the sun,

(V. 36) (*Where*) beautiful Nāga maidens repeat (*the songs of*) his fame sung by multitudes of humming bees which, with their mouths licking clusters of lotuses, have become intoxicated with the honey they have drunk (*from them*),

(V. 37) He constructed such a tank for the needy (*provided*) with dams, which contains edible and unedible seeds (*growing*) in water such as the *śēvāla* (moss?), the white water-lily, water-plants (*vāriparṇi*) and lotus-roots

(V. 38) How did the roses fall from the hands of the sages who were sitting (*on the bank of the tank*) curbing their vital airs,¹ when they saw the eyebrows and limbs (*such as*) breasts, legs and thighs of (*the women*) who were engaged in sporting with their husbands in the ocean which is this tank¹

(V. 39) On whose bank the gods, the manes, the seven sages and men, being propitiated by the Brāhmanas seated on excellent slabs of emerald, whose thighs are touched² by silvery fishes darting through the waves (*of water*), praise him (*i e.*, Malayasimha) of well-known fame May he live (*long*) on the earth¹

(V. 40) He constructed (*this*) large tank, a matchless reservoir of water, in which flamingos sport in joy, their feathers being coloured with the spray of water yellow with the fresh saffron-paste on the bodies of heavenly damsels

(V. 41) He spent fifteen hundred *tankakas* stamped with (*the effigy of*) the Bhagavat for (*constructing*) this reservoir of water

(V. 42) May the three gods³ confer their blessings on that **Malayasimha**,⁴ the successful *yōgin*, who has been eulogised by all hosts of suppliants and panegyrists with words of praise

(V. 43) Then there was the wise man, the foremost⁵ of the **Vāstavya** (family?), (*who was*) **Uddharana** in name also (*as he was the saviour in reality*), (*and who*) having raised up nectar to the earth, had, as it were, the form of the god (*Vishnu*), the sole lord of the world

(V. 44) Then was (*born*) his son,⁶ attractive to young women, who, being served by the goddess of fortune resembled in form Śrīdhara (*i e.*, Vishnu), (*and*) who, by the numerous collections of his virtues and abundant religious merit, made the earth pure and possessed of all qualities

(V. 45) His son on the earth was the *Thakura* **Lakshmīdhara** who was conversant with marks⁷ and poetry His son was **Vidyādhara** who was proficient in the qualities required for all offices.

(V. 46) **Vidyādhara**, who is (*fully*) conversant with the principles of the three aims⁸ (*of human life*), but slightly with the essence of love, was the Superintendent and the cause of this tank as Sagara was of the ocean

¹ The words *samyamya ch-āsūn* are obviously to be connected with *muninām* and not with *tāsām* as done by Banerji

² *Vamchita* (*lit* deceived) is used here in the unusual sense of 'touched.'

³ *I e.*, Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva

⁴ Here also the text has *Malay-ānu-simbah* for which see p 355, n 4, above

⁵ The sense of *pratham-āika-lingam* is not quite clear to me.

⁶ Banerji takes Śrīdhara to be his name This is possible as a teacher named Śrīdhara is named below in v 47, but the text is not clear on the point

⁷ *I e.*, with the science of palmistry

⁸ *I e.*, *dharma* (religious merit), *artha* (wealth) and *mōksha*.

(V 47) **Purushōttama** (*of*) the **Vāstavya** (*family*), who knows how to measure a tank, was the son of the illustrious Valhana and resembled (*his*) teacher **Śrīdhara**

(V 48) There was, again, the illustrious **Rāmachandra**, a learned man, who performed all the five sacrifices. His son also, named **Divākara**, being almost omniscient, was the foremost among the Brāhmanas.

(V 49) His son, who belongs to the Krishnātrēya *gōtra*,¹ dwelt in **Kāśī**, obliged others and had his mind devoted to his preceptor, was, by fate, deprived of fortune

(V 50) (*He*), the illustrious **Purushōttama**, a great Brāhmana, whose knowledge of logic is profound, who is adept in the science of lexicography, and is equally versed in Mīmāṃsā, whose mind is engaged in (*studying*) the Vedānta, Yōga and other (*systems*), who is devoted to the study of the Vēdas and folds his hands on his head before those who are very learned, is in intelligence a Brihaspati on (*this*) earth

(V 51) By him has been made this excellent *praśasti* (eulogy) which, containing the desired meaning, is composed in good metres, resembling the string of a pearl-necklace (*which contains round pearls*) which has a good theme as the necklace has a cluster (*of pearls*), and which describes the glory of a noble family even as the necklace has the thread passing through the pearls produced from a good bamboo²

(V 52) This eulogy of the family, faultless like the moon-beams (?), has been incised by the *Sūtradhāra* named **Ananta**, the son of the illustrious Galhaṇa,—

(V 53) On Friday, the first day of Bhādrapada in the year nine hundred increased by forty and four (*denoted by the expression*) **Śāhasa-mall-āṅka**.³

(*In*) the year 944, (*the month*) **Bhādrapada** (*and*) the bright (*fortnight*), on the (*lunar*) day 1, Friday, during the reign of the illustrious Vijayasimhadēva

(*May there be*) bliss and great fortune !

(V 54) Śrī His (*i e*, Malayasimha's) door-keeper was named **Ralhaṇa**, the valiant son of Dalhaṇa, who is capable of executing a responsible (?) work, is brave in fighting, and destroys the pride of his foes, as Nandi is (*the door-keeper*) of Śiva.

NO 68 , PLATE LVII

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA : (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253

THIS plate was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham who found it in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. Its contents were briefly and somewhat incorrectly given by him in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol XXI, p. 146. It was subsequently edited with a lithograph, but without any translation, by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVII, pp 227 ff. The plate has since been deposited in the British Museum. It is edited here from excellent ink impressions kindly supplied by the authorities of the Museum

¹ *Krishna-pūrvah Ātrēya-gōtrah* evidently means 'belonging to the Krishnātrēya *gōtra*' and not 'born in the race of Atri, before whom Krishna was born' as translated by Banerji. The sense is clumsily expressed here as in so many other places in this inscription

² There is a play on the word *sad-vamśa* which means (1) a good family and (2) a good bamboo. The metaphor in this verse is not properly expressed

³ See above, p 350. *Śāhasa*, *malla* and *āṅka* denote the numbers 4, 4 and 9, and according to the rule *ankānām vāmatō gatib*, the expression stands for 944

The plate measures 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 9" and is inscribed on one side only. 'It is quite smooth, the edges of it being not fashioned thicker, nor turned up, nor protected in any way. As the result, the preservation of the inscription is only fairly good, for the surface of the plate is a good deal worn, especially in the proper left half down to about line 14 and in the right half from about line 8 to 14, so that some *akṣharas* here are only faintly visible, and a few others are altogether illegible. —In the upper part of the plate there is a ring-hole; but the ring with any seal that may have been attached to it is not now forthcoming. The weight of the plates is 192 $\frac{3}{4}$ *tolas* ¹ The average size of the letters is about 25" The **characters** are Nāgarī The technical execution is fair Except for two opening verses in honour of Brahman and Bhārati (the goddess of speech), the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end and a stray quarter of the *Indiavajrā* or the *Anushtubh* metre here and there, the whole record is in prose Both the metre and the grammar are faulty in several places Mistakes of the former are pointed out in the foot-notes to the text As regards those of grammar, attention may be drawn to the wrong gender in *sāmanta-sirō-ratnō* in l 6, the faulty compounds in *śuta-dvau* and *mātri-pitṛō-* in ll 6 and 14 respectively and the syntactical blunder in *sō-ham . . samājñāpayati vōdhayati cha* in ll 7-8 Final consonants, are not properly marked The writer's carelessness is betrayed by the omission and transposition of words in many verses and the **orthographical** mistakes such as the use of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (e g, in *sarmanē* for *śarmanē* in several places in ll. 10-12) and *vice versa* (e g, in *śūkṣmā* for *sūkṣmā* in l 2, *śuta-dvau* l 6 etc), that of *n* in for *ṇ* in *punya-yasō*, l 14 and *punya-karmmanau*, l 18 The sign of *v* is used to denote *b* in all places except *babhūva* in l 5.

As stated before, the inscription opens with two verses, one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of Bhārati, the goddess of speech. The first of these occurs in several copper-plate charters of the Later Kalachuris, while the second with some alterations is met with in three records of the Kalachuri king, Karna ² The inscription then refers itself to the auspicious and victorious reign of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vijayadēva**, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of **Trikalīṅga**, who by his own arm had acquired suzerainty over the three kings (*vṛṣ*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, and who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vāmadēva**, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara. Worthy of note is the epithet *Parama-māhēśvara* here applied to Vāmadēva, for it clearly shows that the latter cannot be identified with the god Śiva. As the description of Vijayadēva is closely similar to that of the Kalachuri king Jayasimha in the Rewa plate of Kīrtivarman, he is evidently identical with **Vijayasimha**, the son and successor of Jayasimha This identification is again corroborated by the agreement of dates For, as shown below, the date of the present inscription corresponds to 1195 A C It is twenty years later than the date of the Rewa inscription of Kīrtivarman (*vṛṣ*, K 926 or 1175 A C), and this squares with the relation of Vijayasimha to Jayasimha. Again, the date of the present inscription is only two years later than that of the preceding Rewa stone inscription of Malayasimha which belongs to the reign of Vijayasimha ³

The inscription next gives the pedigree of the donor **Salakshanavarman**, who

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVII, p 227

² Nos 50, 51 and 54. In these it is in praise of Brāhmī, while in the present record it glorifies Bhārati *Bhārati* which is here substituted for *Brāhmī* does not, however, suit the metre

³ As a matter of fact, Salakshana is mentioned in verse 24 of that inscription, as one who suffered a defeat in Karkarēdi at the hands of Malayasimha, a feudatory of Vijayasimha

was then plainly a feudatory of Vijayadēva. In the capital **Kakarēḍī** there lived a personage named **Dhāhilla** who was honoured by all princes. After him flourished in course of time **Vājūka**, **Dandūka**, **Khōjūka** and **Jayavarman**, whose relation to Dhāhilla and to one another is not specified. Jayavarman's son was **Vatsarāja** who, again, had two sons **Kirtivarman** and **Salakshanavarman** (or Salakhanavarman). The former, being the elder of the two, succeeded his father and was himself succeeded by his younger brother Salakshanavarman.¹

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the donation of the village **Chhidaudā**, situated in the **Kūyisambapālisa**² *pattalā*, which Salakshanavarman made after bathing and worshipping Śiva at **Kakarēḍī**. The **donees** were all grandsons of one Mādhava and belonged to the Kauśilla *gōtra* with the three *paravaras* Kauśilla, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta. It seems that Mādhava had four sons Mahasōna, Chīthu(?) Pīthana and Śrīdhara. The village or its revenue was divided into five *padas* or shares of which two were allotted to Rāmaśarman, Gāthēśarman and Dāmarasāiman, the three sons of Mahasōna and one each to Pāndu(?)śarman, Patēśarman and Haridattaśarman, the three sons of Mahasōna's three brothers.

The **date** the donation is given in line 13 as **Friday**, the **seventh tithi of the dark fortnight**³ of **Mārgaśīras in the year 1253** (expressed in decimal figures only). No era is specified, but there is little doubt that the date is to be referred to the Vikrama era. It is found to be regular for the *current* Vikrama year 1253. The seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīras of that year ended 6 h 45 m after mean sunrise on Friday,⁴ the corresponding Christian date being the 27th October 1195 A.C.

Of the **place-names** occurring in the present grant, **Kakarēḍī** has already been identified with Kakreri in Vindhya Pradesh. I have not been able to trace any place exactly corresponding to **Kūyisambapālisa**. There are, however, some villages named Kooiah in the adjoining territory, the nearest to Kakreri that I have been able to trace is 12 miles to the east by south. **Chhidaudā** I am unable to identify.

TEXT⁵

- 1 [सिद्धि⁶ ।] स्वस्ति । [निर्गु]ण व्यापक[नि]त्य शि[व] परमकार[ण](णम्) । भावग्राह्यं पन(र) [ज्यो]तिस्तस्म(स्मै) सद्ब्र(द्ब्र)ह्मणे नम ।⁷[११।*] शुद्धे हृदय[क्षेत्रे] वल्लीमि[व] ध्या—
- 2 यन्ति⁸ [या] मुनय । मोक्षमहाफलजननी भारती शू(सू)क्ष्मा⁹ सा जयति ॥¹⁰[२॥*] परम—
भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममा—

¹ Cunningham wrongly stated that Salakshanavarman was the grandson of Kirtivarman.

² See below p. 361, n 13. Cunningham read the name of the village as *Navagrāma*.

³ Cunningham inadvertently stated the date to be the 7th of waxing moon.

⁴ According to Kielhorn's calculations the *tithi* ended 7 h 35 m after mean sunrise on that day. Cunningham, who presumably took the Vikrama year as expired, stated that the *tithi* fell on Thursday, as indeed it did in 1196 A.C.

⁵ From ink impressions.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*.

⁸ ध्यायन्ति does not suit the metre. Read रोपयन्ति as in the Goharwa plates.

⁹ The metrie is faulty here also. The Goharwa plates read ब्राह्मी सूक्ष्मापि सा जयति ।

¹⁰ Metre *Āryā*.

REWA PLATE OF VIJAYASIMHA (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1253

१२
 ४
 ६
 ८
 १०
 १२
 १४
 १६
 १८
 २०

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

- 3 [हे]श्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात¹ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरत्रिकलि-
[ङ्गा]धिपतिनिजभुजोपार्ज्जिता-
- 4 श्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति (त्य)श्रीमद्विजयदेवकत्याणविजयराज्ये । (॥) ककरे[डचा]
[राजधान्या] धाहि[ल्लो नामा]भवत्² । स च मा³-
- 5 न्योभवत्सर्व्वनरेश्वराणा(णाम्) [।*] तस्माद्वाजुको ददूकश्चापि [क्रमत⁴] खोजूको⁵ जय-
वर्म्मा च बभूव [तदन्तरौ] [।*] अथ⁶ जयवर्म्मदेवा[प ?]त्य वत्सराज[.] सु-
- 6 तोभवत् । सामन्तशिरोरत्नो⁷ येन जातौ शुतद्वौ । कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा शु(सु)तो ज्ये[ष्ठ] प्राप्तपितृ-
पद⁸ स्व[त] । श्रीमच्छ[ल्लक्ष]णवर्म्म[दे]वोपि⁹ क्रमाद्रा-
- 7 ज्यमवाप स । सोह समस्तप्रकृत्योपेत¹⁰समधिगतपचमहाशब्दा(ब्दा)लकारविराजमानश्रीसलक्षण-
वर्म्मदेवो¹¹ विजयी ।¹² क्यूीसंव¹³(ब)पालिस-
- 8 पत्तलाया छिडौ[डा]ग्रामनिवासिन समस्तप्रजालोकानन्याश्च यथास्थानाधिष्ठितान् समाज्ञापयति
वो(बो)धयति¹⁴ च । विदितमस्तु [भ]व[ता*] ग्रा-
- 9 मोयमस्माभिश्चतुराघाटविशुद्ध¹⁵सजलस्थलसाम्प्रमधूकसगर्तोषरनिधिनिक्षेपाकाशोत्पत्तिसु (स्व)सी-
मापर्यन्तसवनतृणपक्षिखनि-
- 10 गोचरपर्यन्त ॥¹² कौशिल्ल¹⁶गोत्राय कौशिल्लविश्वामित्रदेवराज(त)त्रिप्रवराय । ठ¹⁷ । माध-
वप्रपौत्राय महसोण¹⁸पुत्राय [राम ?]स(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । त-
- 11 था गा[ठे]स(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय तथा दामरस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । एतेषा पद¹⁹
२[।*] ठ माधवप्रपौत्राय । [वीथु ?]पुत्राय [पाडु ?]स(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय । पद १
[।*] ठ ।
- 12 माधवप्रपौत्राय पीथनपुत्राय पैतेस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पद १ [।*] ठ । माधवप्रपौत्राय
श्रीधरपुत्राय [ह]रिदत्तस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय प-
- 13 द १ [।*] एव ग्रामस्य पद ५ सवत्त(त्स)राणा स(स)वत्त(त्) १२५३ मार्गसि(शि)र(रो)मासे
कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्या तिथौ शुक्रदिने ककरेडचा स्थाने स्नात्वा शिव प्र-

¹ This *danda* is superfluous

² This requires only one *akshara* to become a hemistich of an *Anushtubh* verse. Read नाम योऽभवत् to suit the metre

³ Here we have the cadence of an *Indravajrā* verse

⁴ After this word a *danda*, which was at first engraved, is cancelled

⁵ This sounds like the latter half of an *Anushtubh* verse

⁶ What follows appears to be in the *Anushtubh* metre

⁷ Read सामन्ताना शिरोरत्न यस्माज्जात सुतद्वयम् । to suit the metre

⁸ Read प्राप्तपितृपद

⁹ If this is intended as part of an *Anushtubh* verse, we should have श्रीसलक्षणवर्म्मपि The *sandhi* in the text is due to the royal name being taken as शलक्षण-

¹⁰ The letters are quite clear here Read -पकृत्युपेत, Kielhorn's reading प्रकृष्टोपेत-does not give a good sense

¹¹ This name is a corrupt form of श्रीसलक्षणवर्म्म-

¹² This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹³ Kielhorn read क्यूीसवपालि, but the impression clearly shows an *anusvāra* on स

¹⁴ Read समाज्ञापयामि and बोधयामि

¹⁵ Here and in the following expressions the sign of *visarga* is wrongly omitted.

¹⁶ Read कौशिल- This is shown to be derived from कौशिक in Vāmana's *Kāvyaṅkārashāstravṛtti*, V, 2, 61

¹⁷ I e, ठक्कुर

¹⁸ The last two *aksharas* of this name though faint, are legible. The name occurs also in the Sarkho plates of Ratnadēva II, though it refers there to a different individual.

¹⁹ This word is used here and in some places below without a case-affix Read पदे २.

- 14 पूज्य मातृपित्रो¹रात्मनश्च पुन्य(ण्य)यसो(शो)विवृद्धये एत(ते)भ्यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणै(णे)भ्यो ग्रा-
मोय सासनत्वे² प्रदत्त । मत्वैषा³माज्ञाविधेयीभूय सर्वमे-
15 [ते]भ्य प्रदातव्यं(व्यम्) । यत्प्रदत्त⁴ मया ममाज्ञावस(श)गै. सामन्तादिभिरपि पालनीया
रक्षणीयाश्चेति⁵ । भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यस्लो(स्लो)का ।
16 सर्वानितान(न्) भा(भा)विन पार्थिवेद्रान(न्) भूयो भूयो याचित रा⁶ । सामान्या(न्यो)य
धर्म⁷ स(से)तुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीय⁸ । [1३॥*] शख(खो) भद्रासन
17 छत्र वराश्व(श्वो) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलम(मे)तत्पुरदर ॥⁹[४॥*] व(ब)हुभि-
र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि सगरादिभि । यस्य
18 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[५॥*] भूमि य प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमि
प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्मणौ नियतौ स्वर्गंगा-
19 मिनौ ॥[६॥*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेद्वसुधरा¹⁰ । स विष्ठाया कृमिभूत्वा पितृभि सह
मज्जति ॥[७॥*] गामेक शु(सु)वर्णमेक¹¹ भूमेरप्येकमगुल(लम्) [१*]
20 हरन्नरकमाप्नोति मा(या)वदाहूत¹²सप्लव(वम्) ॥[८॥*] वि¹³ नाणी श्रीकूके तथा पुत्र[१*]
वी(बी)जे क्षेत्र षाडी¹⁴ २ [१*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! Hail !

(Verse 1) Adoration to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (*of the universe*) and supreme light conceivable by the mind !

(V 2) Glorious is that speech¹⁵ on which the sages contemplate¹⁶ as on a creeper planted in the pure field of their heart, and which, (*though*) subtle, yields the great fruit of final emancipation

(Line 2) During the beneficial and victorious reign of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vijayadēva*, the lord of *Trikalīṅga*, who, by his own arm has acquired suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Vāmādēva*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara,—

¹ Read मातापित्रो—

² Read शासनत्वेन, as the expression is generally used

³ This *akshara* is quite clear

⁴ Originally यत्प्रदत्ता

⁵ Read पालनीय रक्षणीय चेति ।

⁶ Read याचते रामभद्र ।

⁷ Read धर्म—

⁸ Read पालनीयो भवद्भि । Metre *Śālī*

⁹ Metre of this and the following verses *Anushtubh*.

¹⁰ Read हरेत वसुधराम्

¹¹ The metre is faulty Read सुवर्णमेक गामेका

¹² Read —दामूत—

¹³ *V* also occurs in the Dhurēti plates, below, No 72, l 20 *Nānī* seems to mean 'an engraver' *Kūkē* is mentioned in line 19 of No 65, above

¹⁴ Perhaps खारी (a measure of grain) is meant

¹⁵ In the Goharwa and other inscriptions where this verse occurs, it is *Biāhmī*, not *Bhāratī* which is eulogized

¹⁶ The use of the metaphor 'the field of the heart' shows that *rōpayanti* (plant), not *dhyañanti* (contemplate) is the appropriate verb in this relative clause.

(L 4) There was (*a personage*) named **Dhāhilla** in the capital of **Kakarēḍī**. He became venerable to all princes. From him were born in course of time **Vājūka** and **Dandūka**, and after them, **Khōjūka** and **Jayavarman**. Afterwards was born **Vatsarāja**, a son of **Jayavarmadēva**, the crest-jewel of feudatory princes, from whom two sons were born. (*Of them*) the elder son **Kīrtivarman** himself obtained his father's throne, and the illustrious **Salakshhanavarmadēva** also obtained the kingdom in course of time.

(L 7) I, who am that **Salakshhanavarmadēva**,¹ being possessed of all the powers of the state,² shining with the distinction of having obtained the *pañcha-mahāśabda* (*and*) being victorious, command and inform all the subjects, residing in the village **Chhidaudā** (*situated*) in the *pattalī* **Kūyisambapālisa**, and others established in their respective posts—

(L 8) “Be it known to you that having bathed at the town of **Kakarēḍī** and worshipped Śiva, We have given as a grant, on **Friday, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Mārgaśīras in the year 1253**, for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (*Our*) mother and father and Ourselves, this village (*divided into*) the following five *padas*³, with its four boundaries well-determined,—together with land and water, together with mango and *madhūka* trees, together with pits and barren lands, treasures and deposits, open space and products, extending as far as its limits (*and*) together with woods, grass, birds and mineral products,—to the following Brāhmanas, (*viz.*) two *padas* to the Brāhmana **[Rāma]śarman**, the son of Mahasōna and the grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava, of the Kausīla *gōtra* with the three *pravaras* Kausīla, Viśvāmitta and Dēvarāta, the Brāhmana **Gāthēśarman** and the Brāhmana **Dāmara**⁴; one *pada* to the Brāhmana **[Pāṇḍu]śarman**, the son of Chithu (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava; one *pada* to the Brāhmana **Paitēśarman**, the son of Pithana (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava, (*and*) one *pada* to the Brāhmana **Haridattaśarman**, the son of Śrīdhara (*and*) grandson of the *Thakkura* Mādhava.

(L 14) Knowing this, (*you*)⁵ should pay all (*dues*) to them, obeying their orders. What has been granted by me should be preserved and protected by feudatory princes and others who submit to my commands.”

And there are the* (*following*) holy verses in this connection —

(*Here follow six benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(*The engravers*⁶ *were*) the illustrious *Vī Nānī* **Kūkē** and his son. The field requires two *khārīs*⁷ (*of grain*) for seed.

NO. 69 · PLATE LVIII

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Dr T Bloch,⁸ Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, in his *Annual Report* for 1907-08, p. 15

¹ Properly, *Salakshhanavarmadēva*

² *Prakritis*, are ‘the powers of the state’ or ‘constituent elements of the realm’ which are seven, *viz.*, king, minister, allies, treasure, territory, forts and army

³ *Pada* seems to be used here in the sense of *bhāga* ‘a share’

⁴ Gāthēśarman and Dāmara also were evidently sons of Mahasōna

⁵ *I.e.*, the residents of the village.

⁶ See above, p 343

⁷ For *khārī*, a measure of grain, see above p 195, n 1

⁸ Cunningham has not noticed this inscription in his account of Bherā-Ghāt. See his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, pp 60 ff

A transcript of its text accompanied by a lithograph was published by Mr R D. Banerji in his *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*, p 142 The record is edited here from excellent estampages supplied by the Superintendent of Archæology, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a **stone slab** let into the front wall, on the right-hand side of the door leading into the sanctuary of the temple of Gaurī-Sankara at **Bhērā-Ghāt**, 13 miles from Jabalpur, the chief town of the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh The writing, which measures 1' 9" broad by 9" high, contains four lines It has suffered considerably on the right-hand side owing to the peeling off of the surface of the stone About six *aksharas* at the end of the first three lines and one *akshara* in the beginning of the last two have been either wholly or partly damaged

The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. The **orthography** does not call for any remark

The record is of the time of the king **Vijayasimhadēva** of the **Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī**. Its **object** is to record the obeisance of the *Mahārājñī* **Gōsaladēvī**, (her son)¹ the *Mahārāja* **Vijayasimhadēva** and (the heir-apparent) **Ajayasimhadēva** to the enshrined god who appears to be named here *Bhagnakhidra* (the Destroyer of diseases)²

TEXT³

- 1 महाराज्ञी श्रीमद्गोसल[देवी⁴] [श्रीमहा]रा⁵—
- 2 जश्रीमद्विजयसिहदेव [महाकुमार⁶]—
- 3 [अ]जयसिहदेव⁷ एते [भ]ग्नखि[द्राय] [हिता][य*]
- 4 [नि]त्य प्रणमति⁸ ॥

TRANSLATION

The *Mahārājñī* the illustrious **Gōsaladēvī**, the glorious *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Vijayasimhadēva**, the *Mahākumāra* **Ajayasimhadēva**,—these constantly bow to the Destroyer⁹ of diseases for (*their*) welfare

¹ Hirālal makes Gōsaladēvī the queen of Vijayasimha See *I C P B* (second ed.), p 37 The Kumbhī copper-plate inscription, however, makes it plain that she was his mother See Appendix, No 4, below

² See below, n 7

³ From the original stone and ink impressions

⁴ These *aksharas* are almost certain.

⁵ Banerji read [महारा]— The *akshara* रा at the end of the line is quite clear and there is space for three *aksharas* between it and देवी

⁶ Banerji reads the last two *aksharas* of this line as श्रीम and the first *akshara* of the next as द, but the latter, not being open on the right, cannot be read as द The title *Mahākumāra* of Ajayasimha occurs in the Kumbhī plates

⁷ Banerji reads the text from here to the end as -दजयसिहदेवेनेद (?) श्री[वैद्यनाथचरण] नित्य प्रणमति Apart from the ungrammatical construction, there is no sign of the medial *ē* on *v* in -dēvān=. The *aksharas* following अजयसिहदेव are certainly एते As regards the reading भग्नखिद्राय the *aksharas* ग्न and खि are almost certain. Lexicons give *khidra* in the sense of 'a disease'. *Bhagna-khidra* may be a name of Śiva who is so called because he drives away diseases

⁸ Banerji read प्रणमति, but the *anusvāra* is clearly seen at the foot of the vertical stroke of ha in *Ajayasimha*, l 3

⁹ It is not unlikely that the temple was erected and the image of the god installed by way of thanksgiving after the recovery from illness of the dowager queen or one of her sons.

BHERA-GHAT GAURI-SANKARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA



No. 70, (NO PLATE)

REWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYASIMHA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 96x

THIS inscription was brought to notice in 1936 by Dr N P Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, who found it deposited in the guard-hall of the old palace at Rewa in Vindhya Pradesh. The original provenance of it is not known. A short account of its contents was published by the Government Epigraphist in his report for the year 1935-36¹. The record is edited here for the first time from inked estampages kindly supplied by him².

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone which is broken irregularly on the proper left. The extant writing covers a space measuring 2' 1½" in height and from 1' to 1' 1" in breadth. No lines are broken off from the top and the bottom, but on the proper left from three to twelve *akṣharas* are lost at the end of each line. The writing has again suffered very much by exposure to weather, several *akṣharas* being completely effaced in almost every line. As shown below, the inscription appears to be a public copy of a copper-plate charter. It has a large portion in common with other Kalachuri grants, especially the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha³ and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha⁴. Many of the lost or illegible *akṣharas* can, therefore, be restored with the help of these latter records, but some names of officials mentioned in lines 9-12 and a few fiscal terms which occurred in lines 13-16 are now irrecoverably lost. The record consists of 19 lines. The size of the letters varies from 8" to 1". The characters are Nāgarī. They resemble in a general way those of the Lāl-Pahād stone inscription. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. In style the inscription is in the customary form of a copper-plate charter⁵. The orthography does not call for any remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Vijayasimha of the Later Kalachuri Dynasty of Tripurī. The object of it is to record the king's grant of the village Dhōṭṭavāḍa in the Rēvā pattalā. The name of the donee, which seems to have occurred at the end of line 13, is lost.

The present record appears to be a public copy of a charter which must have been originally engraved on copper-plates. As in the Kumbhī plates, the royal order is issued here from the capital Tripurī. Again, in lines 6-16 the present record names dignitaries and mentions several rights and privileges after the manner of copper-plate grants⁶. It seems, therefore, that Vijayasimha caused the charter to be copied and incised on the stone in order to give it full publicity.

Like his predecessors, Vijayasimha is described here as one who meditated on the feet of Vāmadēva and assumed the titles Trikaṇṭhādhipati and others. Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed there are the Mahāpradhāna Thakēkura Kikī, the Arthalēkhin Thakēkura Kēśava, the Sāndhviṅgrahika Lakhaṇa, the Mahāmantrin Haripāla⁷, the Mahāmāndalikā Malayasimha and the Rājaguru Vimala-

¹ A R A S I for 1935-36, pp 89-90

² The estampages are not suitable for plating

³ Above, No. 63.

⁴ Appendix, No. 4

⁵ An analogous instance is furnished by the Deo-Baranārk inscription of Jīvitagupta, see Fleet, C. I. I., Vol III, pp 213 ff

⁶ See especially the corresponding portions of the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha.

⁷ He is probably identical with the Sāndhviṅgrahika Thakēkura Haripāla mentioned in l 8 of the Dhurēti plates (No 72, below)

siva.¹ Malayasimha is probably identical with the homonymous feudatory of Vijaya-simha. His inscription² dated K 944 shows that he was in charge of the territory round Rewa during the reign of Vijayasimha.

The inscription bears in line 17 a date in three digits, the first two of which are probably 9 and 6. The third digit is completely effaced. But as the Dhurētī inscription of Trailōkyamalla shows that the Chandēllas occupied the territory round Rewa in K 963 the third digit of the date must have been 0, 1, or 2. This date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri era. The corresponding Christian date will, therefore, range from 1208-9 to 1210-11 A C.

As for the localities mentioned in the present inscription, the *Rēvā pattalā* must have comprised the territory round the modern town of Rewa. The village *Dhōṭṭa-vāḍa* I am unable to identify.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धि⁴ [1*] स्वस्ति श्रीम[त्रि]पुरीत परमभट्टारकम[हाराजा*]—
- 2 धिराजपर[मे][श्व*]रश्री[वा]मदेवपादा[नु]ध्या[तपरम*]—
- 3 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज[प]र[मेश्व]र[परममाहेश्व*]—
- 4 रत्रिकलिगाधिपति[निजभुजोपार्जिताश्वपतिगज*]—
- 5 पतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिपति(त्य)[श्रीम]द्वि⁵[जयसिंह*]—
- 6 देवचरणा[] अद्येह श्रीम[हाराज्ञी श्रीमहाकुमार श्रीम*]—
- 7 हाप्रधान ठ[क्कु*]र[कीकि]⁶ [अर्थ*]लेखि[ठक्कर*]—
- 8 [श्री*][के]स(श)व साधिविग्रहिक⁷ । [श्री]लक्षण [श्री][महाप्रती*]—
- 9 हार श्री[म*]⁸हाम(म) [त्रि]ह[रिपाल⁹]. . . . [श्रीमहा*]—
- 10 मडलीक¹⁰ श्रीमलय[सीह](सिह)[महा]धि. . . .
- 11पाकलित(?) . . . [रा]
- 12 पाल¹¹ राण[क*] [श्रीमद्रा]ज[गुरु श्री] [वि*]मल¹²[शिव*]. .
- 13 [स?] रे[वा]पत्तलाया धोट्टवाडं [नाम]. . . .
- 14क[र]वि[सेणा]दा[य¹³ भू]मि[जा*]ङ्गल [*] [साम्प्रम*]—

¹ Chakravartī reads the name of the *Mahāpratibhāra* as *Bhīmasimha*, but it appears to be a mislection for *Mahāmantri*— The Kumbhī plates mention *Mahāmantri* after *Mahākumāra*.

² Above, No 67.

³ From inked estampages.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This *akshara* is fairly clear in the estampages. The following four *aksharas* are broken off.

⁶ The name कीकि is faintly seen in the estampages. It occurs in the Kumbhī plates (Appendix, No 4, below).

⁷ The *visarga* and the following *danda* appear to be superfluous.

⁸ Chakravartī read these four *aksharas* as भीमसिंह.

⁹ These *aksharas* are not quite clear, but the Dhurētī plates of the reign of Trailōkyamalla (No. 72, below) mention one Haripāla as *Sādhvigrāhika*.

¹⁰ Read —मडलिक—.

¹¹ Some official like कोट्टपाल seems to have been mentioned here.

¹² The *aksharas* म and ल are fairly clear. The preceding *akshara* वि of the *Rājaguru's* name seems to have been omitted inadvertently. For a similar omission, see श्री[म*]हामन्त्रि—, 1, 9, above.

¹³ This seems to correspond to विसेणिमादाय mentioned in the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha and Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha.

- 15 धूक[गोप्र¹]तृणो[दिददादि]सक[ल*]
 16 [कामत]मवाडप्रवणिक[र*][सर्व्व][दाय*] [स ह(हि)][त.*].
 17 [ब्रसि ?]त [च] प्रदत्ते(त्त इ)ति ॥ सव[त्*][९*][६][x] [म*]²—
 18 हीदत चडाज्व(?) मत्रि श्री[मलय ?³]
 19 श्री[रेवा]⁴॥

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Success ! Hail ! From the famous **Tripurī**,—the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vijayasimhadēva**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the lord of **Trikaliṅga**, who by (*the might of*) his arm has attained suzerainty over the three kings, (*viz.*) the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* the illustrious **Vāmadēva**, (*commands as follows*) —

(L 6) 'Today here⁵ (*in the presence of*) the illustrious *Mahārājñī*, the illustrious *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious *Mahāpradhāna*, *Thakkura Kiki*, the *Arthalēkhin*, the illustrious *Thakkura Kēśava*, the *Sāndhivigrahika*, the illustrious **Lakhaṇa**, the illustrious *Mahāpratīhāra*, the illustrious *Mahāmantrin Haripāla* . . the illustrious *Mahāmāṇḍalika Malayasimha* the [*Kōṭṭapāla*] *Rānaka*, the illustrious *Rājaguru Vimalaśiva*, . . . We have granted a village named **Dhōṭṭavāḍa** (*situated*) in the **Rēvā pattaḷā**, together with the cess on Visēna, together with fertile⁶ and (*other*) lands, together with mango and *mahuā* trees, together with pasture-land, grass *etc.*, together with . *kāmata*, *mavāda*, and the cess on the *pravanis*, and all other taxes to

(L 17) (*In*) the year 96 [x] (the illustrious *Mantrin Malaya*—) . . the famous **Rēvā**

¹ Read गोप्रचार

² The first figure of the date is illegible, but it must have been 9 as the Kumbhī plates of his reign are dated in K 932. From its top which alone appears in the estampage, the second figure appears to be 6. The third figure again is completely effaced.

³ Only the first *akshara* of this name is fairly distinct.

⁴ Traces of five or six *aksharas* appear here.

⁵ I e., at Tripurī.

⁶ See above p 331, n 1.

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

NO 71, PLATE LIX

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION: (KALACHURI) YEAR 958

THIS inscription was brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham, who published a transcript and a lithograph of it and drew attention to its date in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 101-3, and plate xxvii. The date was subsequently discussed by Dr. Kielhorn in his article entitled 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chedi Era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 218-19. The record is edited here from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is incised on a loose broken **stone slab** near the ruins of a temple at **Bēsāni** (long. $80^{\circ} 17'$ E and lat $24^{\circ} 12'$ N) in Vindhya Pradesh, about 14 miles north-west of Jukēhi, a station on the Katni-Manikpur branch of the G.I.P. Railway. The record is fragmentary. The extant portion contains six lines. Nothing is lost at the top and the proper right side. The first four lines seem to be complete on the left side also. But as the lower corner on that side is broken off, the fifth line has lost about six *aksharas*, while the last one shows only the upper fragments of three *aksharas* in the left corner. Besides, an indefinite number of lines has been lost at the bottom. The extant portion has suffered here and there by exposure to weather. The letters were carelessly written or incised. The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. The **orthography** does call for any remarks.

The inscription opens with the **date**, *११४*, the year 958 (expressed in numerical figures only), the **third tithi of the bright fortnight of the first Āshāḍha**. The **object** of it seems to be to record gifts in **drammas** received from different persons for some purpose not specified in the extant portion of the inscription. The gifts may have been made, as conjectured by Cunningham¹ for some work connected with the temple near the ruins of which the stone was found. It may be noted that the preserved portion of the record does not mention any reigning prince.

The interest of the inscription lies in its date which, on the evidence of its characters, must plainly be referred to the Kalachuri era. Its wording shows that there were two months named *Āshāḍha* in the year 958 and the month in which the inscription was put up was the first or intercalary *Āshāḍha*. We find that in 1207 A.C., which corresponds to the *expired* Kalachuri year 958, there were two *Āshāḍhas*,² of which the first or intercalary *Āshāḍha* lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June. The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of it fell on Thursday, the 31st May 1207 A.C.

¹ See *C. A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 102.

² Kielhorn has shown that *Āshāḍha* was intercalary in 1207 A.C. 'For in that year the solar month *Āshāḍha* lasted from May 26, about 1 h. 40 m. after sunset, to June 27, about 4 h. after sunrise, and during that time there were two new-moons, one on May 28, 9 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise, and the other on June 26, 23 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise'. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 219.

BESANI STONE INSCRIPTION (KALACHURI) YEAR 958



TEXT¹

- 1 सवत(त्) [९]५८ प्रथम आषढ^२ सु दि ३
- 2 सु(स्)त्रहा(धा)र जगदे[व*]^३गृहीतद्रमा(म्मा) ३० त[था^४]
- 3 [गृ]हीतद(द्र)मा(म्मा) १० ^५पु[ज]गृहीतद्रमा(म्मा) १०
- 4 [त][था] वद[धा]लि^६ गृ[ही]तद्रा(द्रम्मा) १० रौ-
- 5 कागृहीत द्रा(द्रम्मा) १ . ^७
- 6 [कहूरा(?)]

[The lower part of the stone is broken off and lost]

TRANSLATION

The year 958, (the month) first Āshāḍha, the bright (for night), the (lunar) day 3.

From the *Sūtradhāra* Jagadē[va] 30 *drammas* have been taken Similarly (from) 10 *drammas* have been taken, (and) from Puja 10 *drammas* have been taken Similarly from Vandadhālī 10 *drammas* have been taken. From Raukā 1⁸ *drammas* have been taken.

No 72, PLATE LX

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILŌKYAMALLA : (KALACHURI) YEAR 963

THESE plates were brought to notice in 1936 by Dr N P Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India. He first published a brief notice of their contents in his report for the year 1935-36⁹ and subsequently edited them with a lithograph in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXV, pp 1 ff. They are edited here from an excellent ink-impression kindly supplied by him.

They are two copper-plates measuring 1' 3 2" broad and 10½" high. They were discovered in 1926 in the village of Dhurēti,¹⁰ about 6 miles south-east of Rewa by a cultivator while ploughing his field. They have raised rims. When discovered they were apparently held together by a ring, but it had already been cut when Dr Chakravarti examined the character. This ring has a seal measuring 6¾" × 4½" attached to it, bearing in relief the figure of Lakshmi with an elephant on either side pouring water over her head, and the legend *Srimat-Trailōkyamalla* in one line below it. The weight of the plates together with the seal is 419 *tolas*. The record consists of 22 lines, of which eleven are inscribed on the inner side of each plate. The writing is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The average size of the letters is 5".

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Attention may be drawn to the closely similar forms of the initial *ē* and *pa*, *t* and *bh*, and *ch* and *v*. The *prishtha-mātrās* are used

¹ From inked estampages

² Read प्रथमाषाढ-

³ Cunningham read जमदे. The second *akshara* appears more like *ga* than *ma*, the horizontal line which seems to join its two limbs may be accidental.

⁴ Cunningham read here *ta Śrī* which gives no sense. It seems that the name of some person is omitted through inadvertence in the beginning of l 3.

⁵ Cunningham read this *akshara* as सु

⁶ Cunningham read *Prithva vasini*, but the reading does not appear to be supported by the original.

⁷ Cunningham reads 1000, but the ciphers after the first figure are uncertain.

⁸ The second figure here is lost owing to the peeling off of the stone.

⁹ A. R. A. S. I. for 1935-36, pp 90-91.

¹⁰ The place-name is spelt as Dhoorēti in the Degree Map 63 H.

here and there to denote medial diphthongs. The language is Sanskrit. Except for three verses in the beginning, the inscription is in prose throughout. The record is very carelessly written especially in lines 18-22. The writer had evidently a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As shown below, this is a private document. Still the writer states that it was issued from a camp and that the camp was situated at some auspicious place ! It is clear that he has blindly copied the introductory part of the record from some royal charter. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *v* for *b*, of the dental for the palatal sibilant and *vice versa*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Trailōkyamalla** who, as shown below, is identical with the **Chandēlla** king **Trailōkyavarman**. The object of it is to record the mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) of a certain village by the Śaiva ascetic **Śāntaśiva** in favour of one **Rānaka Dharēka**.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Śiva and Ganapati. It has then three verses in praise of Krishna, Sūlapānī (Śiva) and Sarasvatī¹. It next proceeds to state that during the reign of the illustrious **Trailōkyamalladēva**, the lord of **Kānyakubja**, who meditated on the feet of **Vāmadēva**, had assumed titles commencing with *Paramabhattachāraka* (i.e., *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Maharājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*), and had attained supremacy over the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men,² the Śaiva ascetic **Śāntaśiva**, the son of the *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**, conveyed by way of mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) at **Dhōvahaṭṭapattana** in the **Dhanavāhī pattalā**, the village of **Alaura**, to the **Rānaka Dharēka**, the son of **Sēvarāja**, who was himself the son of the *Thakkura* **Rāsala**. The deed of mortgage was actually executed by **Nādaśiva**, a younger son of **Vimalaśiva**, with the authority of his elder brother **Śāntaśiva**. Some persons are cited as witnesses at the end of the record. The record was written by the *Panditas* **Viśvēśvara** and **Gaṅgādhara**. It was engraved by **Śiruka**. There are no benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end of the record, as it is not a land-grant³.

Trailōkyamalla, during whose reign the deed was executed, is evidently identical with **Trailōkyavarman** (or **Trailōkyamalla**), mentioned in the Rewa plates of V. 1297 and 1298 of his feudatories **Kumārapāla** and **Harirāja**⁴. He, therefore, belonged to the **Chandēlla** dynasty. Still the same epithets are here applied to him as were applied to his predecessor **Vijayasimha** of the **Kalachuri** dynasty, evidently through the ignorance of the writer, who seems to have drawn upon some **Kalachuri** record for the description of the **Chandēlla** king⁵.

Among the officers of **Trailōkyamalla** mentioned in the present inscription, there is one who deserves special notice⁶. This is the *Mahāmahattaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalikā* **Malayasimha**. He is evidently identical with the *Mahāmāṇḍalikā* **Malayasimha** mentioned in the Rewa stone inscription of **Vijayasimha**. As shown below, the present inscription was incised in K. 963, i.e., within two or three years of the aforementioned inscription of **Vijayasimha**. During this short interval the rule of the **Kalachuris** in the Rewa

¹ The verse in praise of Sarasvatī occurs in the *Kāvyādarśa* (I, 1) of Dandin.

² In line 12 the king is called *tri-sati-rājy-ādhipati*, 'the lord of three hundred kingdoms'.

³ For a similar instance, see Anjaneri plates (Second Set), of Bhōgaśakti, No. 32, above.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 232 and 236.

⁵ It may, however, be noted that **Trailōkyavarman** is called here *Kānyakubjādhipati*, not *Trīkalagādhipati*. The latter epithet is applied to him in the Rewa plates of **Kumārapāla**, dated V. 1297 mentioned above.

⁶ Another officer, the *Kōttapāla* **Vāhada** may be identical with **Vāhadavarman**, the son of **Śalakshana-varman**, the feudatory chief of **Karkarēdi**, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 236. The *Sāṇḍhivagrāhika* **Haripāla** may be identical with the *Mahāmantrin* of the same name mentioned in No. 70, 19.

territory was supplanted by that of the Chandēllas, and Malayasimha seems to have transferred his allegiance to the rising power. Perhaps he was himself instrumental in causing this revolution!

The inscription is dated on Monday, the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyēshtha in the year 963 of an unspecified era. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era, but the details do not work out regularly; for in the current Kalachuri year 963 (1210-11 A.C.) the tithi fell on a Friday and in the expired year 963 (1211-12 A.C.) on a Wednesday. It is not, however, unlikely, in view of the careless writing of the present record, that *Sōmē* of the text is a mistake for *Saumyē* (on Wednesday) as suggested by Dr Chakravarti. The date would in that case regularly correspond, for the expired Kalachuri year 963, to Wednesday, the 9th May 1212 A.C.

Of the places mentioned here, *Dhōvahaṭṭa* has been identified by Dr Chakravarti with Dhurēti, but there is not much similarity in their names. It is more likely to be Dhōbhaṭ near Makundapur, about 10 miles south by west of Rewa. *Dhanavāhi*, the headquarters of the *pattalā* in which it was situated, may be identical with *Dhanavāhi* which lies 22 miles to the south-west of Dhōbhat. *Alaurā* I am unable to identify.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओ नम सि(शि)वाय ॥ गणपतये नम ॥ जयतु जयतु देवो देवकीनंदनोय(यम्) ।² जयतु जयतु कृष्णो वृष्णिवस(श्च)प्रदीप ॥(1) ज-
- 2 यतु जयतु मेघश्यामल[*] कोमलांगो जयतु जयतु पृथ्वी[भा]रनाशो(शी) मुकुद³॥[१॥*] अवतु सकललोकान्नी-
- 3 लकठ[*] स्मरारिस्ति(स्त्रि)पुरदहनसमर्थो⁴ मूर्ह्ति(ध्नि) भास्वच्छ(च्छ)सा(शां)क । तुहिन-गिरिसुताया वल्लभ शूलपाणि ।⁵
- 4 सकलजनशरण्य सर्वलोकैकनाथः ॥[२॥*] चतुर्मुखमुखाभोजवनहश(स)वधूर्मम [1*] मानसे रमतां नि-
- 5 त्य सर्वशुक्ला स[र*]स्वती⁶ ॥[३॥*] परमभट्टारक(के)त्यादिसमस्तराजावली⁷विराजमान परममाहे[श्व*]र अस्व(श्व)पति⁸गजपति-
- 6 नरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिस्री(श्री) वामदेवपादानुध्याता(त)कान्यकुब्जा-धि⁹पतिमही-
- 7 [प्र]वर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स्त्री(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लदेवराज्ये सम(व)त् ९६३ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ७ सोमे दिन(ने) महा-
- 8 महन्न(त्त)कमति(त्रि)मडलकसीमलयसिंह¹¹ व्याप्रियमाणे साधिविग्रह[ही]क¹² ठक्कुरहरिपाल-कोट्टपालवाहड-

¹ From an ink-impression

² This *danda* is superfluous

³ Metre of this and the following verse: *Mālinī*

⁴ There is one redundant *akshara* in this *pāda*. Read स्मरारि पुरदहन-

⁵ This *danda* is superfluous

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ The *akshara* व in राजावली, which was omitted at first, is written above the line.

⁸ Read परममाहेश्वराश्वपति-

⁹ Read कान्यकुब्जाधिपति-

¹⁰ Read सोमदिने, or rather सौम्यदिने.

¹¹ Read -माडलिकक्षीमलयसिंह

¹² The vertical stroke of ही is not incised Read साधिविग्रहिके ठक्कुरहरिपाले.

The following words also should be in the locative case.

- 9 अर्थलेखी स्त्री(श्री)[चं]दस्तेठि¹ यथावर्त्तमानसमस्तवणिगजनव्यवृह्यमाण पचकुलधर्मा-
धिकरण²चिताया
10 धोवहृदपत्तने धनवाहिपत्तलाया यत्र क्वचन शुभप्रदेशसमावासितकटकात्(त्)³ यमनियम[स्वा]-
ध्याय-
11 ध्यानानुष्ठानतपचक्रवर्त्ति⁴पडितचक्रचूडामणिसै (शै) वाचार्याधिपतिसर्वविद्याकुस (श) ल[*] क-

Second Plate

- 12 लौ दुर्व्वाशा(सो)वतार त्रिशति(त) राज्याधिपतिस्री(श्री) मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लपादचर्चनरत⁵ ध्यानं
कुर्व्वाणो⁶
13 एकाग्रचित्ततया भट्टारकस्त्री(श्री)मद्राजगुरुविमलशिवसुतो(त) सा(शा)तशिवचरणा⁷ वत्सगो-
त्रान्वये⁸ वित्त(त्त)व(व)ध-
14 स्वरूपतया ठ रासलसुतसेवराजत(स्त)त्सुतराणकस्त्री(श्री)म[द्ध]रेकस्य अलौराग्रामस्य भागभो-
गप्रवणि-
15 करसर्वादायसहित यावधिरण्यस्य दत्तमिति¹⁰ ॥ गुरूणा¹¹मनुज्यां (ज्ञा) प्राप्य यमादिगुणोपेत[*]
समस्त-
16 प्रक्रियान्वितत्रि(स्त्रि)कालस्नानदेवाचर्चनरत अग्निपूजारतस्व(श्च) सर्वभूतदयापर सर्वेषा
वदिजना-
17 नामाधारभूत जंतूनामास्वा(श्वा)सभूमि[*] सर्वासु कलासु चतुर. ॥¹² शस्त्रशास्त्रविसा(शा)-
रद भट्टारकस्त्रीम-¹³
18 द्राजगुरुविमलसि(शि)वशु(सु)त शातशिवानुजो नादसिवन¹⁴ पट्टस्य [ह](व)र्षरूपतया याव-
दीयते तावदवा-
19 पितमिति¹⁵ धि(वि)त्तव(व)धतया किञ्चिकार्यकारणितापि वारणे स्त्री(श्री)मद्धरेकस्य याव¹⁶दिच्छा
प्रतिपद्यते¹⁷ ॥ अत्रा-
20 र्थे साक्षिण ॥ पट(ट्ट)किल मदने तथा सीले तथा ठ सूपट ठ गागे वि रणधोल वि गागादेव पट्ट
वि कवित ॥ ठ गोलू-

¹ Read श्रेष्ठि-

² Read -व्यवह्रियमाणे पचकुलधर्माधिकरणे चिताया seems to be superfluous

³ This expression seems to be out of place in a deed of mortgage

⁴ Read तपस्विचक्रवर्त्ति-

⁵ Read पादाचर्चनरतो, but as the compound stands it means that the Śaiva ascetic was devoted to the feet of Trailōkyamallā

⁶ Read कुर्व्वाण एकाग्र-

⁷ This expression in the plural number does not fit in with the preceding epithets which are all in the singular Read शातशिव

⁸ वत्सगोत्रान्वयो

⁹ Chakravartī read अलीरा, remarking that लौ which was first engraved was subsequently corrected into ली. See, however, similar *mātrās* of medial *au* in *Kalan*, lines 11-12

¹⁰ The correct construction would be अलौराग्राम . सर्वादायसहित यावद्धरण्य दत्तवानिति ।

¹¹ Read गुरूणा-

¹² These *dandas* are superfluous

¹³ Read भट्टारकस्त्रीम-

¹⁴ The writer perhaps intended to write नादसिवेन, but it would not suit the several adjectival expressions in the nominative prefixed to it Read नादशिवस्तेन.

¹⁵ Read यावदादीयते तावदेवापितमिति ।

¹⁶ The *akshara* व in याव-, which was at first omitted, is written above the line

¹⁷ The text is very corrupt here Probably the intended sense is किञ्चित्कार्यकरणे वारणे वा श्रीमद्धरेकस्य येच्छा सा प्रतिपद्यते ।

DHURETI PLATES OF TRAILOKYAMALLA (KALACHURI) YEAR 963

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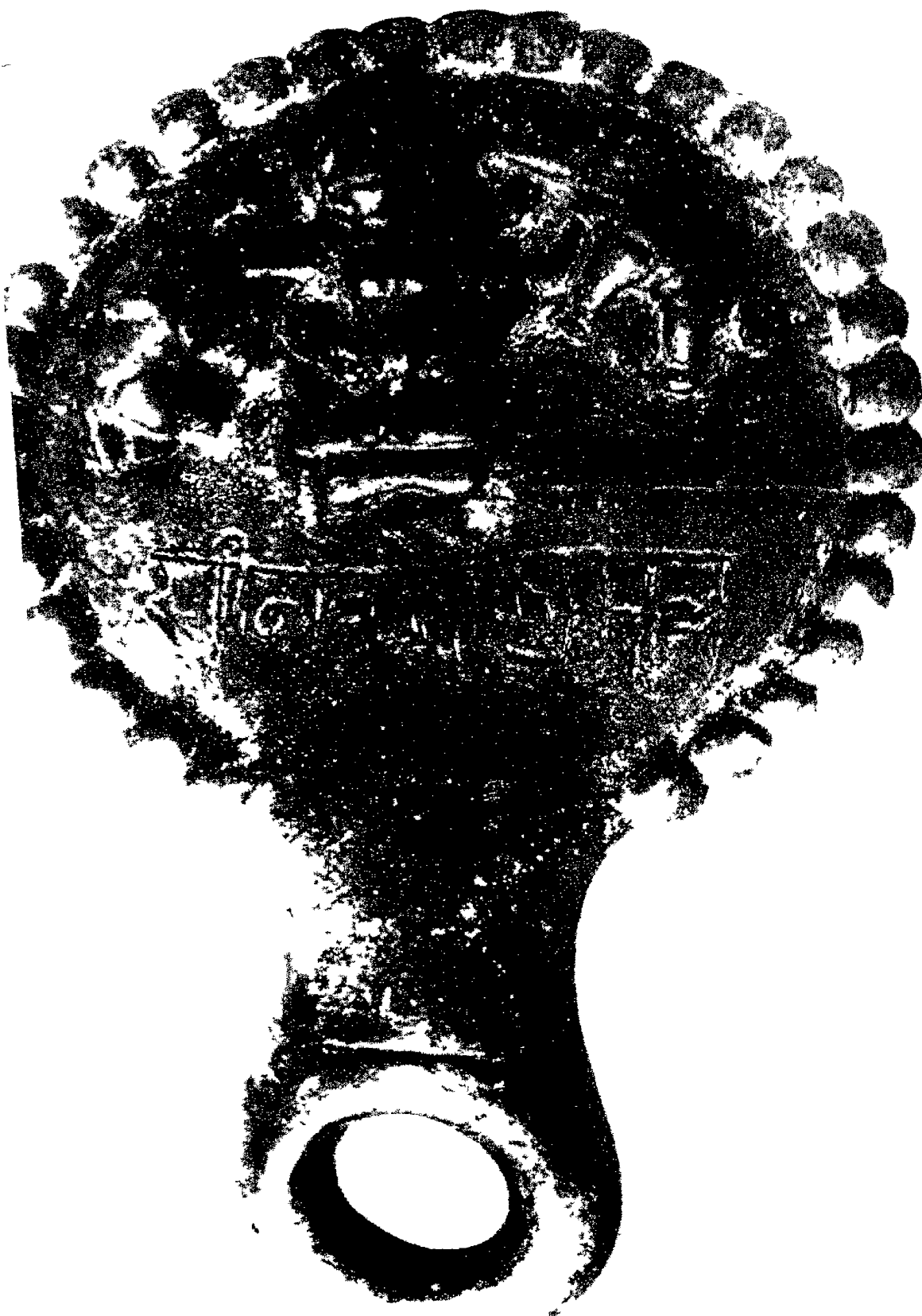
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Seal



(From a photograph)

- 21 ण इति कृत्वा प्रविष्ये सति गृ(ग्र)हीतव्य(व्यम्¹)॥ सु(शु)भ भवतु लेखकपाठकयो ॥
स्वल्पवु(बु)ध्या(द्वया) मदमतिरह यतु(त्) वाल्याति—
- 22 मु[द्गी]रितं सुद्धमसुद्धं वा² प विस्वेस्वरेण³ लिखितमिति ॥ प गगाधरेण [च] [1*] उत्कीरित
सीरुकेन⁴ ॥ ॥ ॥

Seal

श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यमल्ल[1*]

TRANSLATION

Om! Adoration to Śiva! Adoration to Gaṇapati!

(Verse 1) May this god, the son of Dēvakī, be victorious! May this Kṛishna, the great luminary of the Vṛishṇi family, be triumphant! May (*this Kṛishna*), who has a delicate person dark like a cloud, be glorious! May Mukunda, who removes the burden of the earth, attain victory!

(V 2) May the blue-throated (Śiva), the enemy of Śinara and the dear husband of (Pārvaṭi) the daughter of the snow-mountain, who has a spear in (*his*) hand, protect all people,—(*he*) who was able to burn the three cities⁵, who has the bright moon on his head, who affords protection to all people and is the sole lord of all worlds!

—(V. 3) May the all-white Sarasvatī, the female swan (*sporting*) in the assemblage of lotuses which are the mouths of Brahmā, always enjoy herself in my mind!

(Line 5) During the reign of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, who looks resplendent with the complete series of royal titles commencing with *Paramabhattāraka*, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*and*) the supreme lord of three kings, viz., the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who is the lord of speech through his study of various lores, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva, who is the lord of Kānyakubja and whose beneficial and victorious rule is augmenting on the earth,—on Monday, the 7th (lunar) day of the bright (fortnight) of Jyēṣṭha in the year 963, while the *Mahāmahattaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalikā*, the illustrious Malayasiṃha is present on duty, while the *Sāṇḍhviṅṇahika* Thakkura Haripāla, the *Kōttapāla* Vāhaḍa and the *Arthalēkhin* the illustrious *Srēṣṭhin* Chanda (*are also present on duty*), (*and*) while the affairs in the court of justice of the *Pañchakula*⁶ are being managed by all merchants according to custom,—at the camp fixed at some auspicious place in the *Dhōvahaṭṭa pattana* (*situated*) in the *Dhanavāhi pattalā*, the holy Śāntaśiva of the Vatsa *gōtra*, a son of the *Bhattāraka*, the holy Rājaguru Vimalaśiva,—who has become the sovereign of ascetics through the practice of self-restraint, observances, study of sacred texts, and meditation, (*who is*) the crest-jewel of an assembly of learned people, the lord of Śaiva Āchāryas, proficient in all lores, (*and*) an incarnation of Durvāsas in the Kali (*age*), to whose feet is devoted the illustrious Trailōkyamalla,⁷ the lord of three hundred kingdoms, (*and*) who is (*always*) engaged in meditation with a concentrated mind,—has given, by way of mortgage, the village Alaurā, together with all dues (*such as*) *bhāga*, *bhōga*,

¹ Here also the text is very corrupt. Perhaps the intended reading is इति कृत्वा प्रविष्य ग्रहीतव्यम् ।

² Read वाल्यादुदीरित सुद्धमसुद्धं वा

³ Read विस्वेस्वरेण

⁴ Read उत्कीर्ण सीरुकेण

⁵ These are the three cities of the demon Tripura burnt by Śiva

⁶ The *Pañchakula* (assembly of five persons) corresponds to the *Pañchu-mandalī* or *Pañchaka* mentioned in earlier records and the *Panchāyat* (Village Jury) of modern times

⁷ See above, p 372, n 5.

taxes on *pravanis* and inclusive of (*payment in*) gold, to the *Rānaka*, the illustrious **Dharēka**, the son of *Sēvarāja* (*who is*) the son of the *Ṭhakkura* **Rāsala**

(L. 15) Having obtained the permission of (*his*) elder (*brother*), **Nādaśiva**, a son of the *Bhattāraka*, the holy *Rājaguru* **Vimalaśiva**, and a younger brother of **Śāntaśiva**,—who is endowed with self-restraint and other virtues, and possessed of all marks of high rank; who is engaged in bathing three times a day, adoring gods and worshipping fire; who is intent upon (*showing*) kindness to all creatures; who is the support of all suppliants¹ (*and*) the source of consolation to (*all*) creatures; who is skilled in all arts and proficient in all arms and sciences,—has conveyed by way of **mortgage** the whole annual income of the *paṭṭa*² In the matter of doing or desisting from doing anything, the wish of the illustrious **Dharēka** is (*to be*) followed.

(L. 19) The witnesses to this deed are—*Pattakṣila*³ **Madanē**, also **Silē**; also *Ṭhakkura* **Sūpaṭa**; *Thakkura* **Gāṅgē**, *Vi*⁴ **Raṇadhōla**⁵, *Vi* **Gāṅgādēva**; *Pattakṣila* *Vi* **Kavita** (*and*) *Thakkura* **Gōlūṇa**

Knowing this, (*the mortgagee*) should enter into and take possession (*of the village*).

May there be well-being of the writer and the reader!

(L. 21) Whatever I, dull-witted as I am, uttered through childishness and weak-mindedness, was written by *Pandita* **Viśvēśvara** and *Pandita* **Gāṅgādhara** (*This deed*) has been engraved by **Sīruka**.

Seal

The illustrious **Trailōkyamalla**.

¹ *Liṭ*, 'all panegyrists'

² *I. e.*, of the village *Alaura*

³ This seems to correspond to modern *Pāṭīl*, the headman of a village.

⁴ *Vi* is evidently an abbreviation, like *Ṭha* and *Paṭṭa*, of some title or official designation. See above, No. 68, l. 20.

⁵ Perhaps *Raṇadhōla* stands for *Raṇadhavala* (brilliant in fighting) as suggested by *Chakravartī*, but it is more likely to be a proper name.

